

The Colors of Clay

Special Techniques in Athenian Vases

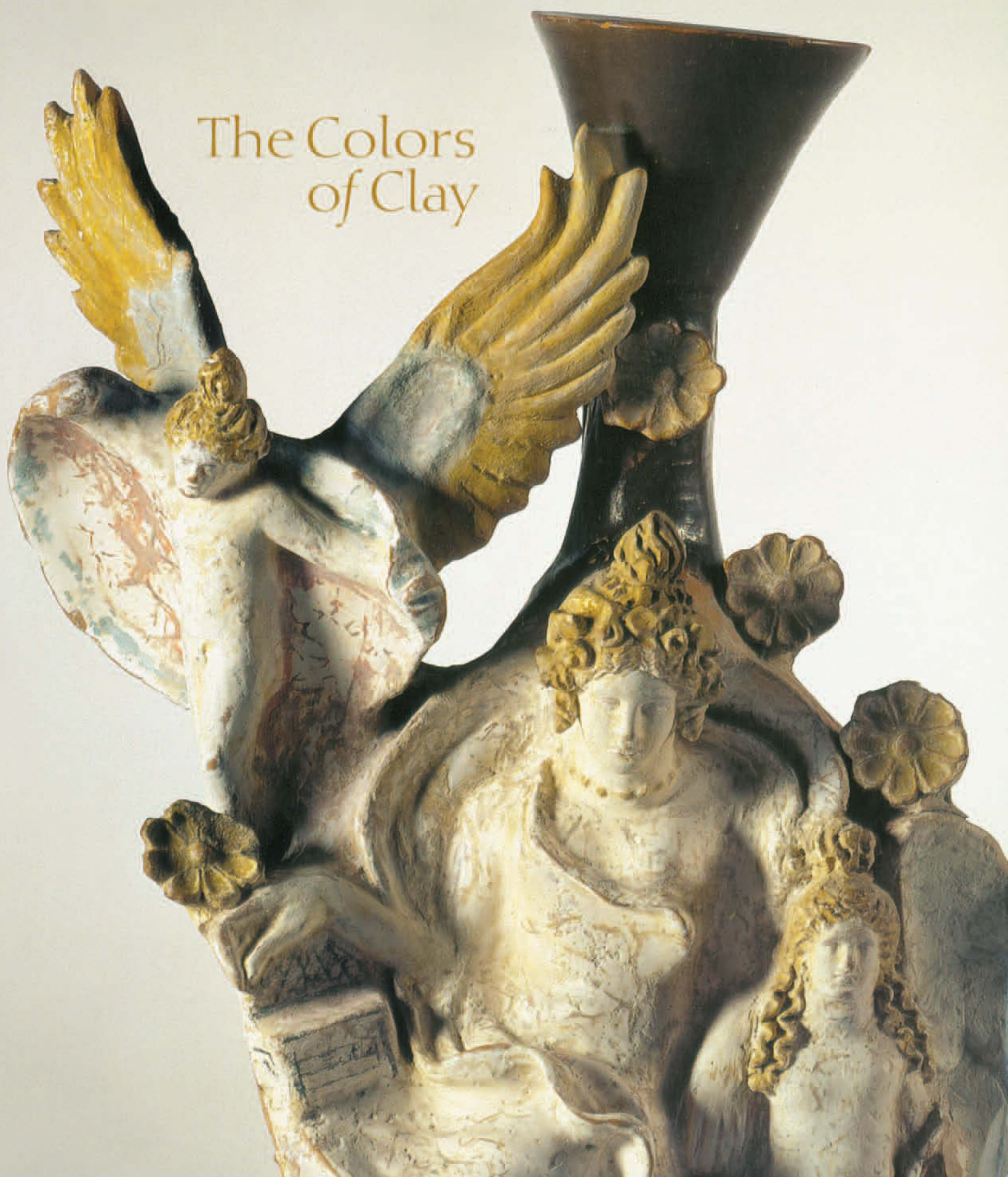
Beth Cohen



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The Colors
of Clay





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Special Techniques in Athenian Vases

BETH COHEN

With contributions by

Susan Lansing-Maish

Kenneth Lapatin

Jeffrey Maish

Joan R. Mertens

Marie Svoboda

Marion True

Dyfri Williams

THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM

Los Angeles



This catalogue is published in conjunction with the exhibition *The Colors of Clay: Special Techniques in Athenian Vases*, presented at the J. Paul Getty Museum at the Getty Villa, Malibu, June 8–September 4, 2006.

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Getty Publications
1200 Getty Center Drive, Suite 500
Los Angeles, California 90049-1682
www.getty.edu

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LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGING-IN-PUBLICATION DATA

Cohen, Beth.

The colors of clay : special techniques in Athenian vases / Beth Cohen ; with contributions by Kenneth Lapatin . . . [et al.].

p. cm.

"This catalogue is published in conjunction with the exhibition 'The colors of clay: special techniques in Athenian vases,' held at the J. Paul Getty Museum at the Getty Villa, Malibu, June 8–September 4, 2006—T.p. verso.

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN-13: 978-0-89236-942-3 (softcover)

1. Vases, Greek—Greece—Athens—Exhibitions. 2. Vase-painting, Greek—Greece—Athens—Exhibitions. 3. Vases, Ancient—Greece—Athens—Exhibitions. 4. Terra-cotta—Greece—Athens—Exhibitions. 5. Pottery—Technique—.

I. Lapatin, Kenneth. II. J. Paul Getty Museum. III. Title.

NK4645.C58 2006

738.3'8209385—dc22

2006006220

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Lenders to the Exhibition

Our thanks are extended to all those who have kindly loaned their works to the exhibition. The list of lenders below is alphabetized by city, followed by institution.

Basel, ANTIKENMUSEUM BASEL UND SAMMLUNG LUDWIG

Berlin, STAATLICHE MUSEEN ZU BERLIN—PREUßISCHER KULTURBESITZ, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG

Boston, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Brussels, BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE DE BELGIQUE

Brussels, MUSÉES ROYAUX D'ART ET D'HISTOIRE

Copenhagen, NATIONAL MUSEUM

Kansas City, NELSON-ATKINS MUSEUM OF ART

Karlsruhe, BADISCHES LANDESMUSEUM

London, THE BRITISH MUSEUM

Madrid, MUSEO ARQUEOLÓGICO NACIONAL

Malibu, J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM

New York, THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Oxford, ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

Paris, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE

Paris, MUSÉE DU PETIT PALAIS

St. Petersburg, THE STATE HERMITAGE MUSEUM

Vatican City, VATICAN MUSEUMS

Foreword

VASES MADE OF FIRED CLAY are common to almost every culture on Earth. In ancient Greece, the red- and black-figure vases produced in the city of Athens are synonymous with ancient Greek art and culture. During the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., Attic potters and vase-painters took their ceramic arts to new levels as they explored their medium to the fullest. *The Colors of Clay* examines the production and decorating techniques that went beyond the well-known red- and black-figure painting, analyzing processes such as the use of coral-red gloss, added clay and gilding, Six's technique, outline, white ground and pastel colors, and mold-made vases. These refined methods of decoration and manufacture proved popular not only in ancient Attika but also throughout the Mediterranean. Each of these methods of decoration has been studied before, but in this exhibition they are for the first time all examined simultaneously. Some of the finest vases produced in ancient Athens using these techniques have been gathered together from major museum collections in the United States and Europe. This exhibition also marks the first time since their discovery and dispersal in 1890 that a specific group of vessels—those found in the so-called Sotades Tomb in Athens—will be reunited.

The topic of Athenian vases made with special techniques is especially appropriate for the first large international exhibition to be held by the J. Paul Getty Museum at the recently renovated and expanded Getty Villa. The Museum's antiquities collection is especially rich in Athenian vases, many of which were made in the special techniques explored in this exhibition, and the Getty Villa is the ideal place to display these richly ornamented objects in the larger context of the antiquities collection.

We are greatly indebted to Beth Cohen, the guest curator of this exhibition, who first approached Marion True, the Getty Museum's former Curator of Antiquities, with the proposal for this show. My thanks go also to our museum col-

leagues in the United States and abroad who have generously lent their vases for this exhibition.

The essays prepared for this catalogue have been written by leading scholars in the field of Athenian vase studies, including the guest curator and author of the majority of essays as well as most of the catalogue entries, Beth Cohen; Marion True; Joan Mertens (The Metropolitan Museum of Art); Dyfri Williams (The British Museum); and Kenneth Lapatin (The Getty Museum). Thanks are due also to the team of Getty Museum conservators and Getty Conservation Institute scientists who worked with the vase specialists to analyze materials and understand these techniques more fully. The results of those investigations led to an essay in this catalogue by Jeffrey Maish, Marie Svoboda, and Susan Lansing-Maish.

Mounting a major exhibition requires a team effort from the staff of many departments, and I would like to acknowledge the exceptional work of everyone involved. In particular, I thank the following: Kenneth Lapatin and Mary Louise Hart from the Antiquities Department worked closely with the guest curator to realize the exhibition within our galleries; Sahar Tchaitchian edited the exhibition material; Ann Steinsapir headed the input from the Education Department; Ann Marshall, Davina Henderson, and Debi Van Zyl designed the exhibition and all related gallery and promotional materials; Sally Hibbard, Nancy Russell, and Betsy Severance in the Registrar's Office kept track of every object; Quincy Houghton and Liz Andres managed the myriad aspects of a large international loan exhibition; Alison Glazier and Anne Martens produced the interactive programs with the generous assistance of Toby Schreiber; B. J. Farrar and McKenzie Lowry constructed the mounts for the installation; and Bruce Metro and Kevin Marshall headed the crew of preparators who installed the exhibition.

MICHAEL BRAND
Director, J. Paul Getty Museum

Acknowledgments

SOME TWENTY YEARS AGO, I discussed with Marion True, former Curator of Antiquities at the J. Paul Getty Museum, an idea I had for an exhibition on special techniques of Athenian vases that would involve the disciplines of art history and archaeology, science and conservation. Having attended symposia on ancient Greek marble and bronze sculpture at the Getty Villa in which art historians, archaeologists, artists, conservators, and scientists participated, I was convinced that the Getty Museum would be the perfect venue for this project. Ancient art exhibitions had not as yet taken a similarly interdisciplinary approach, and exhibitions of vases in America tended to be organized as displays of private collections, works drawn from collections in a particular geographic region, examples of certain iconographic themes, or a monographic survey of an individual vase-painter. Marion was extremely enthusiastic about the new direction I proposed, and we began to discuss scheduling such a vase exhibition for the Getty. Needless to say, there have been numerous delays. The ultimate realization of this dream as an international loan exhibition at the Getty Villa can be attributed to Marion's unwavering belief in its potential. Her tireless efforts, including personally visiting most of the lending institutions with me to explore the possibility of major loans, led to the panorama of extraordinary vases included in this exhibition and its catalogue. Finally, amid a busy schedule and under extraordinary pressure, she wrote an essay for the section on plastic vases, a theme close to her heart. I am indebted to Marion for everything described here and much, much more; she deserves my most heartfelt thanks.

I would particularly like to extend my thanks to the other contributors of essays in this catalogue: Jeffrey Maish, Marie Svoboda, Susan Lansing-Maish, and Kenneth Lapatin (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles); Joan R. Mertens (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York); and Dyfri Williams (The British Museum, London). Kenneth Lapatin further contributed two entries. Special thanks go to Jerry Podany, Antiq-

uities Conservator at the Getty Museum, for his long-term help and guidance in regard to technical issues. The J. Paul Getty Museum provided funding for this exhibition, which covered most of the necessary travel and study photography, and Getty Publications acquired the catalogue's splendid photographs of vases in the exhibition and most of the illustrations for the essays. Peter Evans and Noel Wu in the Getty Museum's Antiquities Department helped with travel arrangements. I owe thanks to Benedicte Gilman of Getty Publications for editing this volume, Elizabeth Chapin Kahn for overseeing its production, and Sandy Bell for its beautiful design.

Many people provided help in scheduling and overseeing my study visits to museums in the United States and abroad and/or in supplying information about vases in their collections. I am grateful to John J. Herrmann, Jr., Christine Kondoleon, Mary Comstock, Pamela Hatchfield, and Brenda Breed (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston); Marion True, Janet B. Grossman, Kenneth Lapatin, and Carrie Tovar (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles); Carlos A. Picón, Joan R. Mertens, Richard E. Stone, William M. Gagen, John F. Morariu, Jr., Jennifer Slocum Soupios, and Fred A. Caruso (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York); Robert Cohon (Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, MO); Jan Jordan (Agora Museum, Athens); Nikolaos Kaltsas and E. Stassinopoulou (National Archaeological Museum, Athens); Elle Vandermeijden, Vera Slehofer, Olivier Berger, and Susanne Dürr (Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig); Ursula Kästner (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung); François de Callataÿ (Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Brussels); Eric Gubel, Christiane Tytgat, Cécile Evers, and Isabella Rosati (Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels); Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen and Charlotte Wilsbech Andersen (National Museum, Copenhagen); Michael Maaß and Claus Hattler (Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe); Rüdiger Splitter (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Kassel); Dyfri Williams, Neil Adams, and Kim Overend (The British Museum, London); Paloma Cabrera Bonita (Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid); Florian Knauss and Raimund Wünsche (Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich);

Michael Vickers (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford); Alain Pasquier, Martine Denoyelle, and Alexandra Kardianou (Musée du Louvre, Paris); Yuri P. Kalashnik, Liubov Utkina, Yulia Ilyina, Elena Khodza, Alexander Kruglov, Nina Kunina, Anna Trofimova, and other members of the curatorial staff of the Antiquities Department (The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg); and Maurizio Sannibale (Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Vatican City).

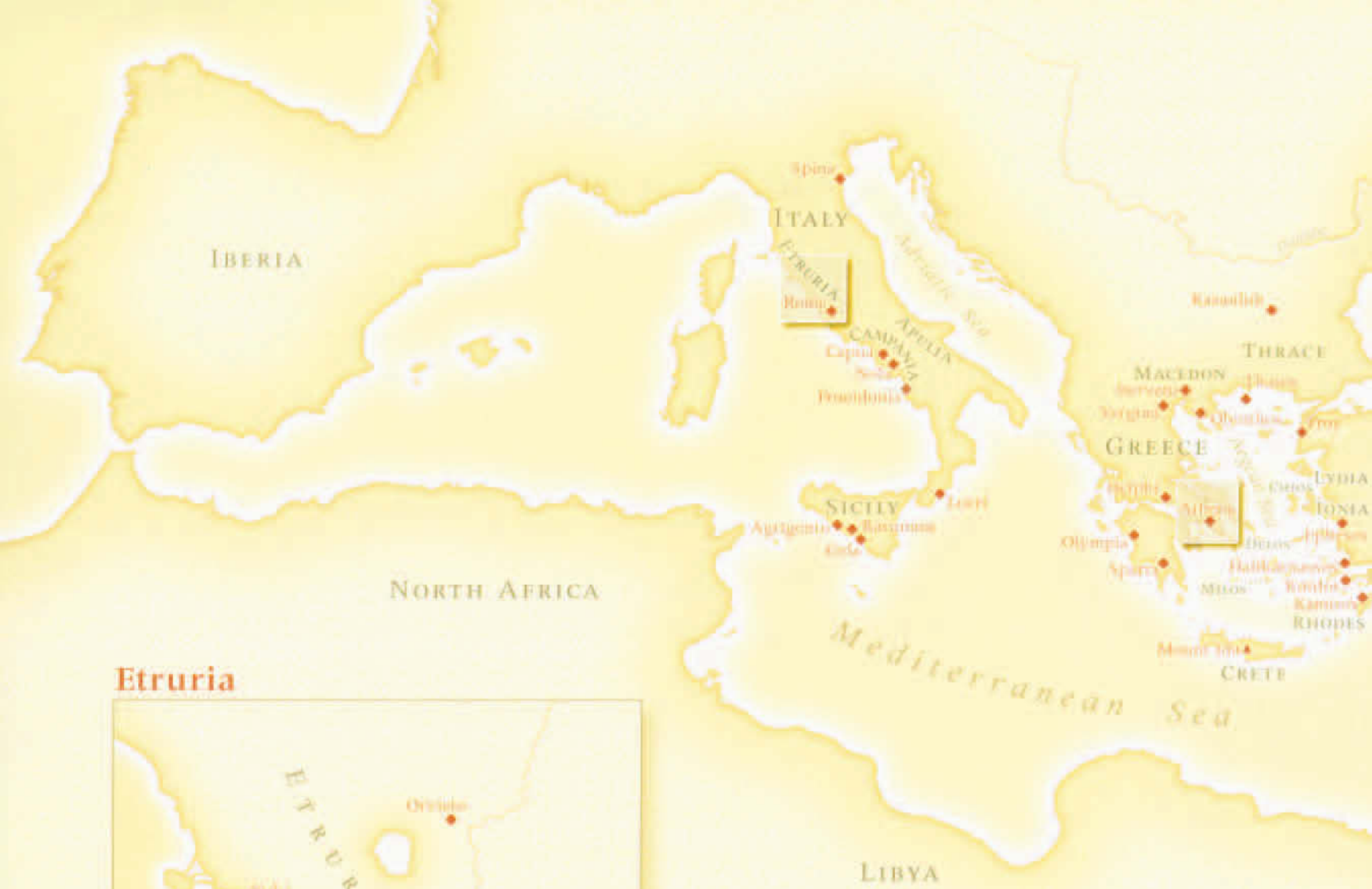
Much of the research for this project was carried out at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. I am deeply indebted to Kenneth Soehner, Linda Seckelson, Lisa Beidel, Ron Fein, and the entire staff of the Thomas J. Watson Library, where I was given the use of a carrel and stack privileges. Special thanks are due to Robyn Fleming for securing many vital references for me through interlibrary loan. I am grateful to Carlos A. Picón for access to the Onassis Library of the Greek and Roman Department and to the librarian, Mark Santangelo, for his tireless help. My thanks are also due to Sharon Chickanzeff for access to the Stephen Chan Library of Fine Arts of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, and to the Seminar in Classical Civilization of Columbia University for access to the University Libraries and Barnard College Library. I am indebted to Stephen V. Tracy and Robert A. Bridges, Jr., for an appointment as a Senior Associate Member of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, which provided access to the Blegen Library.

Several assistants provided invaluable help during my final year of work on this catalogue. Christine M. Sciacca, a graduate student at Columbia University, checked citations in the manuscript, obtained references from Avery and other Columbia University Libraries, and from the Thomas J. Watson Library of The Metropolitan Museum of Art; she also masterfully negotiated offsite holdings, Columbia's Borrow Direct, as well as interlibrary loan resources. Sonia Amaral Rohter, another Columbia University graduate student, likewise secured references from the Columbia University Libraries; in addition, she carried out searches on the *Beazley Archive Pottery Database* (BAPD) and helped compile the glossary and references at the back of this volume. Elizabeth

Stacey Funk, a graduate student at the Institute of Fine Arts, gathered references at the Institute, at Bobst Library of New York University, and at the New York Public Library at 42nd Street. I am deeply indebted to them all. For help with the logistics of finding graduate assistants, I would like to thank Clemente Marconi, Megan McCarthy, and Esther Pasztory (Columbia University); and Sharon Chickanzeff (Institute of Fine Arts). Donna Orwin (Toronto) helped with translation of Russian and Brigitte Nørgaard Poulsen (Horsens, Denmark) with Danish. Patrick Song (New York) provided assistance with computer programs and equipment.

For hospitality, help, and advice in various cities, I would like to thank the following friends and colleagues: Kathleen Coleman and Christine Kondoleon (Cambridge, MA); Claire L. Lyons and Mary L. Hart (Los Angeles); Maria Pipili (Athens); Annie Verbanck-Piérard and Susanna Sarti (Brussels); François Lissarrague and Nassi Malagardis (Paris). Ellen N. Davis (New York), Mario Iozzo (Florence), and J. Michael Padgett (Princeton) have provided invaluable assistance and information. I owe a special debt to the late Diana Buitron-Oliver for many discussions on the topic of this exhibition during the 1980s and 1990s. Andrew J. Clark (Encino, CA) kindly read my chapters about coral red and added clay in draft; he has also offered valuable insights and advice that extend beyond the realm of vase scholarship. Joan R. Mertens not only read the drafts of my entries for white-ground vases but also reviewed the page proofs for several catalogue sections; her wholehearted enthusiasm for and support of this project, her wise counsel, and her unflagging encouragement have contributed immeasurably to the successful completion of this exhibition catalogue. Finally, I would like to thank my devoted husband, John F. Burleigh, for reading my entire manuscript in draft and for his patience throughout the various stages of work on this exhibition and catalogue, the publication of which coincides with the twentieth anniversary of our wedding.

BETH COHEN
New York City
February 2006



Etruria



Attika



Abbreviations

bibl.	bibliography
C	Celsius
ca.	circa
Cab. Méd.	Paris, Cabinet des Médailles
cat.	catalogue
cf.	compare
cm	centimeter
col./cols.	column/-s
D	depth
Diam	diameter
e.g.	for instance
esp.	especially
fig./figs.	figure/-s
GCI	Los Angeles, Getty Conservation Institute
H	height
I	interior
inv.	inventory
JPGM	Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum
L	length
mm	millimeter
n./nn.	note/-s
no./nos.	number/-s
pl./pls.	plate/-s
RMN	Paris, Réunion des Musées Nationaux
suppl.	supplement/supplemental
trans.	translator/translated by
W	width



Introduction

Beth Cohen

IN ANCIENT ATHENS, pottery developed within a workshop tradition that was bound generation after generation by the practical requirements for making, firing, and decorating vases. Although they may have earned a decent living, pottery workers do not appear to have had an elite social status; they were considered craftsmen and not “artists” in the modern sense of that word. Nonetheless, working with the intrinsically inexpensive medium of clay, these craftsmen transformed that clay in wondrous ways. Thus in Western culture, at least since the Enlightenment, Attic pottery—particularly the pottery produced during the Archaic and Classical periods in Greece of the sixth to the fourth century B.C.—has indeed often been considered an art, much admired for achieving a breathtaking balance of refined shape and elaborate surface decoration in a figural style.

Attic vases are likewise strongly associated with the two well-known standard techniques employed in their decoration, black- and red-figure. Black-figure, adopted from Corinthian pottery in the late seventh century B.C., was the dominant technique of vase decoration in Athens for most of the sixth-century Archaic period (e.g., cat. nos. 40, 53). In black-figure, black-gloss silhouettes, detailed with incision and red and white colors, are contrasted against the vase’s orange clay body. Red-figure was a new technique invented in Athens herself around the beginning of the last quarter of the sixth century that soon became the predominant technique of vase decoration (e.g., cat. no. 27). The production of Attic red-figure lasted through the Late Classical period of the fourth century B.C. This technique (figs. 1–2) is commonly described as the reverse of black-figure. Now the forms are reserved, i.e., left in the



Figure 1. Herakles. Detail of red-figure amphora of type A, attributed to the Berlin Painter, ca. 480 B.C. Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig BS 456/Kä 418. (ARV² 1634.1 bis; BAPD Vase 275090.) Photographer: Dieter Widmer.

orange color of the clay, and the ground around them is covered with the black gloss. Details are now painted onto the vase’s surface rather than incised. Added colors and dilute washes of gloss may be employed, though their importance varies over time.

Rather than placing a central focus on standard black- and red-figure for their own sake, this exhibition and its catalogue consider fine Attic pottery from the uncommon vantage point of other distinctive techniques that were employed contemporaneously in decorating and/or shaping vases. The vases decorated with special techniques in this exhibition span some 250 years, from ca. 580 to ca. 340 B.C., and they include some of the greatest masterpieces of Attic pottery that have come down to us.

Most of the special techniques observed on the vases in this exhibition catalogue were first developed during the last third of the sixth century B.C., an extraordinarily fertile period of experimentation in the Athenian pottery industry. One

would like to be able to associate the beginning of this time of invention with the inception of Athenian democracy, symbolized in Athenian lore and art by the assassination of Hipparchos, brother of the tyrant Hippias, by Harmodios and Aristogeiton in 514 B.C. (fig. 3), which was followed by Hippias's expulsion in 510, and Kleisthenes' reforms in 508. But in reality, many of the fundamental technical innovations occurred earlier, during the final decades of the Peisistratid tyranny, when the potter and painter Exekias (chap. 2, fig. 1) was still active, and he, Nikosthenes (cat. no. 15), and the younger potter Andokides (cat. nos. 1–2) were busily exporting vases to Etruria.

In the early years of democracy, the pottery industry continued to flourish with the rise of the Pioneer Group, which consisted of painters, most of whom became potters later in their careers (cf. cat. nos. 10–13, 78), including Euphronios (e.g., cat. nos. 10, 29), who placed a robust emphasis on capturing the human form. In the early fifth century Athens enjoyed great victory in the Persian Wars, and in a self-assured, eminently Athenian way, potters adopted the exotic shapes of the defeated foe's metal vessels for their own clay wares (e.g., cat. nos. 83, 96–99). The arts flourished, and the rise of free painting affected the form and color of vase-painting (e.g., cat. nos. 32, 49, 61, 65, 92). At the height of the Classical period, under the great leader Perikles, an important building program reclaimed the Athenian Akropolis from the ruins of Persian destruction. Here rose the splendid Temple of Athena, known as the Parthenon, which was anticipated and echoed in the grace of its human figures by classic white-ground vases and funerary lekythoi decorated by anonymous masters (e.g., cat. nos. 64, 67). Later in the century, Athens suffered defeats, especially in the Peloponnesian War. Seemingly ignoring troubled political times, the important production of pottery continued. The circle of the Meidias Painter specialized in vases florid both in style and technique that were encrusted with gilded details (cat. no. 35).

In fourth-century Athens—the era of Plato—democracy, for the male citizen, still managed to flourish, though it was marked by an ever wealthier elite class of private citizens. Now the primacy

of Athenian pottery (e.g., cat. no. 36) was challenged by the growth of colonial wares from South Italian and Sicilian fabrics. Nevertheless, though the quality of traditional red-figured pottery had diminished, Athenian production continued to find new markets, such as Kerch in South Russia (ancient Pantikapaion). Late red-figured, so-called Kerch-style vases (e.g., cat. nos. 104–105), and other newly created types of luxury vases (e.g., cat. nos. 38, 88, 89) sometimes employed bright color, mold-made features, and gilding and were exported widely down to the end of the Classical age.

The far-flung markets for Athenian pottery in the ancient world have received much scholarly attention. Vases in this exhibition have been found as far afield as Vulci in Etruria (e.g., cat. nos. 2, 6, 42, 47, 53, 70, 80), Capua in South Italy (e.g., cat. nos. 38, 50, 77, 83, 85, 86), Agrigento in Sicily (cat. no. 24), Kerch in South Russia (cat. nos. 37, 103, 105), and Meroë in Egypt (cat. no. 87, see MAP). However, the substantial home market in Athens and Attika for vases decorated in special



Figure 2. Athena. Red-figured amphora in figure 1. Photographer: Dieter Widmer.



Figure 3. Sculptural group of the Tyrannicides. Fragmentary red-figured oinochoe, ca. 400 B.C. H 16 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund 98.936. Photograph © 2006 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

techniques is striking (e.g., cat. nos. 10, 19, 20, 26, 31, 40, 48, 61, 90–99). Such home-market vases in this exhibition reveal that potent Athenian associations between tradition, ritual, and technique extended beyond the well-known black-figured Panathenaic prize amphorae (cat. no. 39) and fifth-century white-ground funerary lekythoi (cat. nos. 63, 66, 68, 69).

Classification according to special techniques invites close observation of the vases themselves. It entails considering not only how these unusual vases were made and decorated but also to what degree their present condition reflects the way they originally were intended to look. An integral part of this investigation, therefore, has been the collaboration of conservators at the J. Paul Getty Museum, who present the results of their technical analyses of some of the glosses, pigments, and coatings employed in vase decoration in the introductory section (see Technical Studies essay) of this catalogue. The conservators' essay also explains the three-part firing process—which consisted of an oxidizing, a reducing, and a reoxidizing phase—that was employed in Athenian pottery workshops.

In ancient Athens, the potter was the individual who owned and operated the workshop. His workshop would have been located in the city itself—the area northwest of the Athenian Agora was known as the Kerameikos (potters' quarter)—or, especially in earlier times, in the surrounding land of Attika. The potter either decorated as well as fashioned the vases himself, or he hired separate vase-painters. Craftsmen's signatures employing different verbs often appear on Attic vases. So-and-so *epoiesen* (made [me]) is generally considered either to be the signature of the potter himself or to designate the products of a specific potter-proprietor's workshop; so-and-so *egraphsen* (painted [me]) is believed to be the signature of the vase-painter.

Appreciation of the potter's significance and knowledge of the standard firing process are essential to understanding the development of techniques of vase decoration. After the vases were formed on the potter's wheel and had dried to a leather-hard state, they were generally decorated before being placed in the kiln for firing.

Indeed, the decorative silhouette schemes of Attic black- and red-figured vases, contrasting shiny black with the orange color of clay, resulted directly from the firing process, during which the clay slip painted onto the vases' surfaces before the firing turned into black gloss (see Technical Studies essay).

The modern understanding of the role of the three-stage firing process in creating the classic look of the Attic vase, however, led to an assumption during much of the twentieth century that *all* features of vase-decoration must have been applied before firing. If any part of a vase's decoration could be washed or scrubbed off, or dissolved in hydrochloric acid, it was thereby thought not to be original. Unfortunately, all vase decoration was *not* necessarily applied before firing, and, indeed, even some fired decoration can unwittingly be removed by aggressive cleaning. Although some evidence has been lost through improper cleaning and misguided efforts at "restoration," much more is now understood about the proper care of vases, and there is still much to be learned through their close examination.

The selection of vases in the exhibition has been guided by various principles, first and foremost, the quality of the vases and their capacity to illustrate typical or innovative aspects of one or more special techniques. Naturally, the willingness of lending institutions to part with important works in their collections has played a significant role in the ultimate composition of the exhibition, and I am most grateful for their cooperation. In this exhibition, I have preferred to include vases with secure provenance, and, in particular, examples from old collections. But a few previously published vases that have been known only for the past few decades are presented here: These nonetheless provide important data for technical studies and offer relevant insights into the practices of ancient potters and painters.

I have examined all of the vases firsthand and have incorporated the results of this direct observation in the individual catalogue entries for 103 vases and in my essays on various techniques in chapters 1 through 5.

The catalogue is divided into nine chapters each of which is introduced by an essay on the

theme of that chapter. CHAPTER 1, on *Bilingual Vases*, features uncommon vases, mostly amphorae and cups decorated half in red-figure and half in the old black-figure technique, made at a time of technical transition during the last quarter of the sixth century. Bilingual vases serve here to introduce these fundamental techniques, and they invite the viewer to engage in technical comparison.

Six catalogue chapters cover individual special techniques. These techniques have been organized roughly according to their order of introduction and/or their period of greatest popularity. CHAPTER 2, on *Coral-Red Gloss*, deals with a rare gloss that fired to an orange-red color, which was employed instead of black gloss to cover large areas of a vase's surface. Most popular on drinking cups, coral red was used on vases associated with wine. CHAPTER 3 deals with the rarest of the special techniques, *Six's Technique*. Named after Jan Six, the Dutch scholar who first described it, this fragile technique involved polychrome painting on a black ground and was sometimes further elaborated with incision. CHAPTER 4 covers *Added Clay and Gilding*. These two techniques are closely associated, for clay-relief details sometimes served as a basis for embellishment with gold leaf. Added clay was also commonly covered with black gloss, and it was one of the longest lived of all special techniques. Inventive uses of *Outline in Black- and Red-figure Vase-painting* comprise CHAPTER 5. When first employed for its own sake in the context of sixth-century Attic black-figure, outline was a Corinthianizing tradition; later outline drawing was occasionally emphasized in inventive, unusual ways.

CHAPTER 6, on *White Ground*, is one of the two largest units. In this technique a white-clay slip fired onto the vessel's surface served as a base for vase-painting. White ground became closely associated with Classical Athenian funerary lekythoi. The essay by Joan R. Mertens surveys this technique's long and important history. CHAPTER 7, an equally large unit, includes both *Plastic Vases*—the sculptural vases fashioned in molds in a variety of human, animal, and even vegetal shapes—and *Vases with Plastic Additions*, vases embellished with decorative adjuncts, such as

small mold-made heads, that were first produced in Athens during the last third of the sixth century B.C. In her essay on this theme, Marion True presents new interpretations of several of these unusual vessels as well as evidence for their attribution to potters' workshops.

CHAPTER 8, *The Sotades Tomb*, reunites a group of exquisite vases, made in one pottery workshop, that were found together in a Classical tomb in Athens in 1890 and then quickly dispersed. These vases employ most of the special techniques considered in this exhibition and catalogue. In the essay for this chapter Dyfri Williams presents evidence for adding a white-ground-and-coral-red cup in Boston (cat. no. 91) as the tenth vase in this tomb group. Finally CHAPTER 9, *Kerch-style Vases*, includes some of the finest examples of the last Athenian red-figured vases, which were produced during the fourth century B.C. These vases, named after the findspot in South Russia of many examples, were generally decorated in an elaborate and florid manner that often combined several special techniques. Kenneth Lapatin considers some painters of Kerch-style vases in this exhibition, placing their work in the context of the arts during the Late Classical period. (In addition, Lapatin has contributed catalogue entries for two of the vases—cat. nos. 39 and 102—examined by conservators at the J. Paul Getty Museum.)

Vase scholars are indebted to J. D. Beazley (1885–1970) for establishing order in the field through his prodigious attributions to painters and to potters' workshops of the Attic vases known to him. The nicknames for many anonymous craftsmen employed in this volume follow Beazley's system of nomenclature in *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters* (ABV) and *Attic Red-figure Vase-Painters*² (ARV²). Some vase-painters—for example, Sophilos (cat. no. 40) and Epiktetos (cat. no. 5)—signed their names, but many did not. Beazley, therefore, gave anonymous definable artistic personalities nicknames: e.g., the Vouni Painter (cat. no. 62), named after the findspot of one lekythos from his hand at Vouni, Cyprus; the Painter of London E 2, named after the vase-catalogue number of a cup in the British Museum (cat. no. 6); and the Amasis Painter (cat. no. 43), named after the potter whose signature appears on



"A red-figure volute krater attributed to a painter of the Syleus sequence! Maynard, you shouldn't have!"

Figure 4. Cartoon by George Booth from *The New Yorker*, 2 November 1999. © The New Yorker Collection 1999 George Booth from Cartoonbank.com. All Rights Reserved.

this painter's vases, who may have been the same person as the painter.

Because of Beazley's enormous influence, attribution to vase-painters has frequently received inordinate emphasis, often at the expense of looking at other aspects of Athenian pottery. An eminent scholar's boast about being able to attribute vases still wrapped in tissue paper is lampooned by a Booth cartoon from *The New Yorker* (fig. 4) showing a woman in a luxurious interior standing over a large gift still in its box, while exclaiming to the pleased-looking man nearby, "A red-figure volute krater attributed to a painter of the Syleus sequence! Maynard, you shouldn't have!"

A far more serious problem than obsession with attribution for the consideration of vase technique has been the use of black-and-white photography as a mainstay of vase studies in the twentieth century. Many scholars clearly relied on these photographs rather than on the vases themselves, and "high-quality" black-and-white photographs have remained the reproductions of choice for enduring reference works such as fascicules of the CVA. Thus, even as we enter an all-color, high-resolution digital age, whose short-

comings are not yet clear, the old black-and-white world is still with us. Scholars are accustomed to "reading" black-and-white photographs of vases to distinguish added-red from added-white color, added white from the loss of a once-painted-on color, reserved clay from coral-red gloss, coral-red gloss from added-red color, thickened black-gloss matter from added clay, an incised line from a painted line or a reserved border, and so on. Yet all of these basic features of vase decoration have been described incorrectly in regard to vases in this exhibition by scholars who clearly worked from photographs. Surprisingly, key discoveries throughout this catalogue have resulted simply from firsthand observation of vases assessed earlier through photographs, both black-and-white and color. In addition, whenever possible, vases in this exhibition have been examined with conservators at the participating museums, employing microscopes and other modern methods of investigation. Because vases that came to light in the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth have received special emphasis in the present assemblage, old direct descriptions have preserved important information. Thus early, particularly nineteenth-century, sources are featured among the ample selected references for individual catalogue entries.

Finally, examining several specific examples of the use of a special technique, in this case added clay, which was used in conjunction with red-figure and with white ground, can help to introduce the particular focus of this study. The magnificent black-bodied amphora in Basel attributed to the Berlin Painter (see figs. 1–2) spotlights on one side Herakles extending his cup and on the other the goddess Athena, extending a wine pitcher, facing left toward the hero. The two red figures placed on short ornamental base lines on either side of this amphora have the majesty and composure of statues. On this "standard" red-figured vase the special technique of raised dots of added clay originally covered with black gloss describe the lower border of Herakles' hair and also his beard. These sculptural dots emphasize the head of the hero by distinguishing it from the pot's black ground.

A fragmentary red-figured oinochoe from ca.

400 B.C. in Boston (see fig. 3) reflects the famous sculptural group of the Tyrannicides of the 470s B.C. that stood in the Athenian Agora. On the vase the tyrant slayers are shown on a statue base in poses of attack: the young Harmodios with his sword arm drawn back over his head and Aristogeiton with his drawn sword at hip level. Interestingly, this jug's unknown painter has enhanced his rendition of these bronze sculptures by adding extruded-clay relief details that may originally have been gilded to the swords and scabbards as well as clay-relief wreaths on their heads.

The interior of a cup in London from ca. 470–460 B.C., attributed to the Pistoxenos Painter (fig. 5), contains one of the finest Early Classical white-ground vase-paintings. Here Aphrodite gracefully rides sidesaddle on the back of a flying goose. This famous image, however, contains several heretofore unrecognized anomalies. The positions of Aphrodite's hands are curious. Her left hand has the thumb and forefinger pressed together as if holding something, and her empty extended right hand awkwardly supports a floating tendril. Furthermore, in an unusual departure for Classical art, the goddess of love wears neither an earring nor a bracelet, and her necklace is simply a series of crude black slashes. On contemporaneous white-ground vase-paintings, the inclusion of small details such as flowers, fruit, and jewelry in added clay that may have been gilded is a standard feature (e.g., cat. nos. 31, 32, 61). Such clay details had to be applied before a vase was fired. On this famous cup, remarkably, there



are no added-clay details at all; thus it is highly likely that here the step of applying added clay was accidentally omitted. Familiarity with special techniques suggests that the Pistoxenos Painter's Aphrodite must have been intended to hold an added-clay flower and a fruit, and to wear gilded added-clay jewelry, including a beaded necklace that would have covered those crude black guide-lines on her neck.

In conclusion, as with the above examples, it is hoped that taking a closer look at each of the special techniques featured in this exhibition and at the variety of vases decorated with them will contribute to a broader understanding of all Athenian vases. Moreover, in betraying the Athenians' innately colorful and opulent taste, these special techniques call attention to the strange and uniquely limited palettes of standard black- and red-figure.

Figure 5. Aphrodite riding on a goose. White-ground interior of a cup, attributed to the Pistoxenos Painter, ca. 470–460 B.C. Diam 24 cm. London, The British Museum GR 1864.10-7.77, *BM Cat Vases D 2*. (ARV² 862.22, 1580.bottom.3; *BAPD Vase 211350*.)

Technical Studies of Some Attic Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum

Jeffrey Maish, Marie Svoboda, Susan Lansing-Maish

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu

THE PRODUCTION of Attic pottery involved a broad spectrum of techniques and materials, many of which are incompletely understood. As an integral part of the exhibition *The Colors of Clay*, research was carried out on several vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum. Specific investigations focused on a number of ancient color-production techniques—the unusual gloss known as coral red, gilding of raised and flat ceramic decorations, and several distinctive colors found on select ancient vases.

A ceramic object's color may be the result of not only the clay from which it is made but also the minerals added at different stages of production (either naturally or by man), as well as firing conditions. Decoration was also done through the application of metal leaf, usually gold. Summarizing previous research efforts as well as presenting new information regarding colorful decorative additions to Attic vases, this study also provides direction for future work.

The black gloss found on Athenian vases, including those decorated in the basic black- and red-figure techniques, was produced during the firing process itself. Before firing, a muddy-looking levigated slip (a suspension of clay particles in water) was selectively painted onto the surface of the leather-hard pottery. The decorated pottery was then stacked in the kiln and subjected to a carefully controlled three-stage firing process. The initial oxidizing stage of firing, rich in air, allowed iron minerals in both the clay pots and the clay slip on their surfaces to form compounds yielding a reddish-orange coloration, primarily from the iron mineral hematite. The second, or reducing, stage of firing, depleted of air, and thus oxygen, through the introduction of organic materials such as damp leaves and wood,

converted the red orange compounds of both clay and slip to black (rich in the iron compound magnetite). Of critical importance at this stage was the fact that the black-colored gloss now produced from the slip had sintered and become impermeable, thereby losing its ability to be altered by reabsorption of oxygen. Finally, in the third and last stage of firing—another oxidizing stage—kiln conditions were altered by the reintroduction of air to produce an oxygen-rich environment that allowed still-porous surfaces to reabsorb oxygen and thus revert to red orange. The pots themselves thereby turned the red-orange clay color once again; however, the sintered gloss, now in an almost glassy state, remained black because oxygen could not penetrate to cause a color shift back to red orange. Thus the characteristic color contrasts of both black- and red-figure were created in the same three-stage firing process. Sometimes, however, potters went beyond these basic techniques to produce vases with unusual decorative features, such as coral red.

The Characterization of Coral Red

An unusual coral-red color was first developed in Athens ca. 530 B.C. in an attempt to create a red gloss that could be applied to large areas as an alternative to black gloss. In general, coral-red gloss is less glassy and more fragile than black gloss, and it appears to have been more carefully applied.¹ Past studies have considered several technical issues in the production of coral red, including firing temperature, firing cycle, number of firings, relative thickness of the red gloss layer prior to firing, and compositional variation in the gloss. An accidentally produced color similar to coral red is often seen on areas of misfired black

on many vases. Despite many insights and possibilities, the nature of coral red is incompletely understood and merits further investigation.

Early research on coral red suggested two methods of production. Marie Farnsworth conducted trials that proposed the addition of the mineral pigment red ochre to form the coral-red gloss.² This proposal was based on her analysis suggesting a higher iron content in coral red than in black gloss. More recent analysis by several investigators, however, suggests that there is no significant difference between the iron content of the red and the black gloss.³ Offering an alternate (and early) characterization of coral red, Adam Winter speculated that the difference between coral red and black gloss resulted from the controlled firing of two clay types: kaolinitic clay for coral red and illitic clay for black gloss.⁴ Although subsequent experimental trials using these clays were successful, there has been no supporting analytical evidence to suggest that the two clays were employed in the production of coral red. Early investigators also considered the creation of black and red gloss on the same vessel as resulting from two firings,⁵ although production with a single firing is quite possible.

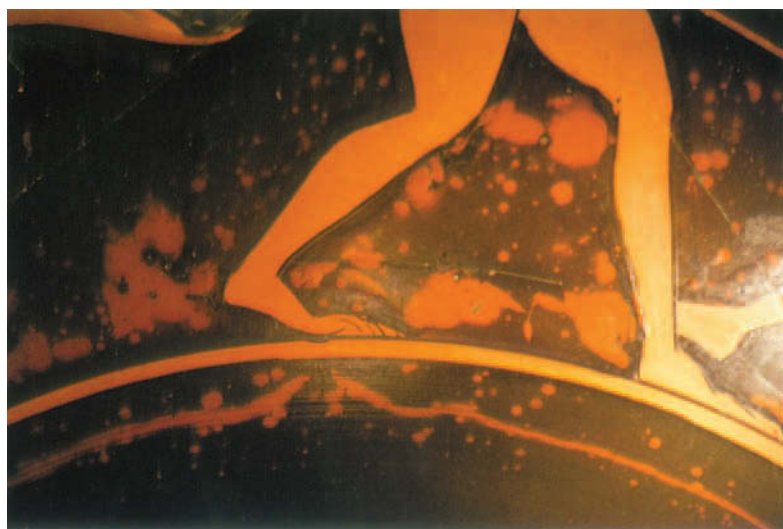
The production of black or red gloss appears to lie in the extent to which oxygen can permeate the surfaces of different, iron-based glosses particularly in the last oxidizing stage of firing.⁶ Different iron oxides may form at this stage, leading to some color variation in gloss layers. For example, one study showed that firing of the black gloss compositions selectively produced the iron oxides hercynite and maghemite, while the red gloss composition primarily produced hematite.⁷ The question, therefore, centers on how a potter deliberately induced this color change. Some studies suggest that the black gloss fractions ("clay fractions") may have been higher in aluminum, potassium, and iron oxides.⁸ These compounds may have acted as fluxes—materials that aided sintering of glosses.

Preliminary analytical and color-measurement studies were conducted in order better to describe the actual color and compositional characteristics of coral red. These studies focused on the analysis of a coral-red volute-krater from 480–470 B.C. (cat.

no. 13) as well as color measurements of two coral-red phialai of ca. 500–490 B.C. (cat. nos. 11–12) and a red-figured cup with a coral-red zone and areas of misfiring of ca. 510–500 B.C. (cat. no. 9).

The relationship of coral red to areas of misfired black (that have turned to red) is incompletely understood, and misfired areas of red are sometimes visually identified as coral red (fig. 1).⁹ Iron oxides may produce a wide range of colors, from umber to red to black, yet, art historically, the red color in misfired areas of black gloss has commonly been regarded as distinct from coral red. Coral red is a unique gloss that may appear in some examples as lacking luster or as cool in hue. A series of color measurements were taken to define more objectively the visual appearance of coral red, especially as compared to red misfires. Coral red proved to be slightly more reflective in the blue wavelength range compared to red areas of misfired black gloss, but the differences are almost imperceptible to the human eye.¹⁰ This suggests that the production technology of coral red and black gloss that has misfired (to red) may be related, the former being a controlled application of the latter. Considering that black and red gloss may be present on the same vase, the question of production becomes one not only of selective firing but also of how compositional variation subtly induced a change in one color and not in the other during firing. Variations could include flux type, grain size, and calcium content.¹¹

Figure 1. Exterior areas of black gloss misfired to form red. Attic red-figured cup (cat. no. 9) unattributed, ca. 510–500 B.C. Malibu, JPM 86.AE.280. Photographer: Jeffrey Maish.



	Na ₂ O	MgO	Al ₂ O ₃	SiO ₂	P ₂ O ₅	SO ₃	Cl	K ₂ O	CaO	TiO ₂	FeO
Red gloss	0.4	1.8	21.3	50.7	11	0.8	nd	3.2	1.6	0.9	17.7
Black gloss	1.2	2.1	27.5	42.4	0.6	nd	nd	7.4	1.2	1.1	16.6
Body	0.8	6.8	20.5	49.7	0.5	0.6	nd	4.2	6.3	0.9	9.3

Chemical composition (averages) of gloss and ceramic from an Attic cup with coral red and white ground (cat. no. 91). Higher potassium and aluminum levels in the black (as compared to the red) may have led to increased sintering of the black. Higher potassium levels in black have been noted in other examples of black gloss found in conjunction with coral red.

Note: Standardless (semi-quantitative) analyses were carried out on polished carbon-coated cross-sections in a JEOL JSM-6460LV scanning electron microscope with an Oxford INCAx-sight energy-dispersive X-ray spectrometer. Multiple areas of each cross-section were analyzed. Results are given as weight percentages of the oxides (except chlorine, which is given as a weight percent of the element). "nd" indicates that the oxide or element was not detected (limit of detection is about 0.2%).

Analysis of coral-red and black-gloss samples from objects in the Getty Museum supports past research indicating that the iron in coral red contains hematite, while the black gloss appears to contain magnetite. The examination of an area of misfired red and adjoining black on a fragment of an Attic coral-red phiale attributed to the Foundry Painter (JPGM 97.AE.22.21) suggests no change in elemental chemistry from red misfires of black gloss. In contrast, however, analysis of a coral-red fragment with adjoining areas of black gloss from the same phiale and from a kylix in Boston (cat. no. 91, see table) identified more potassium in the black than in the areas of coral red. Environmental scanning electron microscopy (ESEM) analysis

of a sample from the coral-red volute-krater (cat. no. 13) indicated potassium and iron enrichment as a diffuse layer above the ceramic surface away from the outer gloss surface.¹² As reported initially by W. D. Kingery, the formation of black may have been aided in part by the addition of a potassium-based flux (in order to lower the sintering temperature), while the unmodified red would retain a porous structure and hence be subject to re-oxidation during firing.¹³

Variations in firing conditions could have resulted in varying compositions and morphologies of iron-based compounds, both of which may have produced different colors. For example, firing temperature may affect the size and number of oxide particles. One mineralogical study indicates that hematite of approximately a micrometer in crystal size has a distinct violet tint that differs from the bright red color of submicrometer-size particles.¹⁴

As proposed by Tatyana Smekalova, the unique character and behavior of coral red may also lie in mineral and organic compounds added to clay suspensions during the preparation of the clay for vase production.¹⁵ Suspensions of clay in water are created to separate the finer particles of clay from the coarser particles; only the finer particles are used to make the gloss. A range of materials might have been added to the suspension to alter settling properties, including wine, vinegar, and salt. In the end, some of these additives may also, incidentally, have lowered the temperatures at which glassy states of glosses were reached during kiln firing.

Figure 2. Fragile coral-red interior surface leads to superficial damage, such as scratching. Less sintering results in poor bond and flaking from the fired clay substrate. Attic red-figured cup (cat. no. 9), unattributed, ca. 510–500 B.C. Malibu, JPGM 86.AE.280. Photographer: Jeffrey Maish.



Finally, coral red has been noted for its lack of stability and is often found in a deteriorated state (fig. 2). The reduced level of sintering in coral red appears to result in a less tightly adhering gloss layer compared to the black. Less sintering in the red may also result in crack propagation similar to that found in modern industrial thin films, eventually leading to the coral red detaching from the vase.¹⁶

Past research and initial investigations of coral red at the Getty Museum have identified some characteristic compounds, but further analysis is merited. The sintering point of black glosses, in contrast to the red, appears to have been lowered by the addition of fluxes based in potassium.¹⁷ Color variation within black and red glosses may be due to variations in oxidation states of iron. Observations on a misfired vessel in the Getty Museum indicate that, in a practical sense, misfirings, influenced to a degree by the thickness of black gloss and by localized kiln temperatures, can result in gloss color differences; visually, the red color in black-gloss misfires is virtually identical to coral red. Black- and red-gloss compositions are quite similar, with slight variations causing different sintering properties. Observation of coral-red vases suggests that the added colors, black gloss, red gloss, and both black- and red-figure could have been obtained in a single three-stage firing. Less sintering of coral-red gloss may also result in poor adhesion to the underlying clay, which, coupled with environmental burial factors, may have led to further deterioration.

J. M.

Decorative Gilding

Research on gilding has focused on the few extant examples of this method and the specific approaches taken by the ancient craftsmen, which are not completely understood. In part, this lack of knowledge results from the difficulty of validating the gilding found on archaeological artifacts and the problem of sampling when very little gold remains on the object. Evidence of gilding has often disappeared with time because of its inherently fragile nature, or because it has been tampered with in an effort to preserve it. If gild-



Figure 3. Photomicrograph of gilding on the aegis of Athena. Kerch-style pelike (cat. no. 104), attributed to the Painter of the Wedding Procession, active about 362 B.C. Malibu, JPGM 87.AE.10. Photographer: Marie Svoboda.

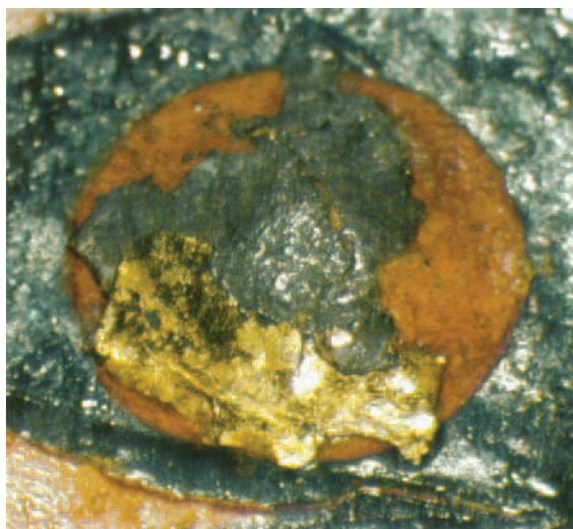
ing is preserved, then identifying an adhesive or binder used for attaching it is virtually impossible because of the biological decay of organic adhesives (fig. 3).¹⁸

Gilding—the technique of mechanically or chemically applying a thin layer of gold over a surface—dates to the third millennium B.C.¹⁹ The process of fabricating gold leaf has remained unchanged for over five thousand years. Gold leaf is most often found on areas of the ceramic without black gloss, typically on raised clay additions used to accentuate details of the decorative painting; one of the earliest preserved examples is found on the Boston covered cup of ca. 460 B.C. (cat. no. 31).²⁰ While predominantly a decorative feature, the complete gilding of small objects, such as funerary vessels, was probably intended to give the artifact the appearance of being solid gold.²¹ Technically we still know very little about the ancient gilding process on ceramics, such as how it was applied, whether it was applied before or after firing, and whether this technique was used only for funerary and ceremonial vessels. Scholars' opinions have been divided, and to date very little comparative data is available.²²

One of the larger questions regarding gilding on vases is whether or not the gold was applied before or after the vase was fired in the kiln. Based on discussions with Joseph V. Noble and Toby Schreiber, gilding experiments were conducted using ceramic tiles made from Attic clay, which were gilded pre- or postfiring. Several initial observations were made that argue against the application of gilding before firing. Additional experiments using different methods of attaching the gold leaf and modifying the firing environment will be explored to further clarify this issue.

The application of gold after firing is given

Figure 4. Silver under gold leaf. Red-figured dinoid volute-krater (cat. no. 36), attributed to the Meleager Painter, ca. 390 B.C. Malibu, JPGM 87.AE.93. Photographer: Marie Svoboda.



support by the high potential of failure during the firing process due to accidents in the kiln, a problem that is well documented.²³ It seems unlikely that an ancient craftsman would have decorated a vase with gold leaf before firing if damage was possible and the benefits questionable. Making a conclusive statement regarding how and when a vase would have been decorated with gold leaf is, however, still problematic, because variations of well-established workshop techniques and experimentation by the craftsmen can never be completely ruled out. In addition, analytical interpretations related to one object do not necessarily reflect methods used on all comparable objects.

Technical research on gilded vases in the Getty collection began with microscopic examination followed by material investigations. Six vases with gilding, four of which are in this exhibition (cat. nos. 34, 36, 39, 104) were examined, and gilding experiments were undertaken to clarify observations regarding the surface appearance, composition, thickness, method of attachment, and other notable features of the gold found on ancient vases.

Visual characteristics, composition, and thickness of gilding were compared and were all found to have very similar properties. Overall the surface of the gilding on five of the vases exhibited minor pitting, folds, creases, and lifted edges. Energy dispersive spectroscopy (EDS) analysis found the gold to be relatively pure (over 99% in composition) with the exception of that on a Panathenaic amphora attributed to the Marsyas Painter of 340/339 B.C. (cat. no. 39), which had

3–4% copper content. In general, the thickness of the gold leaf measured less than 0.5 micron. All traces of gilding—with the exception of that on a squat lekythos (JPGM 86.AE.259), whose gilding is suspected of being modern—exhibited burial accretions over the surface and were worn and abraded.

On four of the objects in this study the gilding was applied directly to reserved areas without the use of a ground layer. Examining the Getty's Kerch-style pelike (cat. no. 104) of ca. 360 B.C. under magnification revealed a shiny "halo," or outline, around some of the gilding, which may be traces of the ancient adhesive. Although the presence of an adhesive is rare, David Scott's study of this object did identify glucose and fructose under the gilding, which suggests the use of honey or a starchlike adhesive for attaching the leaf.²⁴ This evidence, corroborated by the identification of pigments applied after firing and possibly a ground layer, supports the assumption that the pelike was decorated after firing. No other artifacts examined in this study showed evidence of an ancient ground or adhesive under the gilding layer.²⁵ Such traces are, however, rare and can be masked by modern interventions. The dinoid volute-krater (cat. no. 36) of ca. 390 B.C., for example, appears to have a modern coating applied over the entire surface that prevents the accurate identification of any still extant ancient adhesive.

Gilding on the Panathenaic amphora (cat. no. 39) is visible over black gloss, reserve, and added-white areas; here, unlike red-figure and white-ground vases (cat. nos. 35, 31), added-clay decoration is not present. There is a thick, clear resin layer beneath the gold leaf, which has been identified as a modern adhesive;²⁶ it is unclear whether this is simply a modern consolidant or adhesive for recent gilding.

Analysis of the dinoid volute-krater mentioned earlier revealed unexpected results. A grayish material visible underneath the areas of gilding has been identified as silver chloride (fig. 4). This suggests that a layer of silver leaf may have been applied in conjunction with the gilding, which provides an interesting topic for future study.

M. S.

Applied Pigments and Their Grounds

Vase-painters achieved a variety of colors beyond red and black with the creative use of a limited range of mineral colorants. These added colors were usually inorganic, finely ground minerals and included, for example, red, brown, and yellow iron oxides. Differences in the hues of the added colors can be attributed to particle size, compositional variations in pigment combinations, the amount of mineral applied to the surface, and alteration of the color by burial environments and later restorative treatments.

Pigments are often regarded independently of their backgrounds but in many examples different effects were achieved simply by using the same pigment over different background colors such as white ground, reserved clay, or black-gloss surfaces. The method of applying a color over white may have differed technically from the application of the same color over black.

Several examples of red colorants found on vases in the Getty Museum were studied: a bright orange red over the clay surface of a mask-kantharos of ca. 480 B.C. (cat. no. 82); a number of related mask-kantharos fragments, with a dark, matt red on some interior surfaces; the purple-red color (over black gloss) seen on the Attic bilingual eye-cup of ca. 515–510 B.C. (see fig. 6 and cat. no. 4); and the Six's technique skyphos of ca. 510–500 B.C. (cat. no. 21).

The orange-red color that apparently covered part or all of the faces on the mask-kantharos and related mask fragments was identified as the pigment cinnabar (mercuric sulphide). It has been noted since antiquity that cinnabar is chemically sensitive and will darken even in sunlight to form black metacinnabarite.²⁷ The color would not have survived the high firing temperature of around 950° C, therefore the pigment must have been applied to the surface after firing. Cinnabar was a valuable and highly prized pigment,²⁸ so it is likely that these rare mask-kantharoi were intended for ceremonial use.

Many of these mask fragments have an unusual, thickly applied, matt, mica-containing, dark red color on their internal surfaces—areas that were never intended to be seen. A strong spectroscopic signal for iron would indicate that

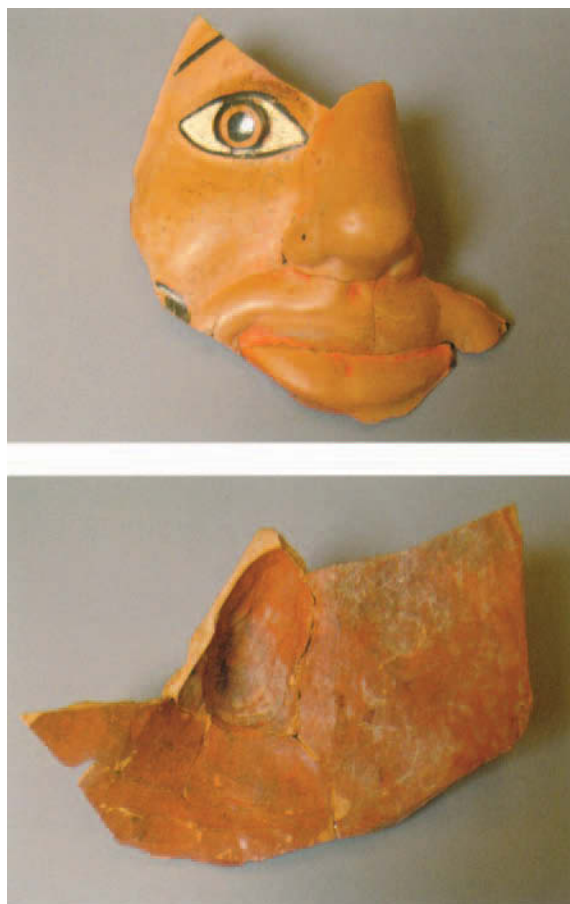


Figure 5. Photomacrograph of exterior showing traces of the pigment cinnabar; the interior surface is enriched by the application of hematite. Attic red-figured mask-kantharos fragment, attributed to Euphronios as potter and to Onesimos as painter, ca. 500–480 B.C. Malibu, JPM 81.AE.215.9. Photographer: Susan Lansing-Maish.

the pigment is hematite; under high magnification varying particle sizes give the surface its characteristic rough, or matt, appearance.²⁹ Clay is also present in this material, but only in sufficient quantity to make the material adhere to the clay body. It is unlikely that this material could have been intended as an aid for attaching the masks to the body of the larger vessels. It also could not have been intended to be black, for it remained porous during peak firing temperatures.³⁰ The purpose of this matt, dark red colorant is still unknown, but it has been suggested that it may have been used as a marker to indicate the proper placement of the masks on their respective vessels during assembly in the workshop (fig. 5).³¹

As mentioned previously, color variation may result from both chemical and morphological differences in mineral compounds. The thickly applied purplish red from the oculi on the exterior of the bilingual eye-cup (fig. 6) and the thinner purple red observed on the beard and drapery of the interior tondo figure of the same cup—both colors identified as hematite—are chemically the

Figure 6. Photomacrograph of added purple red color. Attic red-figured bilingual cup of type A (cat. no. 4), attributed to Oltos as painter, ca. 515 B.C. Malibu, JPM 86.AE.276. Photographer: Susan Lansing-Maish.



same as the redder color observed on other Attic vases. The principal difference here from the usual red appears to be that the hematite is present in a purer form and has a very fine and uniform particle size.³² The main component of the red color of the body of the reveler on the Six's technique skyphos (cat. no. 21) is hematite. Intriguingly, lead, silver chloride, copper, and zinc were also detected in the reds on the skyphos. It has been suggested that these compounds may have been added to give luster to the colors that were applied over the black gloss or to make them opaque. Further study is necessary in order to address fully the role of these elements.³³ The pitted and uneven surface of the reveler can possibly be attributed to either the thick application of the red color and/or alterations during or after burial.

Several applications of white were also investigated: white ground with trace amounts of an added scarlet red on a white lekythos of ca. 460–450 B.C. (JPM 73.AE.41), added-white ivy leaves over black gloss on a mask-kantharos fragment of ca. 470 B.C. (JPM 81.AE.195.A12), the specific white seen over terracotta in the eye on another mask-kantharos in the Getty Museum of ca. 480–470 B.C. (cat. no. 82), and the white present on the reveler's drinking cup on the Six's technique skyphos (cat. no. 21).

White grounds, in contrast to black or red ones, provided a more suitable surface for the

application of a range of colors. All of the whites studied thus far appear to be composed largely of naturally occurring illitic clay; they have a low iron content compared to the reds, which is consistent with their lower iron oxide contents.³⁴ Variations in whites found on Greek ceramics must have originated either at the clay sources, where different natural impurities were present, or through possible intentional additions by the potter. High-magnification scanning electron microscopy (ESEM) of white-ground samples shows a melting or sintering of the whites, indicating that these clay-based whites were fired onto the vase, whether the creamy ground color of a lekythos or the white of an eye on a mask-kantharos fragment. The presence of black gloss lines over the white on the eye of the smaller mask-kantharos fragment further supports the conclusion that the various shades of white were fired onto the vase.³⁵

Trace remains of some pigments from a white-ground lekythos of ca. 460–450 B.C. (JPM 73.AE.41) attributed to the Sabouroff Painter were studied. The Sabouroff Painter was known for drawing the lines of his figures in black or brown gloss³⁶ (identified as iron oxide, the brown gloss lines on this lekythos appear shiny and golden when held at an angle to a light source). After the figures were outlined, the vase was fired, and then clothing and other details were added in more fugitive colors. Traces of red, seen on the drapery over the arm of the male figure, were identified as containing a finely ground cinnabar because it appears almost scarlet, unlike the more orange-red cinnabar on the kantharos fragments. No other applied colors survive on this vase.

The white pigment from a decorative band of small, white ivy leaves on a mask-kantharos of ca. 480–470 B.C. (cat. no. 82) was found to contain calcium and phosphorus in sufficiently high concentrations to suggest the presence of bone white. It is possible that this pigment was mixed into the illitic clay as a brightener prior to application, although the effects of firing the pigment are not known.³⁷ However, burial contamination may also be a possible source for the high concentrations of both phosphorus and calcium.

Analysis of the white from the reveler's drink-

ing cup on the Six's technique skyphos (cat. no. 21) identified the presence of trace amounts of calcium and lead, although in insufficient quantities to suggest either a calcium- or lead-based white. The nature of the white on this vessel has not yet been determined, although one possibility is a more kaolin-rich clay.³⁸

The investigation thus far of white colorants on Attic vases is only in its preliminary stages. Many more samples will need to be studied before solid conclusions can be drawn.

S. L.-M.

Conclusions

Although ancient craftsmen relied on a relatively limited range of raw materials, they developed an impressive array of methods for achieving a range of colors on clay. The technique of allowing clay to settle in water separated smaller particles from the bulk clay, giving this part of the clay unique firing characteristics suitable for use as gloss layers. Color measurements in this study indicate that the color variation between coral red and the red of misfired black is almost imperceptible. This may provide a key to the initial development of coral red in antiquity: An error in firing may have led to techniques that could produce coral red in a controlled manner. The production of black gloss appears to have been promoted by the addition of a potassium flux that allowed the material to sinter during firing and thus become permanently black. Of interest in the current study is the reduced level of potassium in some examples of coral red, which, in possible combination with other fluxes, probably produced a less sintered and more porous material that was able to re-oxidize to coral red.

No firm conclusions can be drawn as yet regarding gilding on ancient Attic vases because of limited access to well-preserved and untreated or unaltered examples and a lack of comparative data. Initial examination of the Getty Museum objects shows great similarity between the surfaces of ancient gilded vessels and experimental tiles gilded after firing. This may suggest that Attic vases were commonly gilded after firing.

Current observations and analysis, such as the identification of silver under gold leaf, point to variations in ceramic gilding processes as well as to the creative artistry of Attic potters.

The study of the various hues of red colorants on Attic ceramics has shown that a range of effects could be achieved with a limited palette. The identification of several reds indicates that some of these colors—hematite reds and whites—were applied prior to kiln firing, while in other cases—cinnabar—the chemical instability of the pigment indicates it was applied after firing. It was also determined that particle size and the surface onto which pigment was applied played significant roles in how the same mineral colorant appears. The roles of lead, silver, zinc, and copper detected in some samples of Six's technique merit further investigation. The preliminary work on white pigments and grounds suggests that both creamy grounds on lekythoi and the “whiter” whites that distinguish figures on vases consisted primarily of fine illitic clays with possible mineral additions to achieve a variety of whites for different purposes, for example, bone-white pigment to lighten the color of a creamy slip.

Ancient potters carefully integrated different decorative methods into a pre- and postfiring production process, and they demonstrated a deep understanding of the physical properties of clay, gold, and pigments. This investigation highlights the development of a rich assortment of unique accessory methods. These techniques often did not involve the use of different materials but, rather, the manipulation of limited materials to achieve a special result. Technical challenges of Athenian pottery workshops were faced head on, and failures were exploited to achieve a range of decorative effects.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors would like to acknowledge Jerry Podany, Head of Antiquities Conservation at the J. Paul Getty Museum, for project support; Beth Cohen for guidance in research and writing; and the Scientific Department at the Getty Conservation Institute (GCI), specifically Giacomo Chiari, Eric Doehne, Karen Trentelman, and Stefan Simon (Rathgen Laboratory, Berlin) for analytical collaboration. Additional thanks are due to ceramic researcher Tobi Schreiber, to Alice Ormsbee and Julie Arslanoglu, and to Jim Druzik, Herant Khanjian, and David Carson of the GCI.

NOTES

- 1 Cohen 1970–1971. Beth Cohen, personal communication, 2005.
- 2 Farnsworth and Wisely 1958. Firing issues are further discussed in Farnsworth 1959 and 1960 and in Farnsworth and Simmons 1963.
- 3 Tite, Bimson, and Freestone 1982, 124. The authors suggest that differences between black and red gloss do not lie in iron content but in textural differences between clays.
- 4 A. Winter 1978, 44.
- 5 Richter 1924a, 150. Trials by Tite, Bimson, and Freestone 1982, 123, indicate that both red and black gloss could be achieved in a single firing.
- 6 It is commonly accepted that an oxidizing, reducing, oxidizing sequence was used in the firing of Attic vases, with corresponding temperatures of 800/950/900°C. This sequence is incompletely understood, and recent studies have raised questions about the firing sequence, including temperatures achieved. Tite, Bimson, and Freestone 1982, 124, indicate that greater grain boundary contact in black gloss would lead to a greater degree of vitrification. Kavoussanaki, Maniatis, and Malagardis propose that the raw material of red gloss is minutely coarser than that of black (<http://www.archaeometry.gr/oldv/symposium2003/pages/en/abstracts/papers/clays/clay16.htm>). Mössbauer studies by Longworth and Tite 1979 show total vitrification in the black gloss as compared to red but note no appreciable differences in oxide particle size between red core and red gloss. Additionally, Maniatis, Simonopoulos, and Kostikas 1981 have shown that calcium content of clays may affect particle size of magnetic iron oxides. This could conceivably result in color variation.
- 7 Smekalova 1995, 78.
- 8 Kingery 1991, 50. In his study of Amaroussi clays Kingery shows that clay settling can produce a fine fraction that is substantially higher in K₂O (potassium oxide, or, potash) content. Williams (in Freestone and Gaimster 1997, 89) likewise indicates that black had a higher potash content coupled with a finer grain size. Other compounds may also act as fluxes, e.g., soda, lime, and magnesia. Higher concentrations of iron in glosses than in the body may also act as a strong fluxing agent in reducing conditions.
- 9 Vanderpool 1946. Red misfiring of black gloss could also conceivably relate to gloss thickness or dilution. Microscopic examination of background gloss and drawing gloss on red-figured vases sometimes shows a color transition from black in thick areas of the line, to umber to red in the thin outer borders of the line. However, this would be difficult to attain in a controlled manner, such as for coral red. Miss Talcott, in Vanderpool 1946, comments that both thin applications (Agora examples) and thicker applications (British Museum E 470) produce red. The British Museum example can, however, be considered a misfire (Beth Cohen, personal communication, 2005).
- 10 Druzik, unpublished data, 2005.
- 11 As proposed by Kingery 1991; Tite, Bimson, and Freestone 1982; and Maniatis, Simonopoulos, and Kostikas 1981.
- 12 Doehne, Chiari, and Simon, unpublished data, 2004. Studies of objects from the Getty Museum were carried out by scientists at the Getty Conservation Institute using environmental scanning electron microscopy (ESEM), microprobe, X-ray fluorescence (XRF), raman spectroscopy, X-ray diffraction, and colorimetry.
- 13 Kingery 1991, 52.
- 14 Hradil et al. 2002, 230.
- 15 Smekalova 1995, 80.
- 16 Suo 2001, 4.
- 17 Kingery 1991, 52.
- 18 Oddy 1981, 76.
- 19 Ibid., 75.
- 20 Beth Cohen, personal communication, 2004.
- 21 Williams 2003, 232.
- 22 For varying opinions, see Richter 1958, 31; Noble 1988, 137; for comparative research, see Scott and Yaniguchi 2002; Williams 2001; and Meeks 2001.
- 23 Sparkes 1991b, 20–21, 25; Richter 1924a, 44–45; Schreiber 1999, 242.
- 24 Scott and Yaniguchi 2002, 242.
- 25 An example of gilding over a ground layer has been found on the Boston covered cup (cat. no. 31), and other examples are cited in Williams 2001, 228.
- 26 Herant Khanjian, analytical report, 2004.
- 27 Wehgartner 2002, 94.
- 28 See Pliny *Natural History* 33.7.111–18.
- 29 Twilley, unpublished preliminary analytical report, 1986, 1–4; Chiari, unpublished preliminary analytical reports, 2005.
- 30 Twilley, unpublished preliminary analytical report, 1986, 4.
- 31 Lansing-Maish, personal observation, 2004.
- 32 Doehne, unpublished preliminary analytical report, 2005.
- 33 Trentelman and Doehne, unpublished preliminary analytical report, 17 May 2005.
- 34 Trentelman, personal communication, 2005.
- 35 Doehne, unpublished preliminary analytical report, 2004.
- 36 Wehgartner 2002, 93.
- 37 Doehne, unpublished preliminary analytical report, 2004.
- 38 Trentelman and Doehne, unpublished preliminary analytical report, 17 May 2005.

Bilingual Vases





Bilingual Vases and Vase-Painters

Beth Cohen

BILINGUAL VASES ARE NOT VASES DECORATED IN special techniques. Their decoration, rather, is divided between the two standard techniques of vase-painting:

traditional black-figure and new red-figure.¹ Beazley's eloquent term—*bilingual*—evokes the equality of the two techniques as they are employed on these vases.² Produced only during the last quarter of the sixth century B.C., bilinguals comprise a short-lived phenomenon: They went out of fashion as red-figure itself became more and more sophisticated and as white ground

became the second technique of choice. During the fifth century, white ground and red-figure sometimes share the decoration of a vase (e.g., cat. no. 31; chap. 4, fig. 5), but the resulting product is not called "bilingual."³

The rare bilinguals are prime examples of the experimentation in the Athenian pottery industry during the Late Archaic period, when potters, painters, and patrons aggressively sought change and, most specifically, change in technique. An

acquaintance with the red-figure and black-figure basic techniques is necessary in order to appreciate other techniques defined here as "special"; in this catalogue, the vase-painting methodology employed for these basic techniques is described in chapter 5, in the context of outline drawing. The several bilingual vases included in this exhibition not only display both techniques but also invite the viewer to compare and contrast them.

Bilingual Amphorae of Type A

The bilingual vases in this exhibition exemplify the two major vase shapes that were decorated in this dual-technique fashion: amphorae and cups. Important examples of both shapes have been associated with the workshop of the potter Andokides (cat. nos. 1–2; figs. 1–2); two bear his signature (cat. no. 1; see fig. 3).⁴ In general, bilingual cups become popular symposium ware. They were made also by other potters, including Hischylos (cat. no. 5) and Nikosthenes,⁵ and decorated by painters not employed by Andokides, including Oltos (cat. no. 4),⁶ Skythes (cat. no. 8), and many engaging minor masters, such as Pheidippos and the Bowdoin-Eye and Scheurleer Painters.⁷ Large bilingual amphorae of type A, however, appear to have been special products of Andokides' workshop, though, save for one known example (cat. no. 1), the potter did not sign them. On a bilingual amphora of type A, the panel on side A is executed in the red-figure technique and the panel on side B in black-figure.⁸ One must walk around the big pot or turn it in order to appreciate the fact that two different techniques have been employed in the vase's decoration. The two Andocidean bilingual amphorae in this exhibition are discussed in detail in the catalogue entries (cat. nos. 1–2).

Except for the large amphora in Madrid (cat. no. 1), both sides of which have been indisputably attributed to the experimental bilingual vase-painter Psiax, the other Andocidean bilinguals have been the focus of an attribution controversy. Andokides employed a very early red-figure vase-painter in his shop, whose name is not known and who, therefore, has been nicknamed after the potter, the Andokides Painter. The Andokides Painter, who may well have been the inventor of the red-figure technique, clearly painted the red-figure halves of this important series of bilingual amphorae (e.g., cat. no. 2; see fig. 1).⁹ Compared to the unity of Psiax's bilingual amphora in Madrid or his other bilingual in Munich (see cat. no. 1 with REFERENCES), the black-figure halves of the bilinguals with red-figure halves attributed to the Andokides Painter are not clearly by the hand of the red-figure vase-painter. Beazley named the black-figure master the Lysippides Painter, after



Figure 1. Athena and Herakles. Red-figure panel, attributed to the Andokides Painter, of a bilingual amphora, ca. 520–515 B.C. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2301.

a *kalos* name, and an entire black-figure oeuvre may be associated with him.¹⁰ The controversy has revolved around the fact that Beazley changed his mind more than once about whether one hand (the Andokides Painter alone) or two (the Andokides Painter and the Lysippides Painter) decorated the Andocidean bilinguals. Beazley's final decision, which he published in 1963, was in favor of collaboration by two vase-painters, a separate red-figure Andokides Painter and a separate black-figure Lysippides Painter (see cat. no. 2).¹¹

In 1978, I investigated this issue of one hand or two in *Attic Bilingual Vases and Their Painters*, which contained separate, comprehensive monographic studies of both the Lysippides Painter and

Figure 2. Hermes, Athena, and Herakles. Black-figure panel, attributed to the Lysippides Painter, of a bilingual amphora, ca. 520–515 B.C. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2301.



the Andokides Painter.¹² On the basis of my own detailed analysis, I came to the conclusion that Beazley's final decision was correct: The bilingual amphorae are indeed painted by two different hands. The Andokides Painter, an innovative, entirely red-figure vase-painter, who carefully observes the world around him, painted the red-figure halves. The Lysippides Painter, a fairly conventional, entirely black-figure vase-painter, who is a major follower of Exekias, painted the black-figure halves. As Dyfri Williams has pointed out, collaboration of two or more painters on the same vase was not unusual in Attic pottery workshops (cf. cat. no. 6).¹³

Nonetheless, vase scholars, relishing a rare opportunity to differ with Beazley, continued to opt for a bilingual Andokides Painter.¹⁴ Beazley never explained the reason for his final decision. It is interesting that in 1963 a "new" red-figure amphora signed by Andokides and attributed to the Andokides Painter entered the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.¹⁵ This amphora, painted in somewhat awkward, very early red-figure, suggests that the Andokides Painter was not a pupil of Exekias. It further suggests that he did not begin decorating vases as a black-figure vase-painter and, thus, might never have painted in black-figure.¹⁶

Not having had an opportunity to examine new works attributed to the Andokides Painter that have emerged, I cannot personally add further arguments at the present time in support of my earlier conclusion in favor of two hands on the bilinguals. I would like to include here, however, passages from relatively recent publications by other scholars that support my arguments for separate Andokides and Lysippides Painters.

In her 1997 publication of the Attic red-figured and white-ground pottery from the Athenian Agora, Mary B. Moore writes, in the context of a longer discussion of differences between these two painters:

The most persuasive and detailed arguments for distinguishing the Andokides Painter from the Lysippides Painter and demonstrating their collaboration are those of Cohen. Her case for two painters is a very strong one; barring new discov-

eries or perceptions that would tip the scale in favor of a single artist, the controversy may now probably be put to rest. Generally, the red-figured side of the bilingual amphora is the more accomplished and the more inventive, even when the scene is the same, as it is on the one in Munich and the two in Boston [cat. no. 2; see figs. 1–2]. The Andokides Painter simplifies the scene by making the figures larger and by including less detail. By comparison, the pictures by the Lysippides Painter seem derivative.¹⁷

Elizabeth Simpson has recently observed an interesting difference in the construction of the couches on the red- and black-figure halves of the bilingual amphora in Munich, each of which depicts Athena standing before a reclining Herakles banqueting (see figs. 1–2). Her technical discussion of Greek carpentry is illuminating:

The Andokides Painter's kline [see fig. 1] was clearly constructed by means of mortise-and-tenon joinery. Beyond the ends of the long rail, on the faces of the legs, are indications of through tenons that served to join the legs to the short rails at the head and foot of the couch. Painted rectangles indicate the ends of the tenons extending through open mortises; these rectangles are filled in with a series of vertical strokes. This seemingly insignificant detail is nonetheless remarkable, as it shows that the Andokides Painter had an unusual knowledge of wood joinery. The vertical strokes indicate the end grain of the wood at the ends of the tenons: this must have been all but invisible, yet the painter knew of its existence and chose to represent it. This is an accurate depiction of the grain at the end of such a tenon: the grain of the wood would have run lengthwise—the direction of greatest strength—along all four rails of the couch. This is standard procedure, which would have insured the strength of the rails and kept the tenons at the rails' ends from breaking off. This detail also indicates the placement of the short rails with respect to the long rails on the Andokides Painter's couch; all four rails of the frame were placed at the same height, as would have been appropriate. The mattress follows the upper contour of the

kline, rising up and over the high rail at the head of the couch. This supports a fine, plump pillow, against which Herakles rests as he reclines in comfort on the kline.

The kline on the black-figured side of the Munich amphora is the same type [see fig. 2], with the details of the decoration and joinery indicated by incision and added color. . . .

Solid white lines indicate the ends of the through tenons that joined the short rails at the head and foot of the couch to the legs; these are found in the same position on the legs as on the red-figured couch on the other side of the amphora. The long rail of the black-figured couch, however, is not drawn at the level of the tenons but substantially above them. This would place the long side rails of the couch at a higher level than the short end rails, an unlikely possibility as can be seen from stone examples. More probably, the artist did not understand the structural implications of the placement of the white lines he used to indicate the ends of the tenons. Nor did he understand the implications of his placement of the long rail, which does not join the legs at the correct point, but instead runs into the abacus block at the foot and into the side of the volute of the Aeolic capital. Although doing his best with form and detail, the black-figure artist did not understand the rudiments of kline construction, let alone such refinements as produced by the grain of the wood. Nor is he fully at ease with the upholstery: although the couch is furnished with a mattress and pillow, Herakles forgoes their comforts, resting his elbow instead on the abacus of the capital. Not only does the black-figure artist not know how a Greek kline was made—his hero doesn't know how best to use one.¹⁸

Aside from the issue of attribution, certain misconceptions about the bilingual amphorae have tended to be perpetuated in the published literature, for scholars seem often to employ these intriguing vases in elaborate arguments without bothering to learn much about them. A couple of the most common misconceptions appear in Richard Neer's recent, otherwise fine and thought-provoking assessment of bilinguals. His text is

illustrated with both sides of the Boston Herakles bilingual (cat. no. 2).

Painters seem to have been casting about for new ways to showcase their skills: and it was in this situation that red-figure first emerged, as one novelty among many. It is significant, however, that painters did not simply abandon black-figure in favor of an innately "superior" way of painting. On the contrary, the new technique makes its earliest appearance on "bilingual" vases, half in red-figure and half in black. On these early vases, red-figure does not compete with black-figure: it complements it. Painters employ new and old in tandem, apparently operating on the logic that two techniques are better than one. Indeed, an emphasis on technique itself—on virtuosity and craft—is characteristic of bilingual pots. Many of these vases actually show the identical scene in black- and red-figure. Between obverse and reverse, everything is repeated except technique, with the result that technique alone stands out. Neither side of a bilingual is necessarily superior to the other; rather, the point seems to be that to have both versions, positive and negative, is desirable. There is a virtual deadlock in such instances, as though technical extravagance—mere visual richness—were an end in itself.¹⁹

The first common misconception is the assumption that the earliest appearance of red-figure is on bilingual amphorae. In fact, the bilingual amphorae do not count among the earliest works of the Andokides Painter, who must first have painted a number of entirely red-figured amphorae.²⁰ Indeed, the Boston bilingual (cat. no. 2) that illustrates Neer's passage contains what is apparently the Andokides Painter's latest preserved work. It is contemporary with the Pioneer Group in the mid- to later teens of the sixth century rather than with the earliest red-figure.²¹

The second important misconception is the assumption that many bilingual amphorae show both the same subject and the same composition on both sides. In fact, only three bilinguals show the same subject on each side (cat. no. 2; see figs. 1–2),²² and only one of them, the Boston Herakles bilingual (cat. no. 2), repeats exactly the same

composition on each side.²³ It is noteworthy that exact repetition was not exploited more often on the preserved bilingual amphorae,²⁴ which were surely conceived as display pieces. And it is surprising that exact repetition appears on the last vase rather than the first in this amazing series.

Bilingual Cups

The eye-cup scheme appears to have been invented by Exekias for the exterior of his special cup in Munich, with Dionysos sailing on a coral-red sea on the interior (see chap. 2, fig. 1).²⁵ In a watered-down version, this scheme with large eyes became a popular format for black-figured cups (cf. cat. no. 74), and some of these black-figured eye-cups appear to have been produced in Andokides' workshop, which also turned the eye-cup into a bilingual vase. On some small cups, the Andokides Painter translated the eye-cup exterior directly from a common black-figure scheme into the new technique: Twisted grapevines grow up at the handles, and a single red figure is placed between the eyes. A semi-outline gorgoneion can still inhabit the interior tondo.²⁶

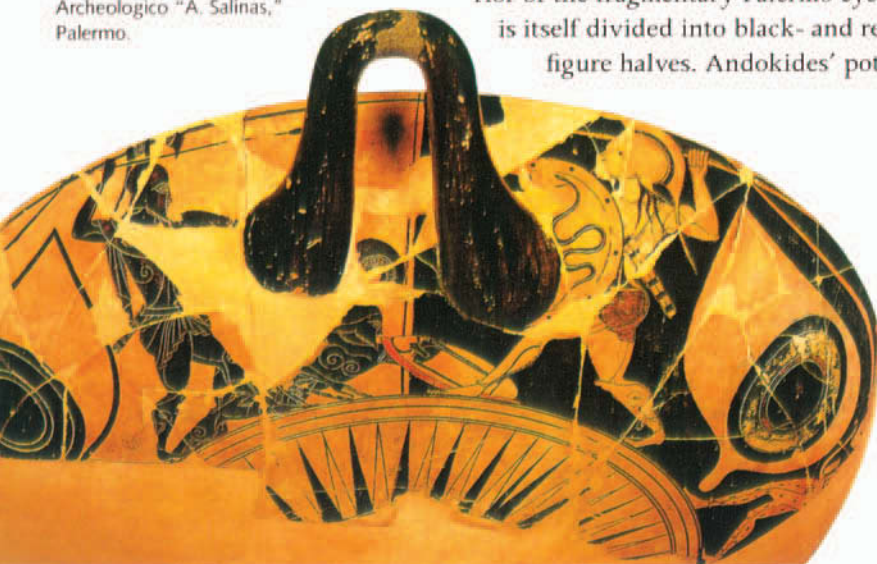
The bilingual eye-cup in Palermo, which is attributed to the Andokides and Lysippides Painters, is unique (fig. 3).²⁷ This is the only bilingual vase that approaches or even surpasses the clever interpretation of the genre found on the Boston Herakles amphora (cat. no. 2). Unusually, the exterior of the fragmentary Palermo eye-cup is itself divided into black- and red-figure halves. Andokides' potter-

signature appears on the cup's black-figure side, and the alternating outline and black rays on the bottom of the bowl are a direct translation from black-figured cups (cf. cat. no. 74). Traces of what may have been a gorgoneion appear on the tondo. On the cup's exterior, when viewed as a whole from the underside, large red-figure warriors confront twice their number on the black-figure half. Two Scythian archers flanking a tree fill the space between the outline eyes on the black-figure half, while a single trumpeting archer occupies the space between the silhouette eyes on the black ground of the red-figure half. As on Exekias's Munich eye-cup, warriors fight at the handles. At the center of the spaces between the handle-roots, the reserved ground of the black-figure side and the black ground of the red-figure side are neatly divided from each other. In the Palermo cup's fight between black- and red-figure warriors at each handle, one of the black-figure warriors has fallen so that his extended shield overlaps the red-figure side. Remarkably, these shields, which transgress the boundary between techniques, are reserved; they have red rims and are emblazoned with devices either in black silhouette or in black-figure. "It is not merely that red men and black men fight—on Palermo V 650 (2051) all is raised to the level of an artistic conceit—the old technique when it falls is transformed into the new."²⁸ In addition, the tiny segment of each fallen black-figure warrior's reserved shield on the cup's black-figure half is drawn in outline on the reserved ground (cf. cat. no. 47). Of all bilingual vases, the Palermo cup is the one where the use of technique itself is special.

A single fragment of a cup, dating ca. 520 B.C., from the excavations of the Greek sanctuary at Gravisca documents a new format for a bilingual cup that was previously known from black-figure (fig. 4).²⁹ Red-figured on the exterior, the fragment preserves a fallen archer and a greaved leg—perhaps from an Amazonomachy. The interior of this cup fragment preserves a black-figured volute-krater from a symposium frieze that once decorated the zone around its lost cup's tondo (cf. cat. fig. 74.3). This precious bilingual cup fragment is an oddity from the time of early red-figure.³⁰

Most bilingual cups are standard eye-cups,

Figure 3. Detail of handle zone of a bilingual eye-cup, with the signature of Andokides as potter, ca. 520 B.C. Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale "Antonino Salinas" V 650 (2051). From Sabatini Moscati and Carmela Angela Di Stefano, *Palermo: Museo Archeologico* (Palermo, 1991), fig. 121. Reproduced by permission of the Museo Archeologico "A. Salinas," Palermo.



with large eyes on the red-figured exterior and a single black figure on the tondo of the interior. Normally red-figure palmettes appear at the handles, and a single red figure occupies the space between the large eyes on each side.³¹ Their limited decorative format must have been appealing to vase-painters trying their hand at the new technique. There are several interesting models of bilingual eye-cups in this exhibition: a rare example with naked female figures—hetairai—between the eyes (cat. no. 3), a late cup by the important bilingual master Oltos with a palmette that has sprouted an extra tendril (cat. fig. 4.3), and a masterpiece with the potter-signature of Hischylos and the painter-signature of Epiktetos (cat. no. 5). Unusually, Epiktetos's superb black-figure tondo depicts an elite young cavalryman on a prancing horse. On all of these bilingual eye-cups, the red- and the black-figure parts have both been executed by the same hand.

The last bilingual cups, which date from the final decade of the sixth century, no longer have eyes, and they reverse the standard disposition of techniques that characterized bilingual eye-cups. On the name vase of the Painter of London E 2 (cat. no. 6), red-figure youths and pointed amphorae, which were used for transporting wine, are shown on both the interior tondo and red-figured exterior. Significantly, instead of black-figure appearing on the tondo, the black zone around the tondo has been transformed into a black-figure frieze of sailing ships and leaping dolphins executed by a different vase-painter, who appears to have specialized in such traditional friezes.³²

The unusual cups attributed to Skythes,³³ distinguished by the use of brilliant coral-red gloss inside and out, are the finest late bilinguals. On his cup in Basel (cat. no. 8) black-figure owls confront the viewer on the coral-red exterior, and a young red-figure komast drags an empty wineskin behind him on the tondo, which is inscribed *Epilykos kalos*. The youth on the tondo of Skythes' coral-red bilingual in the Louvre balances a pointed amphora (Cohen, chap. 2, fig. 2).³⁴ These late bilinguals, like many of their forebears, emphasize the time-honored associations of the drinking cup with wine and the wine-dark sea (see chap. 2, fig. 1).

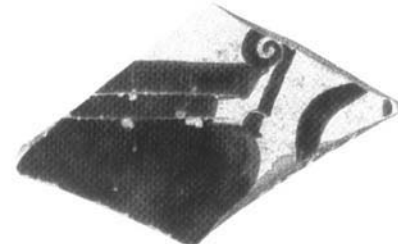
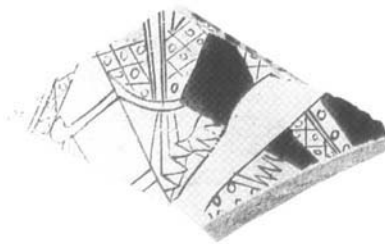


Figure 4. Fragment of a bilingual cup with red-figure on the exterior and black-figure on the interior. From Gravisca, inv. 76/3739, ca. 520 B.C. L 4.65 cm. From Huber 1999, 27 top.

Bilingual Vase-Painters

After bilingual vases passed from fashion and when black-figure itself was on the wane, certain fine red-figure vase-painters continued to paint in the old technique in order to fulfill the requirements of tradition and ritual. The best-known and longest-lived use of black-figure in red-figure times was for the decoration of the famous Panathenaic amphorae. Filled with olive oil, these monumental vases were awarded as prizes at the games in honor of the goddess Athena. These prize amphorae are discussed by Kenneth Lapatin in the context of the Getty Museum's magnificent Panathenaic from the fourth century B.C. attributed to the Marsyas Painter (cat. no. 39). As Lapatin indicates, by the fourth century, black-figure was not merely the "old technique": Indeed, it had now become a special technique, whose survival was carefully cultivated.

In the early fifth century, the Kleophrades Painter had been awarded commissions for black-figured Panathenaic amphorae (fig. 5).³⁵ He was one of the last great bilingual vase-painters with

Figure 5. Athena. Panel on side A of a Panathenaic amphora, attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, ca. 490–480 B.C. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907, 07.286.79. Photograph, all rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



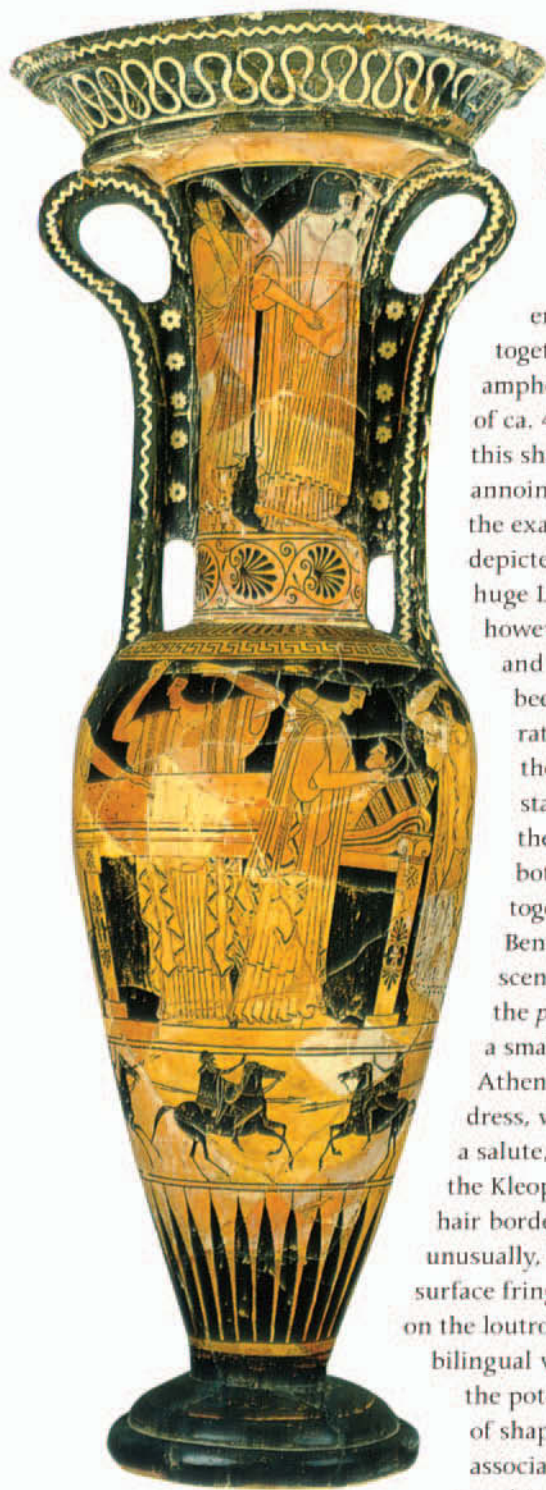


Figure 6. Attic red- and black-figured loutrophoros-amphora, attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, ca. 480 B.C. H 81 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 453. Photograph: RMN/Art Resource, NY. Photographer: Hervé Lewandowski.

and lip.³⁹

NOTES

- 1 Cohen 1978 provides a basic survey of these vases.
- 2 Beazley 1989a, 9.
- 3 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 63.11.6, a very early red-figured amphora of type A, has a small black-

an independent black-figured oeuvre, consisting of neck-amphorae, in addition to his red-figured vases.³⁶ His masterpiece, along the lines of employing the two techniques together, is the loutrophoros-amphora from Attika in the Louvre of ca. 480 B.C. (fig. 6).³⁷ Vessels of this shape normally held water for anointing the deceased's body, like the example carried by the woman depicted on this vase's neck. The huge Louvre loutrophoros-amphora, however, which is 81 cm high and has no bottom, would have been employed for commemorative libations poured onto the grave.³⁸ Here, unlike most standard "true" bilinguals from the sixth century, the work in both techniques can be viewed together at a single glance. Beneath the poignant red-figure scene of mourning women at the *prothesis* for a dead youth, a smaller black-figured frieze of Athenian cavalymen in Thracian dress, with their arms extended in a salute, encircles the vessel. Here the Kleophrades Painter incises the hair borders of his red figures and, unusually, also slashes into the vase's surface fringes in the hair of the women on the loutrophoros-amphora's neck. This bilingual vase-painter understands the potent traditional associations of shape and technique, and such associations are further reinforced on this funerary vase by white-

figure-on-white-ground frieze on its lip: See below, notes 14–15. This combination of techniques was not exploited on the Late Archaic full-fledged bilingual vases.

- 4 Most of Andokides' potter-signatures belong to a special type incised on an amphora's foot that is represented by the two examples in this exhibition: on Madrid 11.008 (cat. no. 1) and on the "white-figured" amphora Louvre F 203 (cat. no. 51); for these incised signatures, also found on three red-figured amphorae attributed to the Andokides Painter, see Cohen 1991, 59–60, figs. 16–20. See Bothmer 1965–1966, for occurrences of the name Andokides, including the preserved marble base from the joint dedication made with the potter Mnesiades on the Athenian Akropolis, 202, 206, fig. 7. See Williams 1999, 69, 70, fig. 52b, for the fragment of a black-figured hydria with the potter-signature of Mnesiades.
- 5 For Nikosthenes, see esp. the bilingual eye-cup Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner-Museum 468, with the painter-signature of Epiktetos written in red on side A and the potter-signature of Nikosthenes in red on side B: ARV² 45.105, 71.8; BAdd² 160; BAPD Vase 200312; Cohen 1978, 407, no. B 86. Cf. Nikosthenes' red potter-signature on Louvre F 114 (cat. no. 15) in Six's technique and the red painter-signature of Epiktetos on London E 3 (cat. no. 6). For the possible origin of the red inscriptions employed in early red-figure in Nikosthenes' workshop, see Cohen 1978, 408–409.
- 6 Denoyelle and Bothmer, 2001, have recently speculated about Olto's beginnings as a bilingual vase-painter.
- 7 Pheidippos, who signed an entirely red-figured eye-cup along with the potter Hischylos, London, British Museum E 6 (ARV² 49.168, 166.11; BAdd² 161, 182; BAPD Vase 200378; Cohen 1978, 455, no. C 57), is a rare minor painter of bilingual eye-cups whose real name is known. The Bowdoin-Eye Painter is named after a red-figured eye-cup in Brunswick, Maine, Bowdoin College: ARV² 48.160, 167.5; BAdd² 161, 183; BAPD Vase 200369. The Scheurleer Painter is named after the bilingual eye-cup formerly in the Scheurleer collection, now Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 997: ARV² 45.112, 168.1; BAdd² 160; BAPD Vase 200319; see discussion in cat. no. 3.
- 8 The Nicosthenic neck-amphora, an Etruscanizing shape invented by the potter Nikosthenes, which normally was black-figured, has also been preserved in several technically experimental examples: Louvre F 114 (cat. no. 15) is in Six's technique; Vienna 3722 and Villa Giulia 50560 are "bilingual," i.e., red-figure on the body and black-figure on the neck, handles, and topside of the mouth, see ARV² 11.3–4, 1618; Para 321; BAdd² 151; BAPD Vases 200050 and 20051; Cohen 1978, 506–508, nos. B 127–B 128. For Olto's examples in red-figure, see cat. no. 4, REFERENCES.
- 9 See ARV² 4.7–12, 1617; Para 320–21; BAdd² 149–50; BAPD Vases 200007–12; Bothmer 1965–1966; Cohen 1978, 105–93.
- 10 See Beazley 1989a, 9, 17–19; the *kalos* inscription is on side B of the black-figured neck-amphora London GR 1851.8–6.15, BM Cat Vases B 211: ABV 256.14, 670; Para 113; BAdd² 66; BAPD Vase 302224; Cohen 1978, 20, no. A 9. For the Lysippides Painter, see ABV 254–57; ARV² 2, 37, 1617, 1700; Para 109, 110, 113–14; BAdd² 65–67; BAPD s.v. Lysippides P; Cohen 1978, 9–104.
- 11 Published both in CB III, 1, and in ARV² 2: as Beazley states, he had also opted for two hands in 1956 in ABV 254.
- 12 Cohen 1978, 1–193.
- 13 Williams 1995, 148–49. Cf. Boardman's recent discussion, 2001, 82, of the Andokides Painter: "He decorated some bilinguals, on which the black-figure sides are taken to be the work of another, the Lysippides Painter. This is prob-

- ably true, though I imagine he was certainly capable of painting black-figure and surely did, sometimes."
- 14 Marwitz's classic article, "Zur Einheit des Andokidesmalers" had actually already appeared in 1963. See Simpson 2002, 304–308, for a recent review of later opinions of scholars in favor of a bilingual Andokides Painter. Boardman's influential opinions in favor of a single hand deserve specific citation here: Boardman 1974, 103, 105; and idem 1975, 15–17.
 - 15 New York 63.11.6: *ARV*² 1617.2 bis; *Para* 320; *BAdd*² 149; *BAPD* Vase 275000; Bothmer 1965–1966.
 - 16 Cohen 1978, 106, no. D 1, 107–13, 119–31. The red-figured amphora in New York of ca. 525 B.C. is further distinguished by the black-figure-on-white-ground frieze on its lip with a depiction of Herakles and the Nemean Lion on each side. In Cohen 1978, 45–53, no. D 1, and 199–201, pls. 22.1–3 and 23.1–5, I attributed each side of this amphora's lip to the hand of a different vase-painter (A, the Lysippides Painter, and B, Psiax); whether or not one accepts the separation of the Lysippides Painter from the Andokides Painter, this amphora with red-figure panels unquestionably attributed to the Andokides Painter provides important early evidence of collaboration between vase-painters in Andokides' workshop.
 - 17 Moore 1997, 83.
 - 18 Simpson 2002, 313–15. For Munich 2301, see below, note 21.
 - 19 Neer 2002, 32–33. For this interpretation of bilinguals, cf. Hurwit 1985.
 - 20 Bothmer 1965–1966, esp. 212, chronology; Cohen 1978, esp. 118, chronology; Pécasse 1990, 25, chronology.
 - 21 Bothmer 1965–1966, 212; Cohen 1978, 118. See Denoyelle 1992a, who discusses the Andokides Painter in the context of contemporaneity with Euphronios; however, cf. cat. no. 27.
 - 22 Bilinguals with the same subject on each side, attributed to the Andokides and Lysippides Painters: Achilles and Ajax playing: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8037, *ARV*² 4.7, 1617; *Para* 320; *BAdd*² 149; *BAPD* Vase 200007. Herakles reclining as a symposiast and Athena: Munich, Antikensammlungen 2301, *ARV*² 4.9; *Para* 320; *BAdd*² 149–50; *BAPD* Vase 200009; see figs. 1–2. Herakles driving a bull to sacrifice: Boston 99.539 (cat. no. 2).
On the cup Palermo V 650 (2051) (see fig. 3) the black- and red-figure sides share a subject and a composition, see below, at notes 27–28.
 - 23 On the phenomenon of repetition, see Steiner 1997.
 - 24 Bilingual amphorae of type A with different subjects on each side:
Attributed to the Andokides and Lysippides Painters: A, red-figure, Herakles and the Nemean Lion; B, black-figure, Achilles and Ajax playing: London, British Museum B 193, *ARV*² 4.8, 1617; *ABV* 254.3; *Para* 113, 320; *BAdd*² 149; *BAPD* Vase 200008. A, red-figure, Dionysos with maenads and satyrs; B, black-figure, Herakles and the Nemean Lion: Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 151, *ARV*² 4.10, 1617; *ABV* 255.5; *Para* 113, 320; *BAdd*² 150; *BAPD* Vase 200010. A, red-figure, Herakles and Cerberus; B, black-figure, Dionysos with a maenad and satyrs: Paris, Musée du Louvre F 204, *ARV*² 4.11, 1617; *ABV* 254.1; *Para* 113, 321; *BAdd*² 150; *BAPD* Vase 200011.
Attributed to Psiax: A, red-figure, Apollo playing the *kithara* with Artemis, Leto, and Ares; B, black-figure, Dionysos with satyrs and maenads: cat. no. 1.
Unattributed: A, red-figure, Dionysos and maenads; B, black-figure, Achilles and Ajax playing: Munich 2300, *ARV*² 11.1, 1618; *Para* 321; *BAdd*² 151; *BAPD* Vase 200000.
 - 25 See Cohen, chap. 2, at note 8.
 - 26 Small cups attributed to the Andokides Painter: Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum 51.28, *ARV*² 1617 (near the Andokides Painter); *Para* 321.15; *BAdd*² 150; *BAPD* Vase 275001; Szilágyi 1966; Cohen 1978, 248–49, no. E 2, pl. 48.1–3; Cohen 1989, 74–75, fig. 2; Swiss private collection: Pécasse 1990; and Centre Island, NY, red-figured fragments: *BAPD* Vase 4476; Cohen 1978, 247, no. C 6, pl. 49.1–2.
The unique cup near the Painter of the Vatican Horseman that is decorated in outline and black silhouette on reserved ground on the exterior, Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie 29 (on deposit at the Schloss museum in Kassel), appears to be a surprised reaction to the red-figured cup exteriors of the Andokides Painter, see: *ARV*² 159.1; *BAdd*² 181; *BAPD* Vase 201507. This cup was damaged during World War II; thus old photographs show more of the cup's fragments than are currently preserved. I would like to thank Rüdiger Splitter for providing an opportunity for me to examine this cup.
 - 27 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale V 650 (2051): *ABV* 253.4, 256.21; *ARV*² 5.14, 37.1, 1617; *Para* 114, 321; *BAdd*² 66, 150; *BAPD* Vase 20014.
 - 28 Cohen 1978, 57–58. Neer 2002, 39, incorrectly describes the fallen warriors as "combining black- and red-figure in a single body." Cf. Sparkes 1996, 16, "the fallen black-figure warriors have their shields in red-figure." In the division between the two techniques on this cup, the integrity of the human "body" as either a "black" or a "red figure" is carefully maintained.
 - 29 Huber 1999, 27, no. 1. Schauenburg 1970 is the classic discussion of black-figured cups with decorated zones; see also Martens 1992, 222–27.
 - 30 See Cohen 1989, 78, fig. 5, for another oddity—a reclining red-figure symposiast on the interior of a fragment from the lip of a lip-cup near the Painter of the Vatican Horseman, London, British Museum E 134.2: *ARV*² 159.2; *BAdd*² 181; *BAPD* Vase 201508. See also Klinger 1997, 351, fig. 9, 352. See below, note 32, and cat. no. 6 for zones decorated with friezes of black-figure ships.
 - 31 For the design elements of standard eye-cups, see *ARV*² 39–40. Sometimes a nose, leaf, tear drop, or trefoil appears between the eyes instead of a red figure.
 - 32 On the tradition of such ship friezes, see Martens 1992, 120–27; Lissarrague 1990a, 113–14.
 - 33 See Mertens 1987, 173–74, figs. 5a–c, for the possibility of Skythes having been the painter of an early bilingual eye-cup of Beazley's AMA Group (cups associated with the potter Amasis), Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco AB 1: *ARV*² 37.4, 160; cf. 12.8; *BAdd*² 181; *BAPD* Vase 200056.
 - 34 For Paris, Musée du Louvre F 129, see also Cohen, chap. 2, at note 16.
 - 35 See Bentz 1998, 138–42, for the Panathenaic amphorae attributed to the Kleophrades Painter and his Workshop; 138, no. 5.008, pls. 41, 4. For New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.79, see Cohen, chap. 3, note 45. For the Pegasus device of Athena's shield on these Panathenais, see Cohen, chap. 3.
 - 36 Kunze-Götte 1992.
 - 37 Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 453: *ARV*² 184.22, 1632; *Para* 340; *BAdd*² 187; *BAPD* Vase 201675; Lissarrague 2001, 118, 119, fig. 91, color detail of body.
 - 38 Arias/Hirmer/Shefton 331 and fig. 127, for a detail of side A of the neck.
 - 39 Kurtz 1984, 321; see Coldstream 1977, 121, fig. 37a, 122, for a Late Geometric amphora of the eighth century B.C. from a family burial plot in the Athenian Agora with plastic funerary snakes on its shoulder, handles, and mouth.



BILINGUAL AMPHORA OF TYPE A

Signature of Andokides as potter, attributed to Psiax as painter, ca. 515–510 B.C.

H 61.2 cm

Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional

11.008

From Vulci; formerly Marquess of Salamanca collection

A, red-figure, *Apollo playing the kithara with Artemis, Leto, and Ares*

B, black-figure, *Dionysos with satyrs and maenads*

CONDITION: Assembled from fragments with integrated restorations and overpaint on the panels and on handle-palmettes; much pitting and erosion of surface, esp., side A: on Ares' head, cock shield device, upper surface of panel, and body of Artemis; side B: on chiton of left maenad, her lower pair of *krotala*, on satyrs and Dionysos; added red faded; most of added white on maenads flaked and faded; discolorations, esp. on Apollo's *kithara* and Ares' shield; gray deposit on lower right of panel on B; black band within amphora's mouth pitted and scratched; interior of neck eroded; edge of upper degree of vase's foot abraded.

THE MADRID BILINGUAL AMPHORA is the only one known to bear a craftsman's signature: ΑΝΔΟΚΙΔΕΣΕΠΟΕΣΕΝ is incised on side A of its foot with the letters beginning under the god Apollo, who is depicted in the red-figure panel above. While Andokides' potter-signature helps document the association of this potter's workshop with the important unsigned series of bilingual amphorae attributed to the Andokides and Lysippides Painters (e.g., cat. no. 2), the painting on the Madrid vase itself is attributed to the experimental master Psiax. In addition to his bilingual works, such as this pot and an earlier amphora in Munich, Psiax decorated smaller vases in the special techniques of black-figure on a coral-red ground (cat. no. 7), black-figure on a white ground (cat. no. 52), and Six's technique (Mertens, chap. 6, fig. 1). He also applied details in added-clay relief (cat. no. 28), and he has been associated with vases that have plastic additions (cf. cat. nos. 70–71; True, chap. 7, fig. 1).

The controlled formality of both the red- and the black-figure Madrid panels, generally linked to Psiax's personal preference for a small scale, may be associated instead with his measured pairing of Apollonian and Dionysian compositions to enhance the positive and negative effect of a bilingual amphora's front and back (cf. cat. no. 2). On the amphora's red-figured obverse, Apollo is carefully delineated as a pretty youth with a sideburn painted in dabs of dilute, his hair bound up in a fancy *krobylos* by (faded) red fillets, and with lips that may unusually have been enhanced with (now-faded) red. Dressed in a heavy himation and a chiton, which hugs his derriere like the one worn by his sister Artemis at the left, the god plays the *kithara*, the instrument of a professional musician. In a motif still beloved later in Archaic Attic vase-painting, the red-figure instrument's relief-line strings cross over the fingers of Apollo's playing hand. Artemis, snapping her fingers, keeps time to Apollo's music. Her hair, bound by a diadem, is likewise caught up in a *krobylos*. Here and elsewhere, Psiax employs reserved hair borders for his red figures (cf. cat. no. 28). A reserved quiver containing black arrows is slung on Artemis's back, and the goddess of the hunt wears a panther skin over her dress with its paws



1.2

tied over her chest in a Herakles knot (cf. cat. nos. 2, 81). Leto, who faces her son Apollo and likewise snaps her fingers to his music, wears a diadem like her virgin daughter, but has drawn up her himation over the back of her head.

Ares, at the far right, intrudes on the divine triad. The bearded war god wears a Corinthian helmet pushed up atop his head, which, like Apollo's *kithara*, overlaps the panel's upper horizontal border. Ares' round shield, drawn from the exterior parallel to the picture plane, is an intentionally conservative motif for Psiax, who elsewhere enjoys foreshortening shields or showing them from the interior, and its device—a cock with a red wattle and comb—is rendered in true black-figure. Although fully armed down to his greaves, Ares exceptionally does not carry a spear, which Beazley explains by citing Pindar: Apollo's music warms even the heart of the god of war (*Pythian Odes* 1.10).

In the panel on side B, five black figures, detailed with eccentric, sensitive incision, occupy the same space as the four red-figure deities, and none of the five overlaps the panel's upper border. Two satyrs and two maenads flank the god of wine, Dionysos, who stands at the very center of the composition, holding his kantharos by its stem in his left hand and a branching ivy vine in his right. An elaborately incised wreath with alternate red and black leaves encircles his head. Separate locks in his resplendent long beard are incised with nervous lines, and the god has red lips. The last are features of Psiax's late black-figure (cf. cat. no. 52). Dionysos's chiton was originally decorated with bright red dots as well as incised crosses; incised circles are sprinkled over his himation. The god looks back toward the left where a vine-holding satyr stares out at the viewer, and a maenad dances alone, clacking her *krotala*, though no one else in this scene makes music. The satyr, shown in frontal face, has flamelike red locks and body hair incised along the edge of his torso onto the reserved ground. A snub-nosed satyr with red lips and a fully incised beard on the right seems tame by comparison. Most of the added white applied over the black silhouette for the female flesh of the right maenad has disappeared, reveal-

ing that her hands were described largely by the now-missing color alone.

Both panels of this bilingual amphora are bordered with elaborate black ornament. Palmette-lotus chains in true black-figure fill the upper horizontal borders, circumscribed addorsed black palmettes the lower borders, and, on the red-figure side, vertical borders of circumscribed, addorsed black palmettes separate the panel's black ground from the pot's black body. Remarkably, underneath the amphora's handles, in a sharp bilingual contrast, Psiax has introduced avant-garde red-figure downward-facing palmettes with red hearts.

REFERENCES: *ABV* 253.bottom.1, 294.24; *ARV*² 1.bottom, 7.2, 1618; *Para* 128, 321; *BAdd*² 77, 150; *BAPD* 200022; *CVA Madrid* 1 [Spain 1] 8–9, pls. 23–26.1; *Bullettino dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 1845, 24–25; Klein 1887, 190, no. 3; Norton 1896, 5, fig. 3, 6, fig. 4, 7, 16; Bienkowski 1899, 608–11, pls. 19–20; Bienkowski 1900, 69–72; Alvarez-Ossorio 1910, 18, no. 11.008, 70, no. 11.008, pls. 8, no. 11.008, 19, no. 11.008; Leroux 1912, 34–35, 36–37, no. 63, pls. 5–6; Beazley 1913, 143; Beazley 1918, 6; Hoppin 1919, i, 31, 34, figs., 35, no. 2; Pfuhl 1923, i, 287–88, III, figs. 264 and 317; H. R. W. Smith 1929, 51; Richter 1934, fig. 552, fig. 7; Bloesch 1951, 30, no. 9, 31, 33; Levi and Stenico 1956, [36] figs. 39–40, 40; *EAA* vi (1965) s.v. Psiax 533, fig. 617, 534 (E. Paribeni); Olmos Romera 1973, 46, fig. 16, 47, fig. 17, 48, 49, fig. 18, 50, fig. 19, 51–52; Boardman 1975, 17, fig. 14.1–2; Bianchi Bandinelli 1976, no. 320; Cohen 1978, 229, no. B 10, 233–39, pls. 13.1–3, 14.1–3; *LIMC* II (1984) s.v. Ares 487 no. 111, pl. 370 (P. Bruneau), and s.v. Artemis 709, no. 1141, pl. 537 (L. Kahil with N. Icard); Kurtz and Boardman 1986, 43, fig. 7; Korshak 1987, 50, no. 59; Shapiro 1987, 625, no. 5, 626, fig. 4, 627; Cohen 1991, 62–63, 90nn.77–78; Hedreen 1992, 3, 75, 76, pl. 26.a–b; Pelletier-Hornby 2000, 29, 30, fig. 6, 33, 37; Warden 2004, 107–109, no. 20 (P. Cabrera); identification of sides A and B reversed, photographs reversed.

For Psiax's bilingual amphora Munich, Antikensammlungen 2302 (original foot missing and potter not known), see: *ABV* 294.23, 667.HIPPOKRATES.3; *ARV*² 6.1; *Para* 128; *BAdd*² 77, 150; *BAPD* Vase 200021. Relief-line strings cross over the hand of a *kithara* player on the red-figured amphora of type C, ca. 490 B.C., attributed to the Berlin Painter, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 56.171.38; *ARV*² 197.3, 1633; *Para* 342; *BAdd*² 190; *BAPD* Vase 201811; Noble 1988, 98, fig. 174, 116, fig. 205, 117–18. For Psiax's handling of red-figure shields, see New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 14.146.1: *ARV*² 8.9; *BAdd*² 151; *BAPD* Vase 200029; Bothmer 1994, 30, no. 16. Cf., for Psiax's late black-figure, the Dionysos panel on the recently cleaned black-figured amphora of type B, Paris, Petit Palais ADut 323: *ABV* 337.2, 692 (near the Rycroft Painter); *ARV*² 1618 (Bothmer's attribution to Psiax accepted); *Para* 128 (attribution to Psiax doubted); *BAdd*² 92; *BAPD* Vase 301858; Bothmer 1957, 80, no. 95 (attributed to Psiax); see also Pelletier-Hornby 2000, 32–37.

BILINGUAL AMPHORA OF TYPE A

Attributed to the Andokides Painter (side A) and to the Lysippides Painter (side B), attributed to Andokides as potter, ca. 515–510 B.C.

H 53.3 cm

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 99.538, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund

From Italy; purchased from E. P. Warren, 1899; formerly W. H. Forman collection; E. Joly de Bammerville collection; by 1842 with the dealer Giuseppe Basseggio in Rome

A, red-figure, *Herakles driving a bull to sacrifice*
B, black-figure, the like

CONDITION: Assembled from many fragments with much restoration; missing parts and cracks filled in with plaster and toned or overpainted, including, on side A: an upper section of club, crack across Herakles' head from under ear of lion skin through his lower lip; tip of his nose lost; losses on his lower arm; missing patch on front leg of lion skin; restoration across Herakles' right calf; his left foot and ankle and bull's right hind foot missing; restored diagonal crack through quiver, wineskins, tail, and rump of bull; losses on bull's body, esp. on shoulder and neck; diagonal crack through bull's head with loss of rear corner of eye and front of ear; cracks run through branches of tree with restored sections; and, on side B: diagonal cracks through club and Herakles' right arm, across center of his lion skin above belt; Herakles' lower left arm and wrist, heel of his right foot, and his left calf missing; losses on bull's shoulder and neck; restored cracks and losses in tree's branches; abraded scratches across panel at level of bull's knees; chips around edge of vase's mouth. Large missing section of vase body, extending from lower right of panel on side B to under B/A handle, restored; some added white on side B faded; black gloss on foot pitted; edge and underside of foot abraded; Cecil H. Smith (1899) questioned whether the attached foot might belong to a different vase; grayish-green misfiring on upper degree of foot and on upper part of vase on side B.

OVER FORTY YEARS AGO, Beazley observed, "Of all the bilingual amphorae, this is that in which the two designs are most alike." This still holds true: In its twin depictions of Herakles

driving a bull to sacrifice, the Boston bilingual amphora most pointedly invites comparison of the new red-figure technique with traditional black-figure. In regard to the vases in a special series of bilinguals associated with the potter Andokides, Beazley had changed his mind about whether one or two artists painted both pictures, but in 1963 he reached his final decision: "A—the red-figure part—is by the Andokides Painter, and B—the black-figure part—by the Lysippides Painter . . ." (CB III, 1). Any such division of labor would have been unusual, for on most bilingual vases the work in both techniques is by the same hand (cf. cat. nos. 1, 4). Often citing this Boston amphora as evidence, some scholars have opposed Beazley's final decision, championing unity of authorship. The essay in chapter 1 here highlights the recent strong support in favor of Beazley's two hands (Moore 1997; Simpson 2002) and reviews my own previously published arguments, based on monographic surveys indicating that the Andokides Painter, the probable inventor of the new technique, painted only red-figure, and the Lysippides Painter only black-figure.

The collaboration of two different painters carrying out a predetermined program makes this bilingual amphora a conceptually and logistically fascinating work of art. Preliminary sketch lines are still visible on both sides, but it is not known how the design was transferred from one side to the other. In positive and negative versions, the majestic red- and black-figure panels present the unusual theme of Herakles about to make a sacrifice (cf. cat. no. 55). The hero strides behind a large bull with a carefully braided tail and a red fillet adorning its head. He controls the animal with a red tether held in his left hand along with the bundle of spits for roasting the sacrifice. Exceptionally, an altar is not included in the composition. Herakles drives the bull from behind rather than leading it. A branching tree in the background fills the space above the animal's large horizontal form. Full wineskins for the sacrifice and the famously gluttonous hero's subsequent feast are draped over his arm. Herakles is formally outfitted with his standard attributes. The Nemean Lion's skin—worn over a short chiton with its paws tied across his chest and its head

over his own like a helmet (cf. cat. no. 81)—is belted, with its tail caught in the belt. A quiver of arrows and a sword are suspended at his waist; on side B there is also a bow. The hero carries his club. Although this image had once been associated with the Cretan Bull labor, nothing indicates the particular occasion or the specific bull for Herakles' sacrifice.

The two sides of the amphora are distinguished by slightly different placements of compositional elements and by rather different renderings of individual details. Beyond a simple contrast of technique, these changes betray the hands of two artists of different quality and different sensibilities. In general, the red-figure painter enthusiastically seeks to reflect the details and dynamics of life, while the black-figure painter creates rigid, hieratic forms that are traditional rather than convincing. For example, the upper part of the Lysippides Painter's black-figure lion skin, with the paws knotted together and overlapped by the hero's club, is a carpet of fussy, sketchily rendered incision that makes it difficult to discern individual forms. By contrast, the

Andokides Painter opens the top of the red-figure lion skin, revealing the hero's patterned chiton, and moves the club to the side so that the knotted lion paws along with the rest of the image may be read easily. The stiff black-figure tree, with black leaves on its inorganic branches, is strictly centered, but the red-figure tree, which has red leaves and grows upward branching out sinuously, is off-center. While the red-figure bull's horn subtly overlaps the right vertical border as the creature lumbers toward its fate, on side B, a space has been left between the black-figure bull's head and the panel's right edge.

There is a self-conscious opposition in the rendering of contours on this vase: Most forms on the black-figure side are outlined with incision, while on the red-figure side relief lines are employed instead. In fact, except for incised locks on a shock of the lion's mane, the Andokides Painter employs incision only to separate Herakles' black hair and beard from the black background. His hero's hair and beard are both composed of raised dots (cf. cat. nos. 27, 29, 30). The red for one wineskin has been applied over

2.1





reserve, creating a different coloristic effect than the standard red over black of black-figure. The Lysippides Painter's black-figure employs added white (some faded) such as for the lion's teeth. Anatomical details of the black-figure bull are heightened by red, as are details of the lion skin, its belt, one wineskin, and Herakles' short chiton. In general, the Andokides Painter prefers reserved and painted patterns to incision and added color; white has been suppressed entirely.

No inscriptions appear on the Boston amphora. On the basis of incised potter-signatures on the feet of the Andokides Painter's early entirely red-figured amphorae of type A and of his unique white-figured amphora (cat. no. 51), and also on the foot of Psiax's bilingual amphora (cat. no. 1), this amphora has been attributed to the potter Andokides. It is the latest preserved bilingual from his workshop and a late work also in the oeuvres of its painters. The red-figure front is subtly emphasized over the black-figure back. Ornamental vertical borders of black net patterns on reserve flank the red-figure panel, separating it from the amphora's black body; the reserved black-figure panel is simply defined by vertical black lines near the edges. Both panels have an upper horizontal border containing a black-figure palmette-lotus chain, but only on side A is the upper border enhanced with added red. Of the red lines articulating the amphora's shape and design, the thick double lines that run around the vase beneath the panels are especially noteworthy.

Traditional black ivy on reserve decorates the handles' flanks. Significantly, ornament, which was often the potter's concern, does not appear at the roots of the handles, and, in the handle zones, black gloss was brushed on thinly and streakily. Black rays on reserve grow upward at the bottom of the body. Traces of color indicate that originally the fillet between body and foot, though previously said to be black (Beazley 1963), was red.

REFERENCES: *ABV* 255.6; *ARV*² 4.12; *Para* 113; *BAdd*² 66; *BAPD Vase* 200012; *Bullettino dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 12 (1842) 187; *Bammerville* 1854, 5, lot 40; *Annual Report, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 24 (1899) 81, no. 36; C. H. Smith 1899, 54–55, lot 305, pls. between 54 and 55; Beazley 1918, 3, no. 2, 4, fig. 1, 5; Herford 1919, frontispiece, 78; Pfuhl 1923, I, 286–89, III, figs. 266, 316; Seltman 1933, 43, pl. 10; Technau 1937, 138; Chase 1950, 52, fig. 62, 53; Levi and Stenico 1956, 34, fig. 37, 36; Schauenburg 1961, 55 at n.18, 67–68 with n.43; Marwitz 1961–1963, 94, 96, fig. 60, 102; Fairbanks 1962, 74, fig. 61, 75; Robertson 1962, 312; CB III, 7–8, no. pls. 65.1–2, 67; Chase 1963, 57, 83, fig. 75a, 84, fig. 75b; Beazley 1964, 77, pls. 34–35; Knauer 1965, 9, figs. 13–14; Noble 1965, 52, figs. 200–201; Bothmer 1965–1966, 212; Szilágyi 1966, 20, 25n.38, 28; Schefold 1967, pl. 197, 221 (I. Scheibler); Kron 1971, 140–41, fig. 11; Brommer 1973, 205, nos. A3 and B1; Boardman 1974, 105, fig. 164; Boardman 1975, 16–17, fig. 8; Brilliant [1975], 133, figs. 5–6; Mommsen 1975, 78 with n.379; Robertson 1975, 216, pl. 71a–b; Cohen 1978, 101–103, no. B 7, 186–91, no. B 7, pl. 35.1–2; Schefold 1978, 103–104, fig. 129, 281, 310; Robertson 1981b, 60–61, 62, figs. 86–87, 63; Vickers 1983, 38; Beazley 1986, 71, pl. 80.1; Durand 1986, 160, fig. 70a–b, 161; *LIMC* IV (1988) s.v. Herakles 799, no. 1332, pl. 531 (J. Boardman); Noble 1988, 108–109, 110–11, figs. 187–88; Bérard et al. 1989, 56–57, fig. 81; Robertson 1992, 10, figs. 4–5; Peirce 1993, 219; Vickers and Gill 1994, 139, 140, figs. 5.26–27; Kella 1994, 68; Van Straten 1995, 263, no. V 378; Biers 1996, color pl. 13a–b (between 96–97), 185; Moore 1997, 83; Steiner 1997, 166, figs. 13–14; Ribichini 1998, 102; Vidale 1998, 60; Clark, Elston, and Hart 2002, 31, 33, figs. 20–21; Gebauer 2002, 50–52, no. P 15; Neer 2002, 33, figs. 5–6, 35–36; Pedley 2002, 202, 203, fig. 6.78, 204.



3 BILINGUAL EYE-CUP

Attributed to the Painter of the Boulogne
Horse, ca. 520 B.C.

H 11.5 cm; Diam (bowl) 31.2 cm

Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung
Ludwig Kä 401

Gift of Dr. Robert Käppeli, Meggen, 1966

I, black-figure, *youth*

A–B, red-figure, *between eyes and palmettes*: A,
naked hetaira putting on her boot; B, *naked hetaira*
with krotala

CONDITION: Assembled from fragments; miss-
ing sections and breaks filled in with plaster and
toned; part of A/B handle and adjacent rim section
restored; chips in black gloss, some discoloration
of reserved surfaces; scattered white incrustation,
esp. on top of added red; red in pupils cracked

and chipped; added white lost on rings of large
eyes' oculi; on B, fronds of left palmette partially
restored, center of hetaira's body and part of her red
krotala missing; foot's underside abraded.

THIS KYLIX EXEMPLIFIES the standard
disposition of the new and old techniques of
vase-painting on a bilingual eye-cup, with bold
red-figure forms enhancing the exterior and
black-figure work relegated to the tondo inside
the bowl. The hetairai between the large eyes on
the Basel cup's exterior not only count among the
few female figures that appear on bilingual eye-
cups but they are also among the earliest naked
female figures executed in the red-figure tech-
nique. A naked hetaira dances with *krotala* on the
fragmentary early standard bilingual eye-cup from
Olbia attributed to Oltos, now in St. Petersburg;
another naked dancing girl appears on Psiax's
unusual entirely red-figured eye-cup in Munich.

The Basel cup's master was inconsistent in

handling various red-figure details. The border of the dancing hetaira's black hair is reserved, while incision defines the hair contour of the hetaira putting on her boot. For the *krotala* of the dancing hetaira, the painter has reserved the pair held out against the black ground but colored red the pair that overlaps the hetaira's reserved flesh. The striking boots of the hetaira on A are likewise red. These entirely red forms are a sign of the early date of the red-figure technique here.

The cup's large eyes, with curving contours slightly pointed in their upper outer corners and oculi with red pupils and white rings, recall Oltos's early eye-cups. Likewise associated with Oltos is the so-called "late heart" for the eye-cup's ornamental palmette—a black heart with a reserved drop at the center, bounded above by

two relief lines (cf. cat. no. 4). However, the hearts of the Basel cup's closed palmettes, which have never been described fully, do not entirely follow Oltos's formula. Three of the four hearts on the outside are black with reserved centers, but bounded above by only one relief line. Inconsistently, the left heart on side A alone is reserved with a black drop at the center (fig. 3.2). In addition, the hearts of the palmettes here have an unusual feature: The petals "pass through" the relief-line borders. This feature, which is not known in Oltos's oeuvre, occurs in the red palmette hearts on bilingual eye-cups attributed to the Painter of the Boulogne Horse, an early minor master related to Psiax.

The black-figure tondo on the interior of the Basel cup contains a slender black-figure youth

3.2





3.3

who wears a himation with its end thrown over his arm. Although bent over, he is aligned perpendicular to the cup's handles. His pose and gesture recall the red-figure hetaira on side A. This black figure has erroneously been said to recall the work of the Scheurleer Painter, who decorated later bilingual eye-cups with elegant elongated figures during the mid-teens of the sixth century. The history of this attribution can be reconstructed from the Basel CVA entry. In 1963 Margot Schmidt of the Antikenmuseum must have written to Beazley suggesting attributions for the cup's interior and exterior, and Beazley replied, "I agree with you about it: the inside picture does recall the black-figure work of the Scheurleer Painter's cups; and the outside reminds one of Oltos; but I should not think it was from Oltos' hand. I do not feel sure that there are two artists here . . ." Schmidt's suggestion of the Scheurleer Painter and Beazley's initial confirmation of that association, however, are off the mark. (Beazley did not subsequently publish an attribution for this cup.) The tondo figure instead recalls black figures attributed to the Painter of the Boulogne Horse, such as the seated youth inside this painter's bilingual eye-cup formerly in the collection of Molly and Walter Bareiss. Thus the entire cup could well be a later work of this charming painter.

The Painter of the Boulogne Horse probably worked for the potter Nikosthenes (see cat. nos. 15, 17, 50), who had employed also the young Oltos in his important Late Archaic workshop. Now-lost traces of an inscription on the underside of the cup's foot, once read as a signature of the potter Pamphaios—an associate of Nikosthenes—might provide evidence for placing the eclectic Basel bilingual in the orbit of this competitive shop. Interestingly, the unusual form of the cup's foot, which combines a flat resting surface with later features, is as much a hybrid as the vessel's painted decoration.

REFERENCES: *Para* 325.49 bis; *BAdd*² 159; *BAPD* Vase 352407 (collection incorrectly cited); *CVA* Basel 2 [Switzerland 6] 13–14, pls. 2.1–4, 31.5, 7, 38.2 (attributed to near the Scheurleer Painter and Oltos); Lucerne 1963, D 5 (B) (M. Schmidt); Lullies 1964, no. 55; Schefold [1967] 75, no. 113.2; Cohen 1978, 342n.14, 347, no. B 50, 348n.24 (related to early Oltos).

See for St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum 5572: *BAPD* Vase 4478; Cohen 1978, 341–42, no. B 45, pl. 72.1–2; and for Munich, Antikensammlungen 8323 (2587): *ARV*² 7.8, 38.9; *BAdd*² 151; *BAPD* Vase 200028. For the Painter of the Boulogne Horse's name vase (with a horse between the eyes on one side), Boulogne, Musée Communale 562, and Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 6B25, see: *ARV*² 42.2, 160.1; *BAdd*² 159; *BAPD* Vase 200248; Cohen 1978, 291, no. B 17, 294–95, pls. 59.2–3 and 60.1. For the cup formerly in the Bareiss collection, see: *ARV*² 162.1.43 bis, 1629.4; *Para* 336; *BAdd*² 181; *BAPD* Vase 275016 (incorrectly cited as Malibu, JPM); Cohen 1978, 292, no. B 19, 296–97, pls. 60.2–3, 61.1. For Pamphaios, see: *ABV* 235–36; *ARV*² 127–32, 1627–28; *Para* 109, 333; *BAdd*² 406; *BAPD* s.v. Pamphaios Potter. At the time of Cohen 1978, I knew the Basel cup only from black-and-white photographs of parts of its decoration.



4.1

4

BILINGUAL EYE-CUP

Attributed to Oltos, ca. 515 B.C.
H 13.2 cm; Diam (bowl) 32.4 cm
Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.276
Purchased from the Molly and Walter
Bareiss collection

I, black-figure, *man running, looking round*
A–B, red-figure, *between eyes and palmettes*: A,
runner; B, *trefoil*

CONDITION: Good; assembled from fragments; black gloss chipped and abraded along edge of bowl; traces of root marks, esp. on bowl's interior; lower part of face and upper right arm with shoulder and part of chest of figure on tondo missing and restored; fragment at top center of right palmette on side A missing and restored; some surface abrasion on right eye and palmette; black gloss cracked in rings of right large eye's oculus; relief line chipped at inner corner of eye and center of brow of red-figure runner; some chipping of black gloss, restoration along right side of left palmette on side B; surface abrasion on right palmette.

THE MALIBU CUP'S PAINTER, Oltos, decorated bilingual eye-cups right alongside entirely red-figured vases. It is likely that he learned the red-figure technique from the Andokides Painter in the 520s B.C. and mastered black-figure specifically in order to paint bilinguals. This cup begins his latest group of bilingual eye-cups, which were produced when this restrictive formula no longer held the artist's attention. Its decoration must have been executed quickly, employing simple forms and little detail. During the final phase of his career Oltos worked only in red-figure.

Like most of Oltos's very last bilingual eye-cups, this cup's black-figure tondo bears his favorite inscription, *Memnon kalo[s]*, written in black letters. The black-figure man runs toward the right in an angular pose recalling the traditional *Knielauf* while he looks back toward the left; he has no distinguishing attributes, such as a wine cup, to identify him as a komast. He is nude save for a mantle thrown over his left shoulder and right arm. Its alternate folds are added in red, an old-fashioned motif characteristic of this painter. The man's now partially preserved beard and the front of his hair were likewise covered with this

purplish added color. The added red on this tondo was applied in an exceptionally thin wash, and the black gloss for the black figure is likewise applied thinly, so that the orange of the reserved ground peeks through.

The bilingual's design invites a comparison of the two male figures. The red figure on side A is a youth who is entirely nude, runs toward the left rather than the right, and looks straight ahead rather than back. Rather than recalling a stale convention, the youth moves forward energetically with widespread legs. Impressed sketch lines have been preserved at the rear of his left leg and buttock. Each male figure clenches one hand and extends the other before him. While the fingers of the black-figure man are indistinct and rubbery, those of the youth's extended hand are carefully delineated. The border separating his black hair from the black ground is incised, a typical handling in early red-figure. Although this little red figure has no attribute beyond a purplish added-wreath around his head, his youth and nudity suggest he might be an athlete, a brother of the runners on the handles of Oltos's red-figured Nicosthenic amphorae.

The large eyes on this cup belong to Oltos's very last type, with rounded contours, oculi consisting of a black ring, a reserved ring, and another black ring around a small red pupil (all drawn with a compass), and elongated tear glands. The last extend so far into the central space that the little red-figure runner is in danger of tripping over them. Originally, the pupils were completely covered with a thick layer of red that would have obscured the now-visible compass marks. Fat palmettes with closed fronds, whose stems spring from the roots of the handles, complete this cup's standard eye-cup formula. They have canonical late hearts, i.e., black with a reserved drop at the center bounded above by two relief lines. Oltos's use of traditional-looking palmettes is significant because by the mid-teens of the sixth century the palmettes on most cups tended to be open, with fronds that fan out separately (cf. cat. no. 5).

On side B, rather than being properly centered, the pair of large eyes are too close to the right palmette, and the left palmette has, thereby,



4.2

sprouted a spiraling tendril, a makeshift space filler that became necessary because, once the contours of the oculi were cut into the cup's surface, the location of the eyes could not be moved. Perhaps the painter had originally intended to place between the large eyes a more ambitious motif than the stark, abstracted leaflike form that Oltos used here, and that he favored on his final group of bilingual eye-cups, which has sometimes been called a nose, but should simply be called a trefoil.

REFERENCES: ARV² 1621.79 bis; 1623.20 bis (incorrect description of side B); BAdd² 159, 164 ("side B in ARV should read 'nose between eyes'"; incorrect description of side B); BAPD 275025; CVA Malibu 8 [USA 33] 8, no. 11, pls. 392–93; Bothmer 1969, 431, figs. 6–7; Bothmer and Bean 1969, 6, no. 70; Matheson Burke and Pollitt 1975, 44–45, no. 41; Cohen 1978, 385, no. B 75, 393–94, pl. 88; JFGM Bareiss 1983, 40–42, no. 26, 78, no. 143; "Acquisitions/1986," *GettyMusJ* 15 (1987) 160–61, no. 7; Harnecker 1991, 71–72, 226, no. 50.

For Oltos's red-figured Nicosthenic amphorae, Paris, Musée du Louvre G 2 and G 3, see: ABV 320.13–14; ARV² 53.1–2, 1622; Para 326; BAdd² 163; BAPD Vases 200434–35. For a nose between the eyes, see side B of Oltos's bilingual eye-cup in Altenburg, Staatliches Lindenau-Museum 224: ARV² 44.76, 55.17; BAPD Vase 200283. For the red color employed on this cup, see further Lansing-Maish in the Technical Studies essay.



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5.1

5 BILINGUAL EYE-CUP

Signatures of Epiktetos as painter and of
Hischylos as potter, ca. 520 B.C.
H (to rim) 14 cm; Diam 30.5 cm
London, The British Museum
GR 1842.4-7.23, *BM Cat Vases* E 3
Purchased from Basseggio in Rome in 1842
by the Marquess of Northampton on behalf
of the British Museum

I, black-figure, *horseman*
A–B, red-figure, *between eyes and open palmettes*:
A, *satyr warrior with keras*; B, *satyr warrior with*
oinochoe, trumpeting

CONDITION: Good; reassembled from fragments
with restoration along cracks; losses on side A at
rim of bowl, including part of right brow and eye,
and on I near top of horse's head; chips in black
gloss on bowl's interior; added white flaked from
pattern on horseman's cloak and circles in oculi
of the large eyes; side A, pitting and scratches on
right palmette and eye; crack through pupil of right
eye with loss of added red; side B, cracks in black
gloss around satyr's body; white incrustation on
and around satyr's right arm; abraded and misfired
stacking ring in black gloss on bottom of bowl; edge
of foot's reserved resting surface abraded.

THE MASTERFUL BILINGUAL vase-painter
Epiktetos neatly inscribed the potter's signature,
Hischylos epoiesen, in black letters on the reserved
field of this wine cup's black-figure tondo. In con-
trast, he wrote his own signature as painter in the
new red-figure manner, with red letters, on the

black ground of the exterior (fig. 5.2). His painter-signature appears alongside the satyrs' heads, with name and verb daringly divided between sides A and B. (*Egraphsen* is characteristically misspelled as *egrasphen*.) Both named craftsmen must indeed have been proud of their work, which here reaches the epitome of what may be achieved within the limited formula of the bilingual eye-cup.

In terms of potting, this mature cup of type A has a spreading bowl offset from the stem and foot by a fillet bordered by incision. Its foot is a fairly streamlined AY type, with a thin foot plate and resting surface, and a glossy black underside that curves smoothly into its hollow stem. This up-to-date model of a kylix is a striking accomplishment for a potter who began his career fashioning black-figured band cups in Little-Master tradition.

In terms of painting, Epiktetos has elaborated upon the standard elements of a bilingual eye-cup's decoration. Instead of a single black figure, the tondo harmoniously contains an equestrian group aligned perpendicular to the cup's handles. The restive horse, whose feet do not touch the tondo's border, is more animated than its self-controlled, elite young rider. The horse's mane displays a carefully observed split caused by the bridle. Black-figure incision describes inner ana-

tomical markings of both horse and rider. The youth's short chiton falls in avant-garde stacked three-dimensional folds, and a fashionable Thracian cloak encircles his shoulders, with both long ends falling to one side. In addition to its incised lower border, this cloak once bore an exotic pattern of crenellations and patches in added white. Otherwise, added color has been employed rather judiciously, with red describing only a wreath on the youth's head and a stripe on the horse's mane. The shafts of the youth's paired spears are rendered with the same relief line employed in the cup's red-figure, yet their contours have been incised across the black-figure horse's body.

On the red-figure exterior, the palmettes with open fronds springing from the handles defy earlier bilingual eye-cup tradition, and the double-line border of their hearts is unusual for Epiktetos. The cup's large eyes have standard red pupils and (flaked) white rings in their oculi. Added red alone is employed on the light-armed satyr warriors shown in complex poses between the large eyes. These ithyphallic satyrs have remarkable red horsetails, with individual hairs painted in separate wavy strands. The crescent-shaped shields (*peltae*) have red straps that are slung over the satyrs' shoulders, and they wear





5.3

red ivy wreaths. Contour stripes border all of the red-figure forms.

Satyrs fought alongside Dionysos in the Gigantomachy. The satyr on B (fig. 5.3), wearing a lip band (*phorbeia*) characteristic of the late sixth century, blows the battle signal on a trumpet (*salpinx*). His upper body is shown in back view, but the pose is confused by the satyr's hip tilting toward his spine. Although the hair borders of both satyrs are incised as in early red-figure, the border of the satyr on B's long beard is carefully reserved. The balding, snub-nosed satyr on A, half-crouching behind his *pelta*, carries a *keras*—probably a drinking horn rather than a trumpet—while the satyr on B carries an oinochoe. Epiktetos's satyrs, often associated with early dramatic performances, turn this cup into a lively conversation piece appropriate for a drinking party.

REFERENCES: ARV² 45.102, 70–71.3, 1623; *Para* 328; *BAdd*² 160, 166–67; *BAPD* Vase 200309; Brunn 1859, II, 701, no. 6; Klein 1887, 101, no. 2; Winter 1892, 106, fig. 3; C. H. Smith 1896, 42; Walters 1909, 109, no. 8, 110, no. 8, 114, pl. 12; Beazley 1918, 15, no. 2; Hoppin 1919, I, 308–309, no. 7; Kraiker 1929, 152, no. 3, 153–58; Swindler 1929, 167, 169, fig. 277; Kraiker 1930, 175; Hill 1938, 28, 31, fig. 8; Bloesch 1940, 33, Hirschylos no. 8, 34, 37, pl. 8.4; Buschor 1943, 89, figs. 49–50; Schnitzler 1948, 41, pl. 31, fig. 44; Rumpf 1953, 65, pl. 17.1; Arias/Hirmer/Shefton, 320, pls. 96–97; Arias 1963, 216–17, pls. 61.middle, 63.top; Greifenhagen 1963, 20, 23, fig. 19; Becatti 1965, 96–99; Lücken 1967, 486, pl. 52.1; Boardman 1974, 57–58, fig. 66.1–2; Moore 1975, 40–41, 43, fig. 13; Robertson 1975, 218, pl. 70c; Folsom 1976, 44–45, pls. 14–15; Simon/Hirmer, pl. 97, 96–97, no. 97; Cohen 1978, 424, no. B 93, 425–430, pl. 98.2–3; Schefold 1978, 65–66, figs. 74–75; Paquette 1984, fig. K 1, 74, 78, no. T 7, fig. T 7; Bélis 1986, 215, 216, fig. 20, 217; Robertson 1992, 16, fig. 11; *LIMC* VIII (1997) s.v. Silenoi, 1122, no. 129, 1124, no. 154, pl. 770 (E. Simon); Boardman 2001, 224, fig. 242; Boardman 2002, 152, fig. 129.



6 BILINGUAL CUP

Attributed to the Painter of London E 2 (red-figure) and near the Antiope Painter (black-figure), ca. 510–500 B.C.

H 13 cm; Diam (bowl) 32 cm

London, The British Museum

GR 1843.11-3.29, *BM Cat Vases E 2*

From Vulci; purchased in 1843 from the Princess of Canino, from the collection of Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino

I, red-figure, *youth lifting a pointed amphora*; in the zone, black-figure, *ships and dolphins*
A–B, red-figure, between palmettes, *komos*: A, *two youths, one holding an oinochoe, dancing around a pointed amphora*; B, *two youths, one holding a drinking horn, dancing around a pointed amphora*

CONDITION: Assembled from fragments; left root of B/A handle restored; on tondo: chip missing from surface of youth's right knee and adjacent body of pointed amphora; added red flaked and faded; in zone: head of a dolphin at upper left missing; black rigging of ships' sails scratched and pitted; edge of cup's foot chipped, and resting surface abraded.

ALTHOUGH THIS LATE BILINGUAL drinking cup is not an eye-cup, its black-figure decoration is nonetheless relegated to the bowl's interior. Here the black gloss that normally fills the zone around the tondo stops short of the cup's lip: the gloss has been transformed into a black-figure sea that supports a frieze of sailing ships and leaping dolphins. The gloss in the zone was applied on the potter's wheel and then, at the outer edge, waves were painted on freehand. As befits the black-figure idiom, beneath each ship, the wavy surface of the water has been incised, and the ends of the ships' oars have simply been gouged out of the

black gloss rather than reserved. The vessels' sails are white, a popular black-figure added color. In the red-figure technique, the sea (cf. cat. no. 44) as well as ships and their sails are generally reserved. These black-figure ships, with rams in the form of boars' heads, sail toward the left. Their helmsmen have been summarily indicated, and on each vessel the heads of the crew have been turned into supports for the ship's rail.

This bilingual cup's ship frieze is believed to have been executed by a black-figure master who painted similar ship friezes on other cups, such as an entirely black-figured eye-cup in the Maritime Museum of Haifa. When such cups were filled with wine, their ships would illusionistically sail upon the liquid, evoking Homer's "wine-dark sea." The black-figure painter and potter Exekias famously associated the bowl of a wine cup with a sailing ship inside his coral-red eye-cup in Munich (Cohen, chap. 2, fig. 1); he also placed a frieze of ships within the mouth of a dinos, a bowl for mixing wine with water.

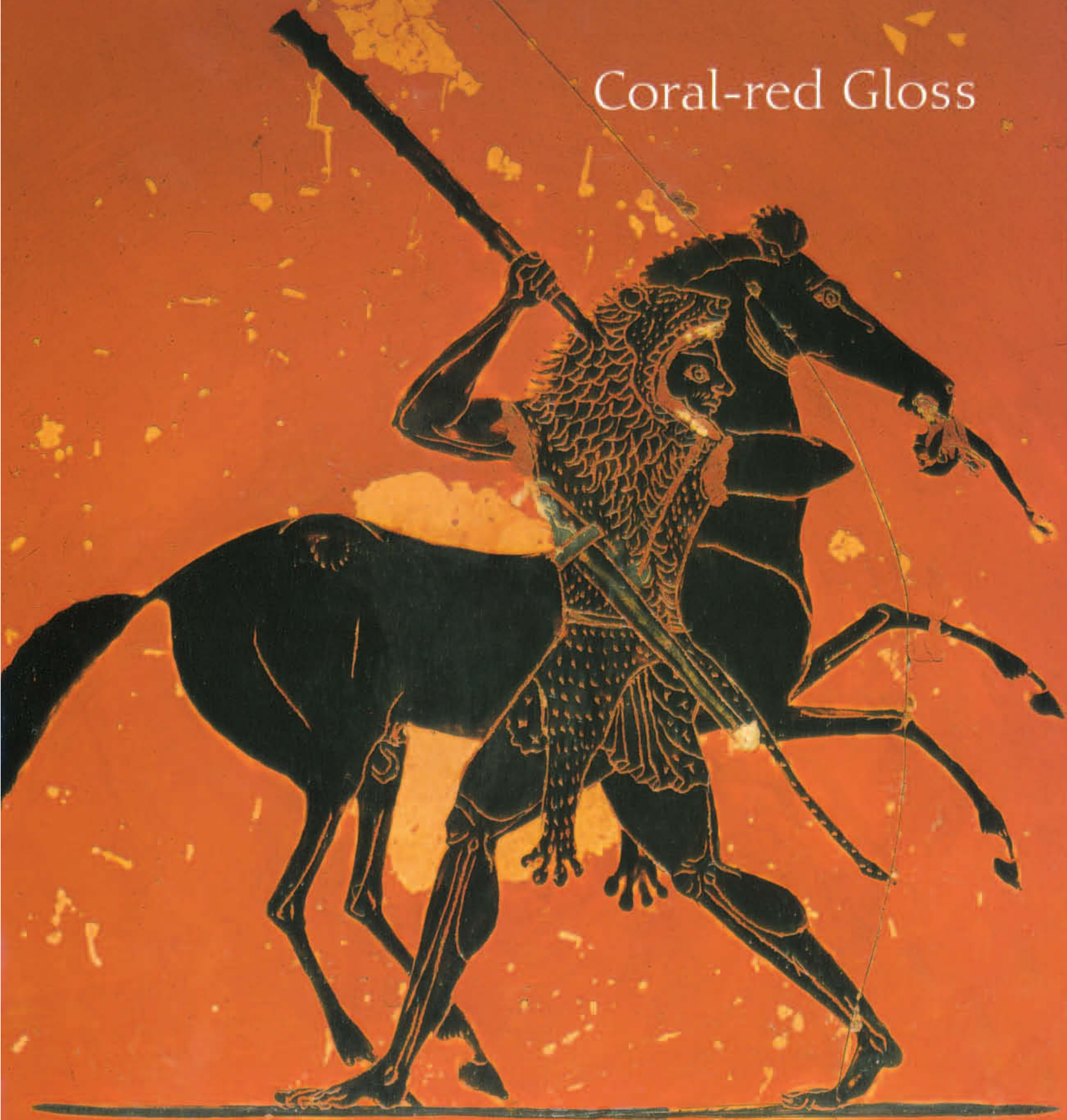
The design on the red-figure tondo has been carefully aligned with the cup's handles. Here a youth struggles to lift by its handles a pointed amphora that must be filled with wine. The youths on the cup's red-figure exterior, holding vases for drinking or serving wine, dance around pointed amphorae set in the ground to stand vertically. Because amphorae of this shape were often employed as transport amphorae, they are especially appropriate for a wine cup with a frieze

of ships sailing upon the sea within its bowl. The red-figure depictions on this bilingual cup, which also celebrate the power of wine, somewhat unusually, appear to have been painted by a different hand. Beazley named this red-figure master after this very cup, the Painter of London E 2. He appears to have been a member of the black-figure Leagros Group, who preferred decorating vases in a coarse, but exuberant red-figure style. The Painter of London E 2 followed the rules of red-figure, employing relief lines and reserve throughout, save for the incised hair borders of the youths on the exterior. He also wrote nonsense inscriptions in red letters on the black ground of the red-figure pictures (see Bonaparte 1829). On this late bilingual, which was thus painted by two minor masters, the old and new techniques have been cleverly integrated to suit the vessel's form and function.

REFERENCES: *ABV* 390; *ARV*² 225.top.1, 1636; *Para* 346–47; *BAdd*² 103; *BAPD* Vase 202287; Bonaparte 1829, 89, no. 792; C. H. Smith 1896, 41–42; Walters 1905, pl. 37.1; Walters 1909, 111; Langlotz 1920, 28; Stella 1930, 72–73 and n.12; *CVA* Scheurleer 2 [Netherlands 2] 75 under pl. 6; *CVA* Bonn 1 [Germany 1] 8 under pl. 3.1; R. T. Williams 1957, 315, fig. 4, 316; Morrison and Williams 1968, 107, pl. 18a; Schauenburg 1970, 34, pl. 13.2; Cohen 1978, 521, no. D 4, pl. 129.1–2; De Angelis 1990, 46; Lissarrague 1990a, 113–14, fig. 87.

For Haifa, Maritime Museum 262, see *ARV*² 1636; *Para* 164, 347; *BAdd*² 198; *BAPD* Vase 275113. For the black-figured dinos signed by Exekias, Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 50599, see: *ABV* 146.20, 686; *BAPD* 310402. On ship representations in general, see Morrison and Williams 1968. On the association of wine vessels with the sea and the tradition of ships on dinoi, see Lissarrague 1990a, esp. 112–22, 113, fig. 86, and also Martens 1992, 120–27.

Coral-red Gloss





Coral-red Gloss: Potters, Painters, and Painter-Potters

Beth Cohen

THE LUSTROUS ORANGE-RED ATHENIAN CERAMIC GLOSS known as coral red was invented during the 430s B.C.—before the Attic fashion for a white ground, before the birth of red-figure—and was produced for less than a century in but a few potters' workshops. Employed on cups more than any other vase shape, this rare technique was generally used in Late Archaic and Classical Athenian pottery workshops as a spectacular alternative to black gloss for covering broad areas of a vase's surface. Having established the history of this special technique

on fine Attic decorated pottery over thirty years ago in my first publication, "Observations on Coral-Red,"¹ I will now revisit that history, incorporating evidence provided by firsthand observation of coral-red vases themselves as well as by several new examples.

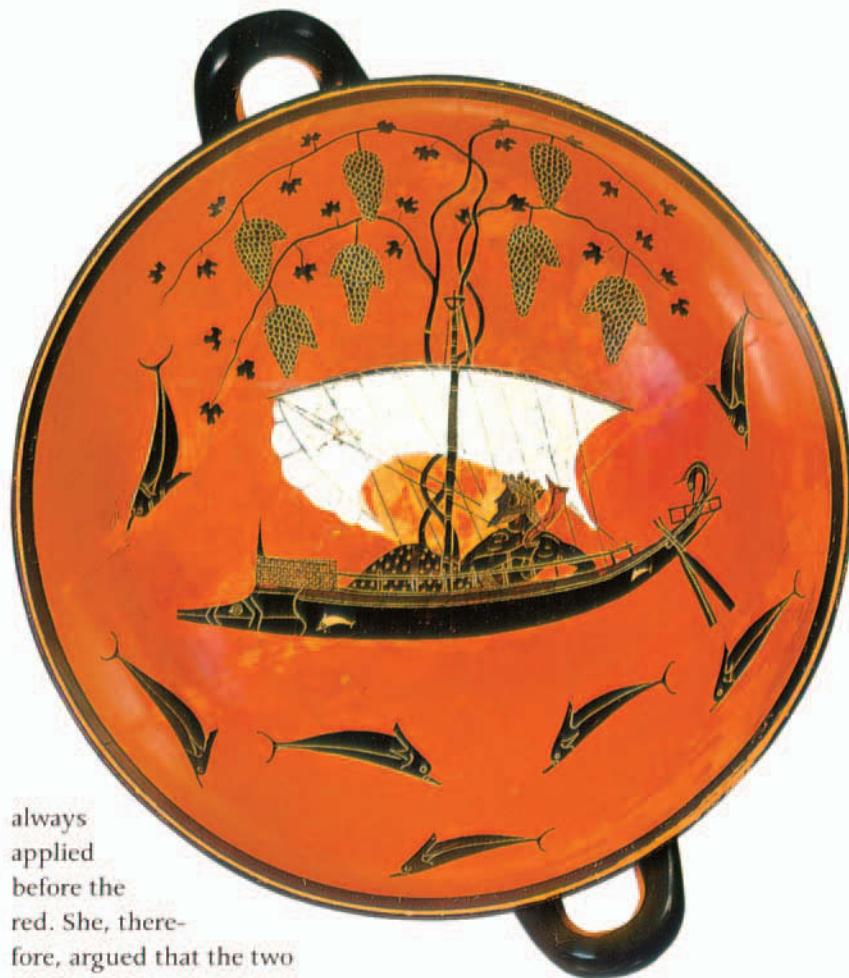
Like black-figure, red-figure, and white ground, coral red has been named for a color. Often, on the basis of scientific accuracy, coral red has been called "intentional red"—a gloss purposely fired to red—in contrast to "acciden-

tal red"—the red resulting from the misfiring of black gloss.² "Red," also employed in the terms "red-figure" and "added red," is probably the most used and abused word in the study of vase-painting. As any schoolgirl will tell you: Fired Attic clay looks orange rather than red, and "red-figure" might more appropriately be called "orange-figure." At least, "coral red," i.e., orange red like the color of coral, the alternative traditional term selected for use in this study, does describe the common appearance of this special

gloss. Edmond Pottier in his seminal 1903 list of vases known to him with this gloss, preferred to call it “rouge-orange,”³ and, in fact, even among vases from the same workshop, there may be variety in the color of coral red. Moreover, as Jeffrey Maish suggests elsewhere in this volume (see Technical Studies), the current appearance of coral red may also have been affected by burial conditions. Beyond the distinctive color, it is important to remember that coral red is not merely a color but a gloss that exhibits a lustrous and often rather shiny surface.⁴

The mystery of coral red has revolved around the issue of whether or not a gloss resulting from a levigated clay slip could have been subjected to the standard three-stage firing process employed for ancient Greek pottery and yet remain red instead of fully sintering and turning black because it has lost its ability to reabsorb oxygen (see p. 8). Several different theories about how coral red may have been produced have been proposed during the last century, and the latest data and interpretations are discussed in the Technical Studies essay in this volume. While the scientific debate continues about the composition of coral red and the composition of the black gloss used with it, coral red does appear to have been fired in the familiar three-stage firing process, though probably with some special requirements. Although difficulties in preparation and firing must have limited the Attic production of coral red, and although the gloss is now often flaked, it is not clear that coral red was an impossibly fragile surface finish at the time of its ancient sale and use.⁵

The results of an early investigation of coral red initiated by Gisela M. A. Richter are relevant to subsequent art-historical and technical appraisals.⁶ In the 1950s, Richter consulted Theodore Schumann about the red gloss. Schumann was a German ceramic chemist who had been the first to reproduce Attic black gloss in modern times. He concluded that Attic coral-red vases had to have been fired twice because, he maintained, the coral-red areas would have had to avoid the reducing stage. On the basis of Schumann’s theory of two separate firings, Richter attempted to demonstrate that on coral-red vases the black gloss was



always applied before the red. She, therefore, argued that the two

glosses were either clearly separated or that, if there was any overlap, the red always overlapped the black.⁷ As we shall see, however, close observation of a variety of coral-red vases does not support Richter’s scenario. In fact, both red-over-black and black-over-red overlappings and gloss applications may be observed on coral-red vases. The existence of both types of overlapping indicates that coral-red gloss had to have been applied to the pottery along with the black and then fired in the single three-stage firing process. Therefore, though it may be possible to produce coral red separately from black in a modern scientific reconstruction, Athenian pottery itself indicates that this was not the way coral red was generally produced in antiquity.

Exekias: The Inventor of Coral Red

The earliest known use of coral red occurs on one of the most famous Athenian vases: the black-figured eye-cup of type A in Munich from ca. 535 B.C. signed by Exekias as potter, which he painted as well as potted (fig. 1).⁸ Exported from Athens in antiquity, this large cup with a diameter of 30.5 cm was found in an Etruscan tomb

Figure 1. Dionysos sailing. Coral-red interior of a black-figured eye-cup of type A signed by Exekias as potter, and attributed to him as painter, ca. 535 B.C. Diam 30.5 cm. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2044.

at Vulci. An extraordinary design fills the bowl's interior: At the center, Dionysos reclines on a sailing ship as grapevines laden with seven bunches miraculously sprout beside its mast, while seven dolphins swim in a coral-red sea around the boat. The vessel's (now-much-restored) bold, large white sail is effective against the coral red, but not so Dionysos's drinking horn painted in matt purplish added red.

J. D. Beazley's description in *The Development of Attic Black-figure* of the application of coral red on Exekias's cup is so far from the mark that it could hardly have been based on firsthand observation. He writes: "... the black-figure design inside is painted not on the surface of the vase itself but on a fine lustrous coral-red slip with which the whole picture-space was coated before the figures were begun."⁹ In fact, the coral red on Exekias's cup is not an underlying ground applied on the wheel in the manner of slightly later white ground. Rather, it was painted freehand onto the bowl around the black figures. Exekias first created a protective border around forms in the vase-painting with coral-red contour stripes,¹⁰ which anticipate the black-gloss contour stripes of the red-figure technique. Furthermore, the two small dolphins decorating the ship's black hull, which appear to be reserved in photographs, are instead gouged out of the vessel's surface. According to Karl Reichhold, writing in 1904, these recessed dolphins were filled with coral red used as an inlay—another indication that Exekias avoided using his new gloss as a ground beneath his black-figure.¹¹ Given this cup's determined separation of the two glosses, it would be helpful to be able to ask Exekias whether he was worried about the adherence of the black to the red gloss and whether he fired this cup in some special way. Broad conclusions like Richter's about the application of coral-red gloss in Attic vase-painting should not be drawn from Exekias's unique monumental cup. Finally, one can speculate, at least in the context of the earliest coral red, that, insofar as the appearance of this gloss has long been associated with red misfirings,¹² an ancient potter might have been inspired to attempt to replicate that familiar color.

Psiax and Skythes: Coral Red as a Ground

The exquisite cup of type C without a lip of ca. 520 B.C. (cat. no. 7), in St. Petersburg, attributed to the transitional master Psiax (cf. cat. nos. 1, 28, 52, cf. 71; Mertens, chap. 6, fig. 1), is the only other entirely black-figured Archaic coral-red cup. Small, 22.5 cm in diameter, and low, 6 cm high, this vase bears no inscriptions, and thus it is not known whether Psiax, like Exekias, did the potting as well as the painting himself. On the St. Petersburg cup, coral red now covers the exterior as well as the interior, and it is even applied over the edge of the rim. Here the gloss is indeed a ground that underlies the black figures: The coral red can clearly be seen beneath the delicate incision that stops at its surface in the depiction of Herakles and a man-eating horse of Diomedes on the bowl's interior and in the flying figures of Hermes and Perseus—escaping from the unseen Gorgon sisters of Medusa—on the exterior. While Exekias's coral red is a deep red color, Psiax's is truly orange red, and it is extremely shiny. Shimmering and evanescent, the coral-red surfaces of the St. Petersburg cup suggest unearthly and otherworldly realms beyond the quotidian experience of mortal man, thus further dramatizing Psiax's presentation of death-defying heroic feats that take place beyond the periphery of the known world.¹³

Both inside and out, the coral red evidently was applied to Psiax's cup on the potter's wheel. On the bowl's exterior, neat reserved patches have, thereby, been left between the handle-roots (fig. 7.4). Although Psiax's application of coral-red gloss is more proficient than Exekias's, he was nonetheless clearly wrestling with a new medium. Here a few details have likewise been bordered with coral-red contour stripes, such as the lower edge of the horse's tail, its rump, rear legs, and part of the mane. In addition, the contours of Psiax's black figures, though not fully incised, appear to have been crisped with the tool for incision.

Psiax, like Exekias, has employed both added white and added red. Added white, though it is so striking against coral red, has been used sparingly for small details such as teeth and the handles of weapons. Yet added red, which does not contrast

effectively with the coral-red ground, describes significant details, including the blood dripping from the human figure devoured by the horse and the *kibisis*,¹⁴ in which Perseus must be carrying Medusa's head. Psiax may not have been pleased with this lack of effective red-color contrast; no other coral red from his hand has been preserved. In black-figure, this bilingual vase-painter went on to specialize in the use of a white ground, where, as on the magnificent plate in Basel (cat. no. 52), he readily gave up added white, but not added red.

The final well-preserved Late Archaic examples of coral red with black-figure appear on unusual bilingual cups of type B from the last decade of the sixth century B.C., attributed to Skythes. The black-figure-on-coral-red exteriors with reserved patches between the handle-roots of Skythes' cups suggest that Psiax might have been his master. These coral-red bilingual cups are not canonical (cf. cat. nos. 3, 4, 5): The old black-figure technique is outside, the interior tondo is red-figure, and the eye-cup scheme has been discarded.¹⁵

On the black-figure exterior of Skythes' coral-red cup in Basel (cat. no. 8), with its frontal-faced Athenian owls, coral red once again serves as a ground. With microscopic enlargement (cat. fig. 8.3), the coral red beneath the incision of many of the owls' feathers is visible. Significantly, these black-figure birds on top of the coral-red ground have adhered to the cup's surface better than has the exposed coral-red gloss. No purposeful overall separation of the red and black glosses occurs on this cup. In addition to serving as a ground, (well-preserved) coral red precisely meets the black lines bounding the reserved ornamental band of black ivy that forms a groundline for the owls. Unlike the earlier cups of Exekias and Psiax, here this special red gloss has been applied also on the underside of the foot and the inside of the stem, an embellishment—visible when a cup is drained at a drinking party or hung in storage—that becomes common.

On the interior of Skythes' Basel bilingual the coral-red gloss has been relegated to the zone around the tondo, its standard location when employed in conjunction with the new red-figure technique. The modern genre depiction on the

tondo—a youthful reveler with an empty wine-skin—freshly associates a coral-red cup's interior with wine (cat.

fig. 8.1). A young reveler with a pointed amphora—a vase shape used for storing and transporting wine—appears inside Skythes' coral-red bilingual in the Louvre (fig. 2),¹⁶ and on the tondo of this painter's Palermo cup a satyr masturbates with a pointed amphora.¹⁷

The Basel cup's brilliant, direct juxtaposition of the tondo's black-gloss background with the coral-red zone precludes the need for an intermediary ornamental border,¹⁸ and, as on the exterior, there is no reserved boundary between the glosses. Remarkably, on the tondo itself the ivy wreath encircling the black-haired youth's head and the *Epilykos kalos* inscription on the black background—details that are normally rendered in purplish added red in a red-figure vase-painting—are instead painted with coral-red gloss.

Like Psiax's coral-red cup, Skythes' bilingual demonstrates that the separation of coral-red and black glosses, evident on Exekias's Munich cup, was no longer required. Any separation of gloss was either solely aesthetic, such as the band of black ivy on reserve that punctuates the coral-red exterior,¹⁹ or engendered by the required reserve of the red-figure technique, which precluded the possibility of coral red or any other color serving as a ground. Moreover, unlike the black gloss canonically employed in the new technique, coral-red gloss could not effectively surround a reserved red figure directly. There is just one example of a red figure directly bordered by coral red: the



Figure 2. Youth with a pointed amphora. Interior of bilingual coral-red cup, attributed to Skythes. Paris, Musée du Louvre F 129. Photograph: RMN/Art Resource, NY. Photographer: Hervé Lewandowski.



Figure 3. Seated Athena. Red-figured coral-red fragment. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis Collection 2.199.



Figure 4. Horseman. Interior of red-figured coral-red cup with signatures of Kachrylion as potter and Euphronios as painter. Diam (bowl) 43 cm. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2620.

now-partially preserved Athena, who is seated on a black block and extends her scaly, snake-fringed aegis out before her, on a Late Archaic fragment from the Athenian Akropolis (fig. 3).²⁰

Kachrylion and Euphronios: The Dissemination of Coral Red

The major production of entirely red-figured coral-red cups of the Late Archaic period, which began during the second-to-last decade of the

sixth century, is associated with the potter Kachrylion. As I have shown in my earlier study, a number of late sixth-century coral-red cups, including works by Euphronios, the Thalia and Hermaios Painters, as well as unattributed singletons (cat. figs. 9.1–2), may be ascribed either by potter-signature or by similarities in shape and disposition of gloss to Kachrylion.²¹ His products were exported widely in antiquity; findspots for coral-red cups include Thasos, Cyprus, Olbia, and Sicily as well as Etruria.²² In the last decades of the sixth century, however, there is also evidence of a market for coral red at home. And, significantly, fragmentary coral-red cups by Epiktetos and Euthymides, which may come from

Figure 5. Satyr. Interior of fragmentary red-figured coral-red cup. Antikenmuseum der Universität Leipzig T 497.



other workshops, have been found on the Athenian Akropolis.²³

The most famous extant Late Archaic example of coral red is the extraordinary Munich Geryonmachy cup from Vulci, with signatures on the foot of Kachrylion as potter and of Euphronios—an other pupil of Psiax—as painter.²⁴ Here the application of coral red on the cup's exterior surface is limited to the foot's stem and its underside (cf. cat. no. 8). Inside the bowl, 43 cm in diameter, a vast coral-red zone surrounds the young Athenian horseman in Thracian dress on the tondo, which is inscribed *Leagros kalos* (fig. 4). In itself, the Munich cup's tondo, which is 15.7 cm in diameter, is larger than the coral-red cups produced during the Classical period.²⁵

A narrow halo of reserve separates the tondo from the coral-red zone of Euphronios's cup, a feature that recurs on several other coral-red cups associated with Kachrylion (cf. cat. no. 9). Rather than having been created for its own sake on a coral-red cup where no intermediary ornamental border was necessary aesthetically or for requirements of firing, such reserved separation appears to reflect the manner in which the gloss was applied to the cup on the wheel, with the craftsman making an attempt to avoid the tondo. Sometimes, however, the coral-red zone has been applied slightly out of kilter, so that its inner perimeter overlaps part or most of the tondo's perimeter.²⁶ The phenomenon of such out-of-kilter application and overlap can be observed, for example, on the tondo of the famous coral-red cup in Florence with Eros flying over the sea, or even on the poorly preserved interior of a fragmentary coral-red cup in Leipzig with a satyr on the tondo (fig. 5).²⁷ The fragmentary Leipzig cup, which lacks a reserved separation of tondo and zone, is very close to the Getty Museum's coral-red cup (cat. no. 9), which does have a reserved ring around its tondo. Euphronios is exceptionally neat in his gloss application. Thus his Munich cup also has a fine halo of reserve around the tondo, a detail the artist must have appreciated. However, elsewhere on the Munich cup—around the rim, on the stem, and under the foot—no space has been left between the coral red and black gloss, which often accidentally overlap.²⁸

A most unusual, heretofore unnoticed detail on Euphronios's coral-red cup in Munich occurs in the red-figure vase-painting on side A, where Herakles fights the triple-bodied warrior Geryon, and a red-figure winged boar on a black medallion forms the blazon of Geryon's round shield closest to the picture plane (fig. 6). The painted vertical lines describing the boar's bristles are neither the purplish added red nor the brownish dilute of black gloss employed elsewhere on this cup. Instead these bristles appear to be painted in coral red. Evidently, the practice of employing coral-red gloss as an added color on a red-figured coral-red vase was not limited to Skythes (cat. no. 8).

The coral-red surfaces of the Munich cup themselves are an unusually pale, creamy orange tone. A similarly pale gloss color recurs on both sides of Euphronios's coral-red cup fragment from Olbia, now in St. Petersburg.²⁹ This pale coral red is neither generally characteristic of the potter Kachrylion nor the only shade found in Euphronios's oeuvre. Traces of the more common deep orange-red gloss, preserved beneath now-deteriorated metal revetments of an ancient repair, appear on a fragmentary cup attributed to Euphronios that was found in Athens in 1994 (cat. no. 10). Ca. 19 cm in diameter, the Athens cup, which appears to have belonged to an Archaic house near the Agora,³⁰ is less than half the size of the painter's Munich cup. It was embellished with coral red outside—save for a black stripe around the rim—extending down onto the foot, and more was used on the foot's underside; its bowl, with a black internal lip, has a coral-red zone around the now-fragmentary red-figure tondo, depicting a seated, draped male with a knobby walking stick and an aryballos and sponge.

This new Euphronios recalls the relatively small coral-red cups, either lipped inside or with an offset lip, and with red-figure decoration inside only, that were popular in Late Archaic Athens itself.³¹ Another fragmentary cup, ca. 21.9 cm in diameter, lipped on the inside with coral red inside and out, found in the same Athenian deposit as the Euphronios cup, has on its tondo a jumper with *halteres* and a diskos hanging in the field.³² This Athenian fashion is continued by Agora P 2698, of ca. 500 B.C., the well-known cup



Figure 6. Shield device with a boar. Detail of exterior of red-figured coral-red cup signed by Kachrylion as potter and by Euphronios as painter. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2620. Photographer: Beth Cohen.

of type C with coral red inside and out that has a diskos thrower on the tondo.³³

The figural decoration of these Athenian coral-red cups favors elite male genre imagery, especially athletes or youths at leisure shown with athletic accoutrements such as the sponge and aryballos. While the coral red itself surely enhanced the appearance of the diluted wine that filled the cups, their admirable tondo youths would have come into focus as the wine was drained. The erotic undertone surfaces on the now-fragmentary cup of type B, Agora P 7690 + P 8890, dated ca. 500 B.C., which is strongly influenced by Euphronios and related to early Douris, with coral red and figural decoration both inside and out.³⁴ Here, on the fragmentary exterior, appear the remains of athletes in the palaestra and on the interior, directly surrounded by a coral-red zone, an erotic encounter on the fragmentary red-figure tondo (fig. 7): Still preserved are the legs of a man or youth and a boy interlocked in the position Beazley termed type γ .³⁵ Indeed, Beazley restored the fragmentary graffito as *philotesion* or "loving cup"—a suitable term for this entire Athenian coral-red series.³⁶ Thus, based on these Athenian coral-red cups, Euphronios's importance may extend beyond his work and

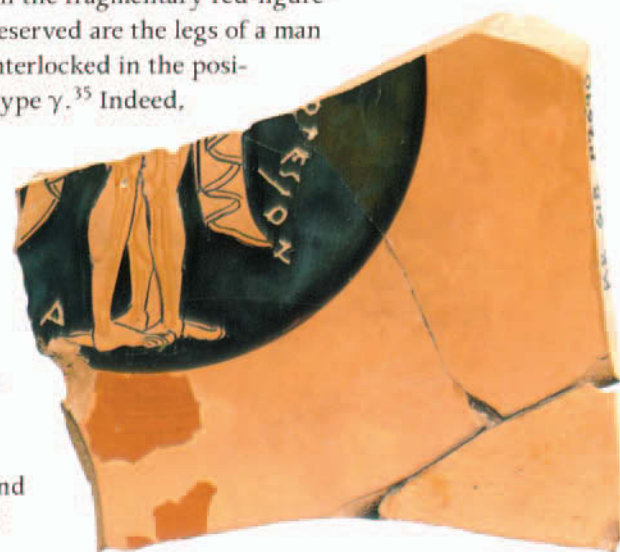


Figure 7. Male couple. Interior of fragmentary red-figured coral-red cup of type B, related to Douris, ca. 500 B.C. Athens, Agora Museum P 7690/8890.

influence as a vase-painter to his activity later in his career as a potter who may have specialized in coral red as well as white ground.³⁷ The routine of always attributing unsigned coral-red cups to the potter Kachrylion's workshop should be broken.

A cup of type C with an offset lip in the Metropolitan Museum of Art of ca. 500 B.C., bearing the potter-signature of Hegesiboulos (fig. 8, and Williams, chap. 8, fig. 3),³⁸ was burned in antiquity. Refiring "under oxidizing conditions" in the mid-twentieth century has revealed its ambitious internal and external use of coral red once again, though this gloss is now chestnut colored.³⁹ The scheme of this small cup, 18.4 cm in diameter, is uniquely elaborate with reserved and black stripes around its tondo and also beneath the figural frieze on the exterior. Its red-figure vase-paintings—an aged Semitic-looking foreigner with a knobby walking stick and a mangy dog on the tondo (see Williams, chap. 8, fig. 3) and an exotic *komos* and symposium on the exterior (cf. cat. no. 52)—seem to parody the usual Athenian male iconography of coral-red by substituting images of Others. Its quirky painting, which has long been compared to the ribald imagery of Skythes, who likewise produced distinctive coral-red cups (cat. no. 8), also brings to mind the later work of Euphronios.⁴⁰ The potter Hegesiboulos—dubbed Hegesiboulos I by Dyfri Williams in this volume because of the Classical potter with the same name (cat. no. 94)—is likely to have been a shopmate or partner of Euphronios,⁴¹ who, having mastered the technology of coral red, produced small coral-red cups, lipped or lipped inside,

that were popular at home and abroad. A small cup, ca. 22.3 cm in diameter, with a black offset lip decorated

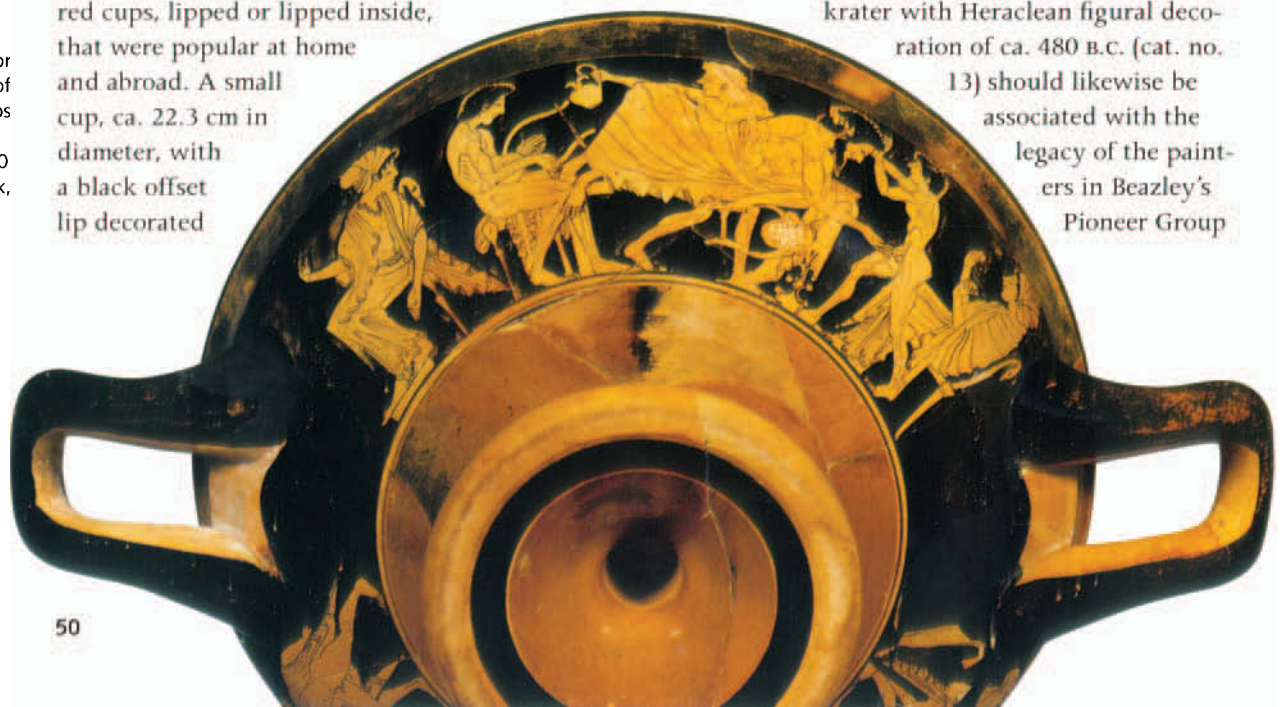
with coral red both inside and out that was found in Athens in 1967 might be a product of this workshop.⁴² On its tondo, a draped youth leaning on a knobby walking stick is accompanied by a Maltese dog, while a sponge and aryballos hang in the field.

Although the Late Archaic tradition of coral-red cups comes to an abrupt end as the fifth century dawns, several vases in the collection of the Getty Museum (cat. nos. 11–13) provide fresh evidence for the ongoing production of this special red gloss. Now coral red is applied to vessels of considerable size in shapes developed from the tradition of metalwork. The great Munich cups of Exekias and Euphronios set a precedent for this monumental use of the gloss. Significantly, the vases now decorated with coral red are still invariably associated with wine.

The Getty Museum's two extraordinary phialai mesomphaloi of ca. 500–490 B.C. (cat. nos. 11–12), with restored diameters of 32 cm and 33.2 cm, are slightly larger than Exekias's coral-red cup. The entire interiors of their bowls, save for the ornamental friezes surrounding their (lost) omphaloi, were originally covered with brilliant, deep coral red. Carol Cardon attributed their decoration to the early Berlin Painter on the basis of their interior ornament, and she attributed their potting and use of coral red to Euphronios.⁴³ These impressive phialai must certainly have been the work of a master potter capable of preparing and properly firing this rare gloss.

The Getty Museum's unique coral-red volute-krater with Heracleian figural decoration of ca. 480 B.C. (cat. no. 13) should likewise be associated with the legacy of the painters in Beazley's Pioneer Group

Figure 8. Symposium. Exterior of red-figure coral-red cup of type C signed by Hegesiboulos as potter, attributed to the Hegesiboulos Painter, ca. 500 B.C. Diam 18.4 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907, 07.286.47. Photograph © 1995 The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



who became potters, not only Euphronios, but also Phintias (cat. no. 78), and, especially, Euthymides.⁴⁴ The scientific evidence, indicating that both color and adhesion of coral red may have been affected by burial conditions,⁴⁵ suggests that this gloss, though now badly flaked and mottled in color from orange to tan on this krater, may not originally have been inappropriately fragile for use on the surface of a pot designed for mixing wine with water at a symposium.

The attribution of the coral-red krater's red-figure vase-paintings has proved problematic; their coarse style seems to recall the Kleophrades Painter, but at a distance. The painting technique employed here is interesting, nonetheless, for the dilute used for coloring and shading, which is shiny and rather orange, was likely prepared from the coral-red gloss itself. This coral-red dilute grows out of the use of coral red as an added color observed earlier in the red-figure of Euphronios (see fig. 4) and Skythes (cat. no. 8).

Sotades and Hegesiboulos II: Coral Red in a Classical Workshop

In contrast to monumental applications of the late sixth and early fifth centuries, during the Classical period coral-red gloss appears on small, extraordinarily delicate shapes influenced by metalwork. While coral red was used solely in conjunction with black- and red-figure during the Archaic period, now it primarily enhances cups with white-ground interiors or tondos. The most beautiful Classical examples of coral red, all of ca. 460 B.C., come from a single tomb discovered in Athens in 1890 (cat. nos. 90–99; Williams, chap. 8).

The names of two potters have been preserved on coral-red vases from this tomb: Sotades and Hegesiboulos (II). Sotades' potter-signature is found on the white-ground interior of the delicate coral-red cup with wishbone handles in the British Museum that depicts a honey nymph picking apples (cat. no. 90). The potter-signature of Hegesiboulos (II) appears on the white-ground tondo that represents a woman spinning a top within the stemless cup with a brilliant coral-red zone and exterior in Brussels (cat. no. 94).⁴⁶ Cups from this tomb, known as the Sotades Tomb, plus

several unsigned coral-red stemlesses with wishbone handles, generally of lower quality, such as the cup at Leipzig University with a red-figure tondo depicting a woman seated beside an altar (fig. 9),⁴⁷ constitute the final preserved occurrence of coral-red gloss on fine ware. The color of coral red is now an exceptionally deep and red reddish orange. This final flowering can be attributed to a single pottery shop in which Sotades and Hegesiboulos II worked together.

It is important to consider possible deletions from and additions to the traditional corpus of coral red from the workshop of Sotades and Hegesiboulos II. In her seminal study of cups from the Sotades Tomb, Lucilla Burn calls appropriate attention to a white, black, and red color scheme that unifies the vases found in this tomb.⁴⁸ Although Burn identifies all of the red employed as coral red, that is not always correct. On the mother-and-baby stemless cup in Brussels (cat. no. 95), the pale red on the underside, which does not look like coral red, might be miltois. The pale red on the exterior of the British Museum's serpent stemless (cat. no. 93) needs to be investigated, and it is not clear that any red is employed on the foot of the Glaukos cup (cat. no. 92).

Perhaps the most noteworthy deletions from the "coral red" of the Sotades Tomb, however, are the four unique horizontally fluted vases—two phialai, with incised signatures of Sotades as potter, and two mastoi—whose design and variegated coloration are believed to have been inspired by Persian metalware. The color scheme of their flutes has been described as black gloss, white ground, and coral red. In my earlier study, I waxed eloquent about the use of coral red on these Sotadean



Figure 9. Seated woman. Red-figure and coral-red interior of cup with wishbone handles, attributed to the workshop of Sotades and Hegesiboulos II, ca. 450 B.C. Diam (with handles) 20.9 cm. Acquired in Athens; gift of E. P. Warren, 1901. Antikenmuseum der Universität Leipzig T 954. Photographer: Karin Kranich.

fluted vessels;⁴⁹ however, they were known to me at the time only from black-and-white photographs. Upon seeing the phialai and mastoi recently, I found it striking that on all four, the red flutes—which would be lustrous if they were coral red—are matt. On the basis of a scientific investigation carried out at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, which is discussed in detail and illustrated in catalogue entries 91 and 96 (cat. figs. 96.3–4), this matt red is here revealed to be a pigment with a crumbly consistency that is not coral-red gloss and that had to be applied to the vases in question after the firing process.

This matt red brings to mind another significant product of the potter Sotades, the extraordinary statuette-vases, which do not figure in the Sotades Tomb. These masterpieces of coroplasty—often bearing incised potter-signatures like the ones on the phialai—were decorated with a variety of matt colors in addition to black gloss (cat. nos. 86, 87; True, chap. 7, fig. 4). The matt red on the Sotades Tomb's horizontally fluted vessels thus links them with the workshop's broader range of Sotadean products.

Finally, a small Classical white-ground stemless cup in Berlin, ca. 14 cm in diameter, which shows a woman placing a sprig on an altar (cat. no. 14), opens the door to possible additions to the Sotades-Hegesiboulos coral-red corpus. Beazley called this charming stemless cup "inferior" in comparison to the Louvre cups of the Hesiod Painter.⁵⁰ However, this cup is made memorable not only by the similarity of the woman in its white-ground vase-painting to the top-spinner of Hegesiboulos's coral-red stemless cup in Brussels (cat. no. 94) but by the heretofore unnoticed coral red on its black exterior, which is applied within the foot ring, in the patches between the handle-roots, and on the handles' interior.

Turning over the polychrome white-ground stemless in the Louvre, CA 482, likewise 14 cm in diameter, which evidently represents a seated Muse playing the *kithara*, is also revealing in this context. This is one of the two Louvre cups that Beazley so admired, which he attributed to the Hesiod Painter. Although now poorly preserved and misfired, it seems likely that heretofore unrecognized coral red was employed on this cup in

a manner similar to that of the Berlin stemless. Traces are still visible, especially in the handle zones. Thus, pending closer examination, the Hesiod Painter's cup, which was found in either Attika or Eretria in 1890—the same year the Athenian Sotades Tomb was discovered—should tentatively be added to the Sotades-Hegesiboulos II coral-red corpus.⁵¹

The iconography of the Sotades-Hegesiboulos II Classical coral-red cups also merits attention. As we have seen, coral-red cups of the Late Archaic period bear decoration appropriate for the homocentric realm of the symposium (e.g., cat. figs. 8.1 and 9.2). Furthermore, the elaborate repair of the Athens coral-red cup attributed to Euphronios (cat. no. 10) confirms that the Late Archaic drinking cups were indeed used in life. In contrast, on the Classical cups there has been an iconographic sea change to female imagery: Now a young woman picks apples in a paradise garden (cat. no. 90), another is seated beside an altar (see fig. 9), another spins a top (cat. no. 94), and so on. The Athenian tomb group itself, which was most likely assembled for a young deceased bride or mother,⁵² contained impossibly delicate kylikes that could never have been used in life.

In conclusion, although my assertion more than thirty years ago that "throughout its history, this glaze has been a function of potters rather than painters"⁵³ remains warranted, I would add, first, that the gloss is also strongly associated with artisans who might be called painter-potters, and, second, that though coral red was exported widely, particularly during the Late Archaic period, this special gloss was also highly valued at home in the city of Athens herself.

NOTES

- 1 Cohen 1970–1971. See also Sparkes and Talcott 1970, esp. 19–20. For other uses of coral red on pottery, see Shefton 1999.
- 2 Richter 1951. Gisela M. A. Richter was one of the first scholars intensely interested in how vases were made; see Richter 1924a.
- 3 Pottier 1903, 52.
- 4 The microphoto of the coral-red gloss on the exterior of the cup Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 13.4503 (cat. no. 91), illustrated in cat. fig. 96.3 and discussed under cat. no. 96, reveals the glassy and cohesive surface of coral red. See also Maish in the Technical Studies essay.
- 5 As is suggested by Maish in the Technical Studies essay,

the adherence of coral red to a vase's surface was affected by burial conditions.

- 6 Richter 1951, 147–49.
- 7 Ibid. 148–49. See also eadem 1954, 127–33, and, for an assumed separation of glosses, Cohen 1970–1971, 3.
- 8 Munich, Antikensammlungen 2044: *ABV* 146.21, 686; *Para* 60; *BAdd*² 41; *BAPD* Vase 310403; Cohen 1970–1971, 2–3; Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 19.
- 9 Beazley 1964, 67; Beazley 1986, 62.
- 10 Cf. Richter 1951, 148; Reichhold in *FR* 1, 229.
- 11 *FR* 1, 229.
- 12 See note by Lucy Talcott in Vanderpool 1946, 285–87.
- 13 Cf. Cohen 1970–1971, 3, where I concluded that the coral red on Psiax's cup is, "only decorative" and that, "... the red color does not stand for anything special: it is the common background, merely enhanced."
- 14 Scheffold 1978, 84, 85, fig. 99, calls the red *kibisis* white on the basis of a black-and-white photograph of the cup.
- 15 Cohen 1978, 514, and see Cohen, chap. 1.
- 16 Paris, Musée du Louvre F 129: *ARV*² 52, 84.20, 1578.11; *BAdd*² 170; *BAPD* Vase 200430. The added color employed on the Louvre cup's tondo, which is now discolored, appears to be coral red.
- 17 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale V 651 (2372; 1478): *ARV*² 52, 85.21, 1578.12; *BAdd*² 170; *BAPD* Vase 200431. On the subject of the tondo, see Cohen and Shapiro 2002, 84–85.
- 18 Cohen 1970–1971, 10; Cohen 1978, 518.
- 19 Bothmer 1982, 44: this sort of ornament does not survive beyond the beginning of the fifth century.
- 20 Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis Collection 2.199: *BAPD* Vase 46677; Graef and Langlotz, II, pl. 9.199; Pottier 1903, 53, no. 7. I would like to thank Michael Padgett for bringing the importance of this fragment to my attention. This Athena might have been on an entirely coral-red cup interior like Psiax's St. Petersburg cup (cat. no. 7), but red-figured rather than black.
- 21 Cohen 1970–1971, 4–6.
- 22 Cups from these findspots signed by or possible to associate with Kachrylion include: Thasos: Archaeological Museum 80.51.21, 80.144.21–22, attributed to Euphronios: *BAPD* Vase 30693; Maffre 1988, 380–84, no. 1, figs. 2–4; Maffre 1992, esp. 61–65, figs. 1–4. Cyprus: Nikosia, Cyprus Museum C 654 (1652), from Marion: *ARV*² 1626; *BAdd*² 174; *BAPD* Vase 275054; Gjerstad 1977, 57, no. 548, pl. 73, figs. 1–3. Olbia (in South Russia): St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum O 18181 (attributed to Euphronios): *ARV*² 17.20; *BAPD* Vase 200083; Berlin 1991, 211, no. 45. Sicily: Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi 21198, from Gela: *ARV*² 108.24; *BAPD* Vase 2000927; Panvini and Giudice 2004, 275, no. E 5 (A. Ingenuo). And Etruria: Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 91456, from Orvieto: *ARV*² 108.27; *BAdd*² 173; *BAPD* Vase 200931; Lissarrague 2001, 44–45, figs. 31–32; Shapiro 1989, pl. 65c–d. See Cohen 1970–1971, 4–6, for other cups that may be associated with Kachrylion.
- 23 The coral-red cup fragments from Gravisca should be compared with the Florence cup: Huber 1999, 27, no. 2; *BAPD* Vase 22721.
- 24 Epiktetos: Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis Collection 62, 65; *ARV*² 73, 25–26; *BAPD* Vases 200469, 200470. See also the fragmentary coral-red cup from Thasos, attributed to Epiktetos: Maffre 1988, 380, fig. 1. Euthymides: Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis Collection 2.211; *ARV*² 29.20; *BAPD* Vase 200125. For the coral-red cup by Euthymides divided between the Vatican, Boston, New York, Florence, London, and Haslemere, see Williams 2005; *ARV*² 29.19; *BAPD* Vase 156.

- 24 Munich, Antikensammlungen 2620: *ARV*² 16.17, 1619; *Para* 322, 379; *BAdd*² 153; *BAPD* Vase 200080. For the influence of Euphronios in Kachrylion's Workshop, see Williams 1992, 82–85, 87.
- 25 See the discussion of Classical coral-red cups below and cat. nos. 14, 90, 94, and see Williams, chap. 8.
- 26 Cf. Richter 1951, 148.
- 27 For Florence cup, see above, note 23. For Leipzig, Antikenmuseum der Universität Leipzig T 497, see REFERENCES to cat. no. 9.
- 28 Berlin 1991, 200–201, 203, cat. no. 41.
- 29 See above, note 22.
- 30 See Lynch, forthcoming, *Hesperia* suppl.
- 31 On small cups, cf. Seki 1985, 70–71.
- 32 Agora P 33221: see Lynch, forthcoming, *Hesperia* suppl.
- 33 Agora P 2698: *BAPD* Vase 31344; Moore 1997, cat. no. 1566, pl. 148. On the subject, see Miller 2004, 62, fig. 111, 63.
- 34 Agora P 7690 + P 8890: *BAPD* Vase 43790; Moore 1997, 319, cat. no. 1410, pl. 131. Cf. Agora P 7901, red-figured cup in the Manner of Euphronios, eadem 340, cat. no. 1556, pls. 146–47; the preserved fragments indicate that an aryballos, strigil, and sponge are included in the design of the homoerotic tondo. For the small black-figured coral-red nuptial lebes attributed to Douris, Paris, Musée du Louvre MNB 2042, see: *ABV* 400; *BAPD* 303021; Richter 1954, 127–31, figs. 1–3.
- 35 Beazley 1989, 24, no. γ 16. Moore 1997, 319, incorrectly describes the tondo as depicting two youths.
- 36 Beazley 1989, 24.
- 37 For Euphronios's shift from painter to potter, see Williams 1991b.
- 38 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.47: *ARV*² 175, 1631; *Para* 339; *BAdd*² 184; *BAPD* 201603.
- 39 See Dietrich von Bothmer in "Appendix" to Farnsworth and Wisely 1958, 173 and pl. 37.
- 40 Cf. esp. the *komos* on the neck of Euphronios's red-figured volute-krater, Arezzo, Museo Archeologico Nazionale G. C. Mecenate 1465: *ARV*² 15.6, 1619; *Para* 322; *BAdd*² 152; *BAPD* Vase 200068; Berlin 1991, esp. 130, 135, cat. no. 13. I wonder whether these depictions, esp. the red figures on side B of the neck, might be early work of the Hegesiboulos Painter. Cf. Williams 1992, 92, who suggests associating side B of the neck with Smikros.
- 41 Cf. Williams, chap. 8.
- 42 Athens, Ephorate A 5040: *BAPD* Vase 6101; Papoutsakis-Serbetis 1980, pls. 146–47.
- 43 Cardon 1978–1979.
- 44 For Euthymides as potter, see the red-figured oinochoe with the potter-signature of Euthymides incised on the foot, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1981.11.9; Cohen 1991, 63–64, 65, figs. 24–25. See above, note 23, for Euthymides' coral red.
- 45 See Maish, Technical Studies essay.
- 46 For Hegesiboulos II, see Williams, chap. 8.
- 47 Leipzig, Antikenmuseum der Universität Leipzig T 954: *ARV*² 771.3; *BAPD* Vase 209538; Paul 1997, 46, no. 19.
- 48 Burn 1985, 101–102.
- 49 Cohen 1970–1971, 12, pl. 6.11.
- 50 For Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 482 and CA 483, see cat. no. 14 REFERENCES. In CB 1, 37, e.g., Beazley calls the Berlin cup "far inferior in drawing."
- 51 Pottier 1895, 41. On Louvre CA 482 there might also be coral-red stripes around the interior and exterior of the bowl's rim. Mertens 1977, 177, 192n.40, notes the Berlin cup's association with the Louvre cups and their similar diameters of around 14 cm.
- 52 Burn 1985, 104–105.
- 53 Cohen 1970–1971, 12.



7

BLACK-FIGURED CUP OF TYPE C

Attributed to Psiax, ca. 520–515 B.C.

H 6 cm; Diam 22.5 cm

St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum

B 9270

From Nola; acquired 1930; formerly Odessa, Museum; Odessa, I. P. Blaramberg collection

I, on coral-red ground, *Herakles with a horse of Diomedes*

A–B, on coral-red ground: A, *Hermes*; B, *Perseus*

CONDITION: Good; reassembled from two joining fragments without major losses; coral red flaked on interior and exterior, esp. along break; black gloss flaked on Hermes' face and legs and on B/A handle; resting surface of cup's foot abraded; chips in black gloss within foot.

ATTRIBUTED TO THE EXPERIMENTAL bilingual vase-painter Psiax, this delicate, entirely black-figure cup displays the first known occurrence of coral-red gloss used both inside and out. Here this special gloss was applied on the wheel, and it forms a true underlying ground for the black-figure decoration. The painter's masterfully

controlled incision, in fact, has cut through only the black gloss, specifically revealing the coral red beneath the painted forms.

On the interior, Psiax depicts the Greek hero Herakles in a rarely represented labor: subduing one of the man-eating horses of Diomedes in order to bring it back to King Eurystheus (fig. 7.1). The fiery stallion rears up on its hind legs as the hero locks his arm around its neck while threatening it with his club. Underscoring the fearsome nature of the horse, a bloody head and arm—perhaps the remains of a groom—project from the beast's mouth. The horse's bared white teeth are echoed in the white teeth of the elaborately incised lion skin worn by Herakles. Incision also describes a brand on the horse's hindquarters and its male genitals. In this finely tuned figural composition, which has not been aligned perpendicular to the cup's handles, the whirl of human and animal limbs is counterbalanced by the projecting diagonals of Herakles' long, thin club and the horse's tail. Rather than being confined to a tondo, this mythological depiction has simply been placed on a thin, black groundline. While the scheme is comparable to Psiax's own black-figured and white-ground plates (cat. no. 52), the proportions

of figure to ground are different: Here black-figure miniatures are surrounded by the impressive expanse of an exceptionally shiny and rather orange coral-red bowl.

This cup is made all the more wondrous by the inventive use of coral red on its exterior, where neither ornament nor a groundline detracts from the lustrous surface. Here Perseus and Hermes, excerpted from the myth of Medusa's beheading, appear to fly rapidly through the air in their winged boots. With long hair streaming behind him and limbs spread fore and aft, the young Perseus carries the *harpe* (curved knife) used to behead Medusa and a red *kibisis*, presumably containing her head (cf. cat. no. 56), slung over his arm (fig. 7.3). The messenger god carries his *kerykeion* and sports a red beard in addition to long streaming hair. Hermes is colorfully dressed in a red-bordered chlamys, a red-dotted short chiton, and a nebris with white patches. In their flight from Medusa's unseen Gorgon sisters, the hero and his guardian deity are barely contained by the cup: both their petasoi press against its rim.

On this subtly potted coral-red cup's underside, the god and hero—single black figures in



similar poses at the center of each side—are balanced by the black exteriors of the handles. The patches on the bowl between the handle-roots are reserved (fig. 7.4). Coral red extends seamlessly onto the stem of this unlippped cup of type C's short foot; an added-red fillet punctuates the juncture of stem and foot. The foot's elaborately profiled resting surface (see fig. 7.2) is reserved, while the upper surface of the foot plate is black. The vertical interior surface of the foot is also black, and a tiny black nipple, encircled by two red lines, marks the center of the bowl's reserved bottom.



7.4

REFERENCES: *ABV* 294.22; *Para* 128; *BAdd*² 77; *BAPD* Vase 320368; Richter 1934, 547n.4, 551, fig. 8, 552; Richter 1951, 150n.29, pl. 16a; Cohen 1970–1971, 3; Boardman 1974, 106, fig. 170; Kurtz 1975b; Cohen 1978, 515, no. A 25, pl. 126.2; Schefold 1978, 84–85, figs. 98–99, 105, fig. 130; Gorbunova 1983, 80–81, no. 56, 82, fig. no. 56; *LIMC* V (1990) s.v. Herakles 68, no. 2414, pl. 81 (J. Boardman); Carpenter 1991, 124, fig. 194; Tunkina 2002, 112 fig. with n.38; Piotrovsky 2004, [51] fig., [60] fig., [63], [68–69] figs.

I would like to thank Joan R. Mertens of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and Elena Khodza, Head of the Greek and Roman Section of the Classical Department at the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg, for investigating this cup's provenance and the latter also for supplying the reference to Tunkina 2002. Tunkina publishes a nineteenth-century article by Blaramberg, which indicates that the cup was found at Nola.





8

BILINGUAL CUP OF TYPE B

Attributed to Skythes, ca. 510 B.C.

H 8.8 cm; Diam (bowl) 24.5 cm

Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung
Ludwig BS 458

Gift of Dr. Hoek, Riehen, 1970

I, red-figure, *komast* with wineskin and walking stick; in the zone, coral red

Exterior, coral red: A, black-figure, *owl*; B, the like

CONDITION: Reassembled from fragments; most of B/A handle restored; black gloss on A/B handle scratched and pitted; missing parts of bowl restored in toned plaster; coral-red surfaces chipped, pitted, and cracked; part of owl's wing and tail on A and top of owl's head on B missing; black incrustation on ivy beneath restored B/A handle; brown discoloration on red-figure tondo; coral-red color flaked on *komast*'s wreath and on *kalos* inscription on tondo; black incrustation on right knee and lower left leg of *komast*, and on abraded resting surface of cup's foot.

THIS LATE BILINGUAL CUP by Skythes breaks with tradition. First, though bilingual, it is not an eye-cup, and, second, it reverses a bilingual's standard interior and exterior disposition of the

old black- and new red-figure techniques. Equally noteworthy is the novel use of coral-red gloss on a bilingual cup.

A lone black-figure owl stares out at the viewer from the center of each side of the cup's lustrous coral-red exterior. Their frontal faces with wide-open round eyes were probably considered an appropriate substitute for a standard bilingual cup's large eyes (cf. cat. nos. 3, 4, 5) as well as for the masks that often occupied the space between the eyes on black-figured eye-cups (cat. no. 74). These birds may also have been associated with the owls on Late Archaic Athenian coinage. Skythes' black-figure owls perch on an ivy vine painted in black silhouette upon a reserved band; this ornament forms a groundline that encircles the bowl. The cup's handles have black exteriors and reserved patches between their roots. The underside of its foot extends the striking juxtaposition of reserve, black gloss, and coral red that

could readily have been seen whenever the cup was hung by a handle in storage. At the same time, the deep orange-red gloss, applied on the potter's wheel, covers most of this cup's exterior, and here the coral-red and black glosses were not always purposely separated. Microscopic photography reveals that coral red is clearly visible beneath a good deal of the owls' carefully incised plumage (fig. 8.3); this gloss may thus have formed a true ground for the black-figure decoration (cf. cat. no. 7).

In contrast, coral red was not commonly employed as a ground surrounding reserved red-figure decoration (cf. Cohen, chap. 2, fig. 3); therefore, on this bilingual cup's interior the shiny orange-red gloss, once again applied on the potter's wheel, is limited to the zone around the tondo, and it is bordered by a black band at the rim of the bowl. The youthful, nude *komast* on the red-figure tondo has thrown his mantle over

8.2





8.3

the walking stick he rests upon his shoulder as he drags an empty wineskin behind him. His unbalanced pose, which suggests an inebriated state, is appropriate for the round picture field inside a wine cup. The youth's inner anatomical markings and sideburns are painted in dilute on his reserved flesh, while the border of his black hair is incised in the black ground. Both of these technical features are common in Archaic red-figure, but two other details of the tondo's decoration are not. Rather than standard purplish added red, the wreath in the youth's hair has been painted with coral-red gloss, and the inscription *Epilykos kalos*, on the black ground to either side of the youth, has been written with coral red rather than added red. These unusual coral-red embellishments raise the question of whether Skythes himself had a role in the potting as well as the painting of this specially designed small cup, which is one of several coral-red bilinguals by this artist that have come down to us. This cup's combination of a black owl and the inscription *Epilykos kalos* occurs also on another fancy product from a Late Archaic pottery

workshop, a janiform head vase in the Louvre of the so-called Epilykos Class; the decoration of plastic vases in this Class has thus often been associated with Skythes.

REFERENCES: *BAdd*² 394; *BAPD* Vase 4473; *CVA* Basel 2 [Switzerland 6] 14–15, pls. 3.1–3, 32.1, 5, 38.3; Schefold [1967] 77, no. 113.3; Cohen 1970–1971, 10n.47; Cahn 1971; Cohen 1978, 514, no. B 132, 515–19, pls. 127.3, 128.1–2; Bothmer 1982, 44.

For the Athenian coinage, see Kroll 1993, 5, with references in n.6, 17, no. 7, pl. 1.7. Cf. Skythes' coral-red bilingual cup Paris, Musée du Louvre F 129, see: *ARV*² 52, 84.20, 1578.11; *BAdd*² 170; *BAPD* Vase 200430: a normal added red was likewise not used on the Louvre cup; now a pinkish gray, the added color appears to be coral red affected by misfiring or burial conditions. For the Epilykos Class, see cat. no. 79 and, for a contrasting view, see True, chap. 7.



9.1

9

RED-FIGURED CUP OF TYPE B

Unattributed, ca. 510 B.C.
H 11.2 cm; Diam (bowl) 27.5 cm
Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.280
Purchased 1986; formerly Walter and Molly
Bareiss collection 242

*I, youth with walking stick and cloak (reveler); in
the zone, coral red*

*A–B, youths with walking sticks and cloaks
(revelers)*

CONDITION: Assembled from fragments with missing parts restored in plaster; some flaking of coral red within bowl; front of hair and face abraded on leftmost youth on side A; head missing and body abraded on rightmost youth on side B; losses of black gloss on B/A handle; many traces of misfiring on exterior, including a stacking circle from placement within another vessel during firing.

THIS IMPORTANT LATE ARCHAIC coral-red cup is unattributed. It has been associated unconvincingly with the Painter of London E 2 (cat. no. 6), the Ambrosios Painter (cat. no. 44), and several other hands. Unlike the unattributed Eros cup with coral red inside and out in Florence, signed by the potter Kachrylion, the Malibu cup has coral-red gloss on the inside only. It might be a humbler product of Kachrylion's workshop, from which several coral-red singletons have come down to us, signed by this important potter but not attributed to a vase-painter. The Malibu cup's closest kin is a fragmentary unsigned singleton in Leipzig with coral gloss both outside and in: Energetic male figures inhabit the exterior, athletes on one side and revelers on the other, while a satyr cavorts on the tondo (Cohen, chap. 2, fig. 5).

On the Malibu cup's interior, its unknown painter has carefully set the tondo figure—a young reveler with a cloak over his left arm and a walking stick in his right hand—perpendicular

to the cup's horizontal handles. Separated from the tondo by a narrow reserved stripe, a brilliant, deep and lustrous coral-red gloss fills the zone. The coral red was applied to the bowl's surface on the wheel, and it just meets a black band that runs around the interior of the lip. While the special red gloss was applied too thinly in places, particularly above and behind the tondo figure, this coral-red zone is nonetheless one of the best preserved on a Late Archaic cup.

Any symposiast who drained the wine from this cup would immediately have recognized the tondo's reveler as a comrade of the youths outside. None of the cup's nude young revelers hold drinking cups. All but two have draped their cloaks over their left arms, like makeshift shields, and many wield their walking sticks on the horizontal like spears. In fact, most of the youths seem to be pairing off in mock duels. On these simple Archaic red figures the drawing is executed entirely in relief line save for the incised borders separating their black hair from the black ground. Abdomi-

nal muscles are indicated on some of the youths, but not on others, such as the youth on the tondo. Along with nonsense inscriptions on the ground, the wreaths adorning the revelers' heads were applied in a standard matt purplish added red, which is decidedly different from the lustrous coral-red gloss of the zone. Finally, abundant, accidental splotches of shiny red color on the exterior that result from the misfiring of its black gloss form an interesting contrast with the intentional red on this eye-catching cup's interior.

REFERENCES: *BAPD* Vase 8835; *CVA* Malibu 8 [U.S.A. 33] 21–22, fig. 9, pls. 404.5, 405–406; Bothmer 1969, 427, 433, fig. 10; Bothmer and Bean 1969, 6, no. 80; Cohen 1970–1971, 6, pl. 3, figs. 4a–b; *JPGM* Bareiss 1983, 79, no. 146; "Acquisitions/1986," *Getty-MusJ* 15 (1987) 161, no. 7; Fernández 1990, 53; *JPGM Antiquities Handbook* 2002, 66.

For Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 91456: *ARV*² 108.27; *BAdd*² 173; *BAPD* Vase 200931; Esposito and De Tommaso 1993, 51, color figs. 68–69; and Lissarrague 2001, 44, figs. 31, 32. For Kachrylion's coral-red singletons and Leipzig, Antikenmuseum der Universität Leipzig T 497 (*ARV*² 109; *BAPD* Vase 20093), see also Cohen, chap. 2, fig. 5. On the Malibu cup's coral red, see further Maish in Technical Studies, with figs. 1 and 2.



9.2



10 FRAGMENTARY RED-FIGURED CUP

Attributed to Euphronios, ca. 515–505 B.C.
Diam 19.15 cm

Athens, Agora Museum P 32344
From Athens, found 3 August 1994 in the excavations of the American School of Classical Studies in the fill (Persian War debris) of a well (Agora J 2:4) associated with a Late Archaic house north of the Eridanos River near the Athenian Agora [Not in the exhibition]

I, seated draped male figure with walking stick, aryballos, and sponge; in the zone, coral red
Exterior, coral red

CONDITION: Fragmentary; assembled from nineteen fragments; missing nearly half of bowl, including most of red-figure tondo, one handle, more than half of foot plate, and most of stem; chips in preserved edge of rim; coral-red gloss mostly flaked from zone on interior and much flaked on exterior and foot fragment; scratches in coral red on top and underside of foot; black gloss circle on foot's underside abraded and scratched; broken in antiquity; five drill holes and traces of lead clamps, plaque, and bands for ancient repair.

THESE FRAGMENTS, ORIGINALLY embellished with coral red both inside and out, comprise an important addition to the cups decorated with this special gloss found in the city of Athens herself. The cup's exterior, which has no figural decoration, was entirely covered with coral red save for a narrow black stripe around the rim, black and reserve on the handles, and a black stripe around the chamfer on the foot plate. The patches between the handle-roots on each side of the bowl may have been reserved. The foot's reserved resting surface is bordered by a black band, and, within the band's perimeter, coral red was also applied at the center of the foot's underside. The bowl is lipped on the inside only, and this lip, covered with black gloss, framed the lustrous coral-red zone around the red-figure tondo. According to Kathleen M. Lynch, the cup's shape may have been an early example of a fluid type B rather than a type C cup (e.g., Cohen, chap. 2, fig. 8).

The red-figure vase-painting's scant remains, which have been convincingly attributed to the Pioneer-Group painter Euphronios (cat. nos. 29–30, Cohen, chap. 2, fig. 4), exhibit the masculine iconography typical of many Late Archaic coral-red cups. The preserved lower section of the tondo contains part of a draped male figure, perched on a stool that is summarily indicated by one leg; he appears to hold or lean on his walking stick. Familiar athletic accoutrements—a sponge, with a dotted surface, and an aryballos—appear to be suspended from the male's (missing) wrist. The tondo of an even more fragmentary coral-red cup, Agora P 33221, found in the same fill as this one, preserves part of a jumper with *halteres* beside a diskos suspended in a sack. Lynch suggests that both cups, which had been broken and mended in antiquity, were prized possessions of the owner of a Late Archaic private house associated with the well in which they were found.

Equally as interesting as the Euphronian cup's shape and decoration are the remains of its elaborate ancient repair, a distinctive feature for broken pottery from Athens, where replacements were readily available. Beyond the insertion of metal

staples or clamps into drill holes, this broken cup was further fortified by means of lead plaquettes placed over the spots where the pairs of holes were drilled beneath the tondo and near the rim; between these plaquettes the lead continued in strips applied over the ancient crack both inside and out. These now mostly disintegrated metal revetments fortuitously protected the coral-red gloss underneath them on the bowl's interior and exterior surfaces during burial, resulting in well-preserved strips and patches of a deep-red coral red (figs. 10.2–3).

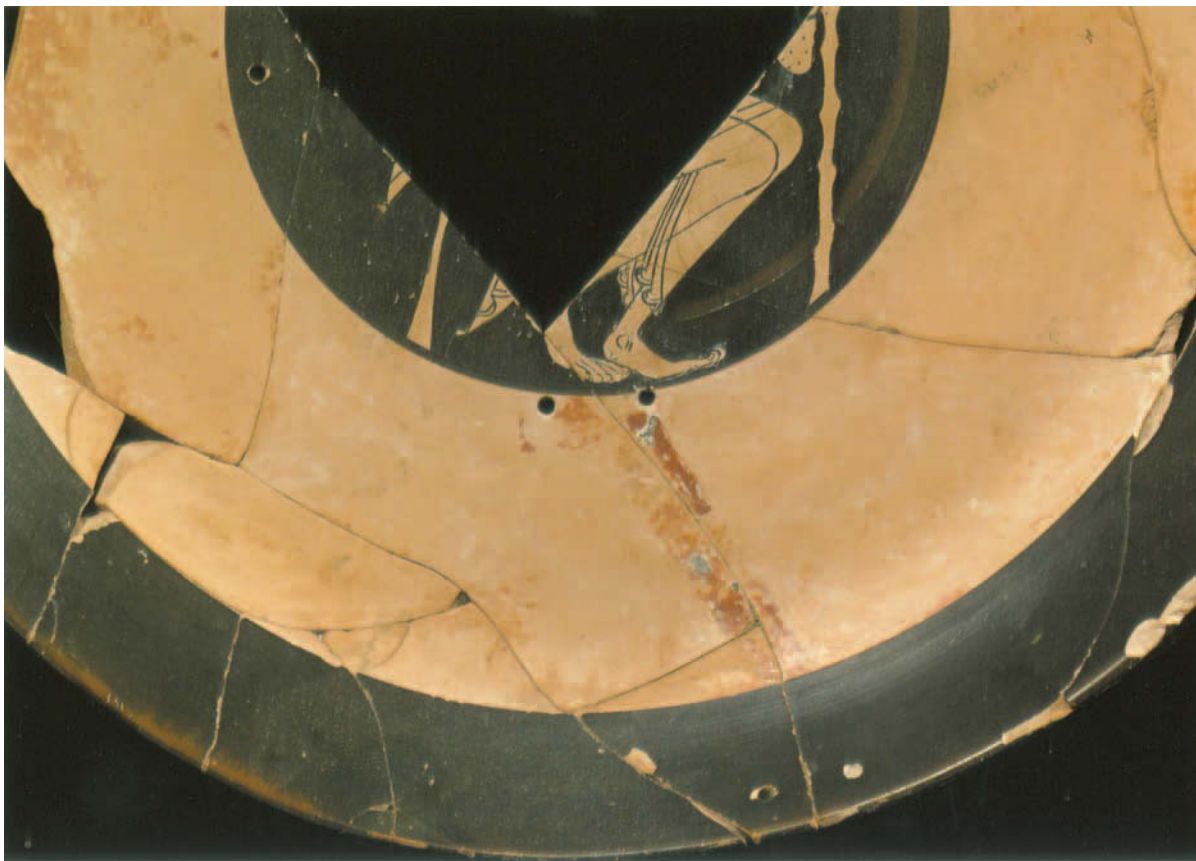
This modest cup's coral red is rather different in color from the creamy-orange coral-red gloss on the famous large cup from Vulci with signatures of Euphronios as painter and Kachrylion as potter (Cohen, chap. 2, fig. 4). Its small size, bowl lipped on the inside only, and figural decoration limited to the interior, bring to mind the Malibu semi-outline white-ground cup that should likewise be attributed to Euphronios (cat. no. 30). Given

the particular interest in special techniques of this painter—who ultimately became a potter—it is important to consider when Euphronios might himself have begun potting cups refined in shape and covered with rare glosses rather than merely painting models potted by Kachrylion.



REFERENCES: Camp 1996, 251, no. 36 (attributed to Euphronios by Christopher Pfaff), pl. 76 no. 36; Lynch, forthcoming *Hesperia* suppl.

For Agora P 33221, see Lynch, forthcoming *Hesperia* suppl. I would like to thank Kathleen M. Lynch for making relevant portions of her manuscript available to me prior to publication.



10.2

11 and 12

TWO RED-FIGURED PHIALAI MESOMPHALOI

11

Attributed to the Berlin Painter and to
Euphronios as potter, ca. 500–490 B.C.
H 3.5 cm; Diam 33.2 cm
Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 76.AE.96.1
Gift of Gordon McLendon

CONDITION: Restored from many fragments; considerable losses filled in with clay-toned plaster; omphalos missing; much of coral-red gloss on interior flaked; interior of one fragment discolored to black (from having been burned?); on part of exterior some iridescence of black gloss near rim; much of reserved clay in tongue pattern a grayish color.

12

Attributed to the Berlin Painter and to
Euphronios as potter, ca. 500–490 B.C.
H 3.5 cm; Diam 32 cm
Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 76.AE.96.2
Gift of Gordon McLendon

CONDITION: Restored from many fragments; losses filled in with clay-toned plaster; omphalos missing; much of coral-red gloss on interior flaked; scratches in coral red; traces of root marks and a white deposit on interior; a ring on bottom of exterior misfired to gray (with some bright orange) from stacking during firing; reserved clay ground of tongue pattern gray; chips and losses in tongue pattern.



THESE TWO MONUMENTAL PHIALAI mesomphaloi have elegant flat, spreading bowls with quite thin walls that curve upward delicately at the rim, recalling this shape's derivation from metal prototypes (see cat. no. 50). They are further distinguished by broad zones of deep coral-red gloss on their bowls' interiors. Moreover, these are not only the earliest but also the largest coral-red phialai known. These impressive vessels are far too large to have been held in the palm of the hand and used for pouring libations—the shape's traditional function (cf. cat. nos. 18, 19, 50). The Malibu coral-red phialai were thus probably commemorative, perhaps serving as dedications to the gods or as funerary offerings. Although not exactly replicas in either shape or ornament, these two phialai must have been designed together as a pair. The lip of 76.AE.96.1 is thicker and curves more than the flatter lip of the second phiale. Each phiale is covered with black gloss on the exterior save for a band of tongues with dots around the rim. This gloss was applied to each vessel while it turned on the wheel. On its coral-red interior, each one is adorned with two decorative friezes—one in red-figure and one in black

silhouette—around a (lost) omphalos, with the raised central frieze offset by a groove. Different interior ornament appears on each phiale. On 76.AE.96.1 sideways red-figure circumscribed palmettes and elaborate lotus buds run counterclockwise around the (lost) omphalos; this inner frieze is encircled by running black spirals accented with short black strokes painted on reserved ground. On 76.AE.96.2 a red-figure frieze of upright circumscribed palmettes is encircled by a band of tongues like the ones on each phiale's exterior.

On the basis of their ornament—particularly the distinctive lotus buds with double leaves and the spirals—these phialai have been associated with the early work of the Berlin Painter (Frel 1977; Cardon 1978–1979), one of the finest Late Archaic fifth-century pot painters (Cohen, Introduction, figs. 1–2). However, the running spiral, a design commonly associated with metalwork, may simply have been considered appropriate ornament for a phiale. A black running spiral also appears on another phiale decorated in a special technique: the British Museum's very early white-ground example (cat. no. 50), of ca. 520 B.C., long associated with the potter Nikosthenes. The same potter's signed black-gloss phialai (see cat. no. 50, REFERENCES) are decorated with tongues around their omphaloi.

More the products of a master potter than a vase-painter, these early fifth-century coral-red phialai unfortunately do not bear craftsmen's signatures. Their large shallow bowls bring to mind the great late sixth-century coral-red cup in Munich potted by Kachrylion and painted by Euphronios (Cohen, chap. 2, fig. 4). Euphronios (cat. nos. 10, 29, 30), whose vase-painting influenced the early Berlin Painter, became a potter later in his career and has thus been considered a likely candidate for the potter of the extraordinary Malibu phialai.



12

REFERENCES: *BAPD* Vases 5733 (76.AE.96.1), 5732 (76.AE.96.2); Frel 1977, 76, nos. 27–28; Cardon 1978–1979; Robertson 1991b, 93–95, 97n.49; Robertson 1992, 86, 304n.255.

Monumental phialai appear to have been an early fifth-century fashion, see Robertson 1991b; for unpublished fragments of a red-figured coral-red phiale in Malibu, ca. 480 B.C., attributed to the Foundry Painter, *JPGM* 90.AE.38; Robertson 1991b, 93 at n.50. Cf. the quite different small, horizontally fluted Classical phialai with coral-red exteriors and offset black lips in Berlin, *Antikensammlung* 4499 (*BAPD* Vase 1008180) and Kassel, *Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung* T 550 (*BAPD* Vase 1005141). In this volume, Sotades' horizontally fluted phialai (cat. nos. 96–97) are shown not to have employed coral red. For the Berlin Painter, named after the red-figured amphora of type A in Berlin, *Antikensammlung* F 2160, see *ARV*² 196–216, 1633–35, 1700–1701; *Para* 341–45; *BAdd*² 190–97; *BAPD* Vase 201809; *BAPD* s.v. Berlin P. For Euphronios as potter, see Williams 1991a; cat. nos. 10, 82, Cohen, chap. 2, and True, chap. 7. Euthymides, another Pioneer Group master associated with the early Berlin Painter, appears to have worked as a potter and also to have employed coral red, see Williams 2005 and Cohen, chap. 2.



13

RED-FIGURED VOLUTE-KRATER

Recalls the Kleophrades Painter, ca. 480 B.C.
H (to top of volutes) 56.7–56.9 cm; H (to rim)
49.7–50.6 cm

Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 84.AE.974
European art market; purchased 1984

A, upper zone of neck, *Herakles and Alkyoneus*
B, upper zone of neck, *three Labors of Herakles:*
the Ceryneian Hind, the Lernaean Hydra, and the
Nemean Lion

Top of lip, lower zone of neck, body, and upper
degree of foot: coral red

CONDITION: Assembled from large fragments; much flaking of coral-red gloss; color variations in the gloss's surface: tannish on side A of neck, deeper orange on side A of body; black gloss flaked on handles and upper zone of neck, and misfired to gray, green, and red on foot's lower degree; spots misfired red on vessel's black interior; on side A of neck: major crack through vase-painting; surface discolorations; chip missing from back of Athena's head and helmet, loss of relief lines on her face and body, losses of some added-red leaves on tree. Traces of white (gypsum) deposit on vase-paintings and at handles.

IT IS AMAZING TO DISCOVER fragile coral-red gloss applied to the body of a large pot: Indeed, the splendid Malibu coral-red volute-krater is the only known example. Nonetheless, this red-bodied vessel is related to the Late Archaic tradition of black-bodied volute-kraters with figural decoration on the neck, which began in the sixth century. The disposition of its ornament is familiar: A complex meander in black gloss encircles the reserved lip, and a row of black tongues on reserve articulates each side of the shoulder at the base of the neck. Black ivy decorates the reserved faces of the well-chiseled flanged spiral handles, and, rather unusually, a single reserved red-figure palmette adorns each black handle-root (fig. 13.2). Only a black fillet separates the coral-red body from the krater's foot, which is also covered with coral red on its upper degree. The bottom of the body is not encircled by rays. This predominantly

pale-colored vessel presents a handsome schema of subtly contrasting lustrous and matt red orange with but limited touches of black. The visible misfiring of the black on its foot suggests how difficult firing this large and highly experimental coral-red pot must have been. Clay volute-kraters have often been associated with metal versions of the shape. If black-bodied models evoked bronze kraters, a glistening coral-red krater might have evoked a luxurious substance like gold. At the same time, the seminal association of coral-red gloss with wine itself (Cohen, chap. 2, fig. 1) makes its use highly appropriate on an important symposium vessel.

The quirky red-figure Heracleian frieze on the neck is just one part—and, given the vessel's unique coral-red body, perhaps not the most important part—of this volute-krater's overall decoration. It brings to mind the style of the Kleophrades Painter, who like the Pioneer Euthymides, decorated necks of black-bodied volute-kraters, but the mediocre draftsmanship and odd details here are hardly worthy of this supremely gifted fifth-century vase-painter. On the front of the krater's neck one of Herakles' deeds is shown in a bucolic setting (fig. 13.1). The hero, backed by Athena, approaches the giant Alkyoneus, who is asleep on a rock beside a tree with the childlike winged personification of sleep, Hypnos, sleeping on top of him. Herakles will fight and slay Alkyoneus, and his nephew Iolaos will drive off the cattle that the giant stole from the Sun. Two members of this herd are shown from the rear, amusingly foreshortened; however, odd discrepancies occur in the genitals of the other cattle.

Side B presents a cycle with overlapping depictions of three of Herakles' labors (fig. 13.3). First, he struggles with the Ceryneian





13.3

Hind, which is shown, strangely, as an antlered, ithyphallic mule. Then, assisted by Iolaos, the hero cuts off the Lernaean Hydra's heads, which are, unusually, a full dozen and all shown in top rather than profile view. Athena, seated, looks on. Finally, at the right and on a larger scale, a nude Herakles fights the Nemean Lion by ripping its jaws apart, as a seated Iolaos offers encouragement.

One distinctive feature of the red-figure technique on both sides of the krater's neck is especially relevant in the present context: The dilute employed for coloring and shading appears to have been made from coral red rather than from standard black gloss. This shiny, rather orange dilute, applied in different intensities, enhances, for example, the cattle, Athena's shield, Herakles' lion skin, and Alkyoneus's beard and rock on side A; and the lion skin in each depiction of Herakles, the Hydra, and the lion's mane on side B. This special dilute coral-red gloss, which harmonizes the tonality of the vase-paintings with the lustrous color of the volute-krater's body, may well have been provided to the vase-painter by this vessel's clever and resourceful potter.

REFERENCES: *BAPD* Vase 16201; "Acquisitions/1984," *GettyMusJ* 13 (1985) 170, no. 24 (attributed to near the Kleophrades Painter); Noble 1988, pl. 7; *LIMC* v (1990) s.v. Iolaos 692 (M. Pipili); Schleiffenbaum 1991, 368, no. V 289; Froning 1992, 139–41, figs. 10–12; Shapiro 1993, 151, fig. 109, 152, and 254, no. 104 bis; Gaunt 2002, 178, 213–14n.128, 222–24, 531, cat. no. 54 (attributed to near the Syleus Sequence or the Circle of the Nikoxenos Painter); *JPGM Antiquities Handbook* 2002, 73 (attributed to the Kleophrades Painter [as painter, side A, and as potter] and to a pupil, side B).

Cf., e.g., the black-bodied volute-kraters with red-figure decoration on both zones of the neck: (1) from Morgantina, Sicily, late sixth century, attributed to Euthymides: *Aidone, Museo Archeologico* 58.2382 (formerly Serra Orlando): *ARV*² 28.10, 1620; *BAdd*² 156; *BAPD* Vase 200145; and (2) ca. 490 B.C., attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, Malibu, *JPGM* 77.AE.11: *JPGM Antiquities Handbook* 2002, 72. Cf. also the black-bodied volute-krater cat. no. 16. I would like to thank Despoina Tsiafakis, Head of the Cultural Heritage Unit, Cultural and Educational Technology Institute (CETI), Integrated Research for the Information Society (IRIS), Xanthi, Greece, for making available to me a draft of her entry for this vase in a forthcoming fascicule of the Malibu CVA.

14

WHITE-GROUND AND CORAL-RED STEMLESS CUP

Attributed to the Workshop of Sotades and
Hegesiboulos II, ca. 460 B.C.
H 3.5 cm; Diam (bowl) 14 cm
Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen
zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz
V.I. 3408
From Athens; purchased from Geladakis in
1898

I, white ground, *woman placing a sprig on an altar*
Exterior, black gloss and coral red

CONDITION: Reassembled from fragments with
joins and minor losses filled in with plaster; ends of
handles restored; yellow and orange discolorations
of white ground; losses of black gloss around lip, on
bowl's exterior, and on handles; two small sections
of foot ring restored; coral red abraded on resting
surface of foot ring and scratched or flaked on other
surfaces; inventory number written in black on top
of coral red on bowl's bottom within foot ring; miss-
ing chip from center of underside.

THE DECORATION OF THIS SMALL, light
stemless cup employs three special techniques:
white ground and once-gilded added clay on the
interior plus a heretofore overlooked use of coral-
red gloss on the exterior. J. D. Beazley's several
appraisals of the Berlin stemless as "inferior" in
comparison with the two colorful white-ground



14.1

stemless cups in the Louvre attributed to the Hesiod Painter may have contributed to both Adolph Greifenhagen's inattentive, erroneous description in the CVA and the relative neglect of this charming cup in the literature on vase-painting.

Inside the bowl, a ridged spiral that the potter did not sponge smooth is still visible at the center. Creamy white ground covers the entire interior save for a narrow black stripe around the lip; a circle of dark golden-orange dilute gloss, which was applied on the potter's wheel, delineates this cup's large tondo. Here a young woman adds a leafy sprig of myrtle to the offerings already placed on a blood-smeared altar. As she bends forward in a complex pose, intensely focused on the task at hand, her human scale is emphasized by the atmospheric empty space on the tondo above her head. This sensitive vase-painting is a study in the definition of form with dilute gloss applied fluidly in different intensities. The woman's hair is bright orange with individual locks picked out in dark brown. Her voluminous and finely pleated, translucent linen chiton is described by thin orange lines; it is topped by a woolen himation wrapped around her body and left arm in soft folds subtly shaded with dilute. A preliminary sketch for the woman in shiny, colorless dilute gloss has been preserved. This intimate image of private cult

celebration is accented by touches of red for the woman's headband and necklace, a stripe on her chiton sleeve, her himation's border, and blood on the altar. Several details in white added clay were once gilded (Phillippart 1936): the woman's ear-ring, the bracelet on her right arm (not mentioned in the CVA or in Wehgartner 1983), and a fruit on the altar. Originally these raised golden elements would have led the viewer's eye along the composition's main axis.

The use of coral red on this dainty stemless cup's otherwise black exterior is an important feature of its decoration. This lustrous red gloss coats the patches between the handle-roots, the handles' inner surfaces, the underside of the bowl within the ring foot, and also the foot's resting surface (fig. 14.2). The last location suggests that this vessel was probably not intended for practical daily use. Coral-red embellishment has here been relegated to subsidiary areas that are normally reserved, and they have formerly been described as reserved on this vessel. Whereas this special gloss was generally applied to extensive surfaces horizontally as the vessel turned on the potter's wheel, in the constricted space of this cup's handle zones, the coral red was brushed on vertically freehand.

Like the vases from the Sotades Tomb (cat. nos. 90–99), this delicate cup was found in Athens and, accordingly, was another special product intended for the home market. The combination of white ground and coral-red gloss on fragile cups during the mid-fifth century is closely associated with the Athenian tomb group's potters, Sotades and Hegesiboulos II; the Berlin stemless must likewise have been produced in their workshop.

REFERENCES: ARV¹ 459; ARV² 774 ("compare with these [Hesiod Painter's Louvre cups] an inferior stemless cup"); BAPD Vase 209557; CVA Berlin 3 [Germany 22] 11, pl. 108.1–2; CB I, 37; Neugebauer 1932, 115; Rumpf 1934, 13n.3; Phillippart 1936, 83, no. 60, pl. 34; Mertens 1977, 172, no. 44, 177, 192n.40; Wehgartner 1983, 62, no. 46, 96–97; Heilmeyer 1988, 146–47, no. 8.

For the Hesiod Painter's cups, Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 482 and CA 483, see ARV² 774.2–3, 1669; Para 416; BAdd² 287; BAPD Vases 209555 and 209556. See also in this volume Cohen, chap. 2, on the Berlin stemless cup's association with vases from the Sotades Tomb, and Williams, chap. 8, for Hegesiboulos II.



Six's Technique





Six's Technique: Black Ground

Beth Cohen

IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, ALONG WITH inscriptions, such as love names and craftsmen's signatures, which facilitated early attributions to artists and workshops,¹ techniques of decoration also served as important criteria for classifying vases. Six's technique was first isolated and systematically examined by the Dutch scholar and collector Jan Six in a seminal article of 1888, "Vases polychromes sur fond noir de la période archaïque."² In the twentieth century, J. D. Beazley appropriately honored Six's scholarship by naming

after him the special technique that employs polychromy on a black ground.³ Two early to mid-twentieth century contributions are also fundamental for the study of Six's technique. C. H. Emilie Haspels, in her 1936 book *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi*, explored this technique in the work of the Sappho and Diosphos Painters. Both Six and Haspels considered only Archaic vases; the fifth-century choes with superposed color decoration, which ought to be associated with Six's technique, were first collected by Gerard van Hoorn in his 1951 study *Choes and Anthesteria*.⁴

Polychromy on a black ground has a rather checkered history in the Attic pottery industry. At the introduction of Six's technique during the last quarter of the sixth century, it was an inventive alternative to red-figure that was rooted in the methodology of black-figure.⁵ By the early fifth century, however, this technique's brand of polychromy was unable to compete with the popularity of red-figure and the rise of white ground. Given the fragility of its superposed colors and the paucity of workshops involved in its production, Six's technique was from the start a rarity applied

to a relatively narrow range of vase shapes (e.g., cat. nos. 17, 18, 21, 22). Nevertheless, within several special fifth-century contexts (e.g., cat. nos. 26, 49), polychromy on a black ground enjoyed a limited post-Archaic survival.

The application of different slips or glosses to the surface of clay vases in an attempt to provide alternatives to the traditional reserved ground of Attic black-figure received particular attention during the last third of the sixth century B.C., a time of creative experimentation in Athenian pottery workshops. First, a brilliant coral-red gloss appears to have been tested by the master black-figure painter and potter Exekias on an elaborate eye-cup (Cohen, chap. 2, fig. 1). Before long, a white slip was employed as a true, underlying ground for black-figure decoration in the workshops of the potters Nikosthenes (e.g., cat. no. 50) and Andokides (see Mertens, chap. 6). At the same time, the major new technique of red-figure was invented, most likely in Andokides' shop (e.g., cat. nos. 1, 2, 27). Red-figure, however, avoided and excluded the use of a ground; instead, its black-gloss background was laboriously painted around forms reserved in the orange color of the clay (see Cohen, chap. 5). While initially aligned aesthetically with the red-figure concept of pale forms contrasted with a dark background, Six's technique differs technically therefrom: (1) by employing black gloss as an underlying ground; (2) by using superposed color in place of reserve; and (3) sometimes, by assigning a significant role to incision, which had been a fundamental element of the old black-figure technique but is either marginalized or suppressed entirely in red-figure.

The technology of Six's technique, in fact, represents a basic choice that was generally available to craftsmen in early Greek pottery workshops. A black ground, for example, characterizes Corinthian polychrome ware of the Orientalizing period. The name vase of the Middle Corinthian White Bull Painter (fig. 1), an Archaic oinochoe from the first quarter of the sixth century,⁶ is technically and visually comparable to early Six's technique, employing pale painted figures, detailed with incision, upon a black ground. Furthermore, as Jan Six recognized, Attic black-

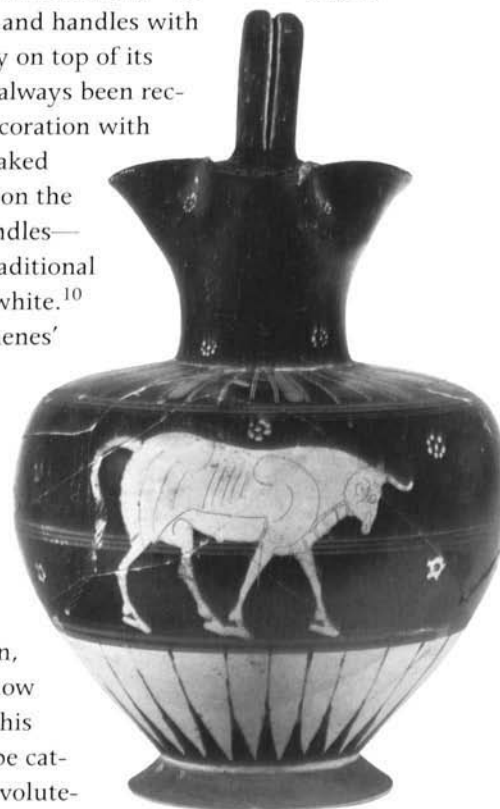
figured vases themselves had already employed a form of Six's technique for rendering shield devices.⁷ On a neck-amphora of Group E in Munich (fig. 2), of ca. 540 B.C.,⁸ for example, a white flying eagle with incised details is emblazoned on the black shield of a *hoplitodromos* (armed runner). Finally, in black-figure vase-painting white detailed with incision applied on top of black silhouettes was generally employed for the flesh of female figures, for animals, and for selected other forms.⁹

Nikosthenes: The Inventor of Six's Technique

The signature of Nikosthenes as potter appears on the black Nikosthenic neck-amphora in the Louvre (cat. no. 15), which was Jan Six's own initial example of an Athenian vase decorated in Six's technique and which remains its earliest known example. The painter of this vase has not been identified, but its mode of decoration must have been invented in Nikosthenes' workshop. This unusually shaped neck-amphora—patterned after an Etruscan bucchero prototype and surely designed for export to Etruria—is decorated only on the neck and handles with white forms painted directly on top of its black-gloss surface. As has always been recognized, its pale painted decoration with delicately incised detail—naked women greeting eager dogs on the neck and tripods on the handles—is entirely in accord with traditional black-figure uses of added white.¹⁰ Thus, at the outset, Nikosthenes' new technique employs black-figure technology to emulate red-figure's light-against-dark color contrast.

Given the intersecting technologies employed by the various techniques of Late Archaic vase decoration, it is important to consider how certain works produced at this time of transition ought to be categorized. An unusual Attic volute-

Figure 1. Bull. Corinthian oinochoe, attributed to the White Bull Painter, ca. 600–575 B.C. H 25.5 cm. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen—Preußischer Kulturbesitz F 1117. Photograph: Bildarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY. Photographer: Jutta Tietz-Glagow.



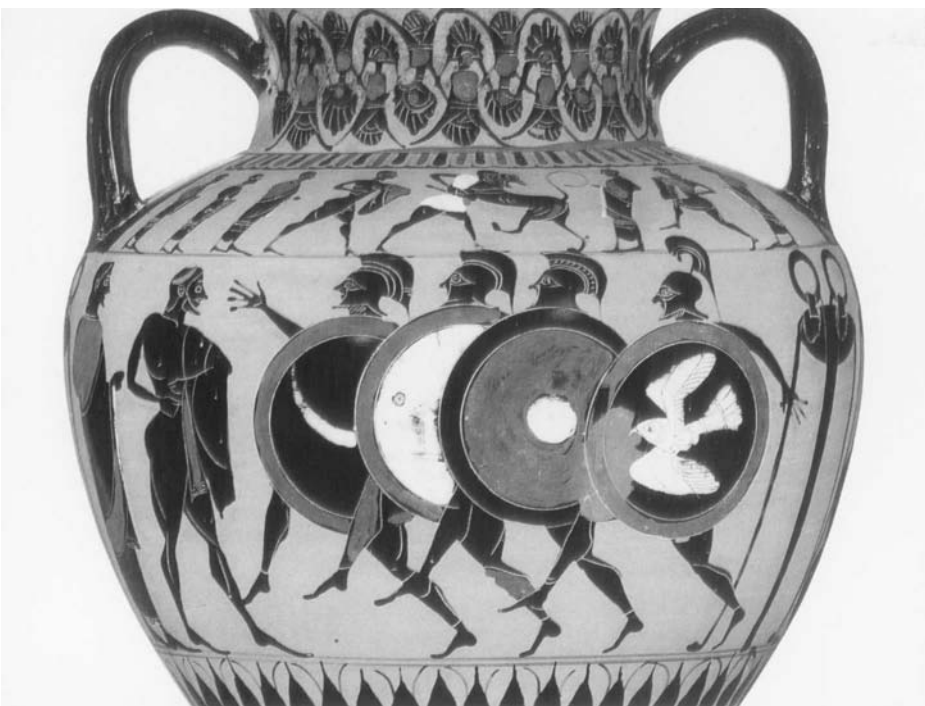


Figure 2. *Hoplitodromoi*. Detail of a black-figured neck-amphora, attributed to Group E, ca. 540 B.C. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1471.

krater from Orvieto in the National Museum, Copenhagen (cat. no. 16), of ca. 520 B.C., associated with the workshop of Nikosthenes, might be considered an entirely black-figured vase. Although it is black-bodied, here traditional black-figure ornament has not been suppressed in the manner of the Louvre's black Nikosthenic neck-amphora (cat. no. 15). Instead of spirals, this volute-krater's unusual handles terminate in flat medallions that are painted black and embellished with white gorgoneia with incised facial features and added-red details. Since the gorgoneion—the abstracted frontal face of the Gorgon Medusa—is commonly drawn in outline on a reserved ground in black-figure (see Cohen, chap. 5, fig. 3; cat. no. 74), these gorgoneia employing “female” white on a black ground should probably be classified as Six’s technique rather than as traditional black-figure, despite this krater’s black-figure ornament.¹¹ Many Late Archaic vases, in fact, employ more than one technique in their decoration (e.g., cat. nos. 1–6, 8, 50, 53).

On a small scale, the miniature exaleipteron in Berlin (cat. no. 20) from the last quarter of the sixth century, which is said to have been found in Athens, is another Late Archaic oddity that employs “female” white with incision and added red. Since a reserved ground rather than a black one lies beneath the white birds and beasts on this

tiny vase, it is not decorated in canonical Six’s technique, but it must have been inspired by it.

The iconographic repertory of Six’s technique proper quickly expanded beyond the forms appropriate for white added color in black-figure, which characterize the above examples (cat. nos. 15, 16, 20). In this respect, the kyathos, a tall-handled wine-dipper—another Etruscanizing shape that Nikosthenes adapted from black bucchero—plays an important role.¹² Examples in St. Petersburg (see cat. no. 17 with REFERENCES) and London, attributed to the black-figure Painter of Vatican 480,¹³ which are covered with black gloss, are decorated with white figures that are male rather than female! On each kyathos, a single white male figure—a satyr or Dionysos himself—is surrounded by grapevines with white bunches sprinkled with black grapes. This Six’s-technique imagery is certainly suitable for a wine vessel.

Psiax: The Experimenter

The bilingual vase-painter Psiax decorated kyathoi embellished with plastic female heads, a genre associated with Nikosthenes, in black-figure on a white ground (True, chap. 7, fig. 1).¹⁴ In the depiction of Herakles fighting the Nemean Lion on an entirely black-figured amphora in Brescia, Psiax painted a white owl-device with incised details on the black shield of the armed goddess Athena.¹⁵ True Six’s technique is combined with white ground on this innovative painter’s unique alabastron in London (Mertens, chap. 6, fig. 1), of ca. 520–515 B.C., which was found at Eretria.¹⁶ This important vessel’s central Six’s-technique frieze contains elite genre imagery of nude youths with horses. Psiax’s lithe little figures, now poorly preserved, were painted on top of black gloss in a creamy white with lightly incised details and with certain features, such as the youths’ hair and the horses’ manes, painted in red. On the side with a youth steadying a rearing horse, a visible preliminary sketch documents a change in the position of one of the youth’s arms.¹⁷ Preliminary sketch is often readily visible in Six’s technique (cf. cat. no. 23). Around the rearing horse, *kalos* names (*Karystios*, *Smikrion*, and *Morylos*) have, quite unusually, been incised into the

black ground of Psiax's alabastron. The picture on the vessel's other side is itself quite unusual: A youth approaches a muzzled horse that is about to roll on the ground beneath a spreading tree.¹⁸ The male iconography applied here raises the question of whether the use of this shape as a container for perfumed oil was limited to women (cf. cat. no. 57). Originally, the light-on-dark Six's-technique frieze would have been framed by dark-on-light bands of black ornament on white ground at the upper and lower portions of the alabastron's body.¹⁹ This highly experimental vessel, employing two different special techniques, may have been cautiously fired at too low a temperature insofar as much of the black gloss on its mouth has misfired to red. Vases in Six's technique frequently exhibit signs of misfiring (cat. nos. 23, 24).

The Workshop of the Diosphos and Sappho Painters
Rare preserved examples of alabaster decorated entirely in Six's technique have been attributed to the Diosphos Painter.²⁰ In a late black-figure workshop, which produced primarily lekythoi, many of which were decorated with black-figure and semi-outline on a white ground, the Diosphos Painter and his associate the Sappho Painter continued the Psiacian tradition of Six's technique down into the early fifth century.²¹ These painters perfected a more elaborate form of the technique that employed several colors—flesh tone in addition to white, cream, and red—and, significantly, also employed incision, not merely for inner details, but also for drawing forms in outline on the black ground itself (cat. nos. 24, 25). Their emphasis on drawing with incision on a black ground recalls details in the late black-figure of the Amasis Painter.²² The Diosphos Painter used this mature version of Six's technique to create polychrome images that are more naturalistic than red- or black-figure vase-paintings, such as the young hunter on horseback on the lekythos from Agrigento now in Karlsruhe (cat. no. 24). Haspels aptly likened this form of Six's technique to the semi-outline technique employed on white-ground lekythoi produced by the same workshop (cat. no. 56).²³ In terms of its definition of form by

means of outline and color, this mature version of Six's technique anticipates the classic technique of white-ground vase-painting.

Like fifth-century white-ground lekythoi, Late Archaic Six's-technique lekythoi have been presumed to have served as funerary vases.²⁴ While some Six's-technique lekythoi bear themes appropriate for funerary imagery, such as a warrior dying in battle or Eos carrying the body of her son Memnon,²⁵ others do not. Six grouped together on his list lekythoi decorated with satyrs and maenads,²⁶ and other examples have since come to light, some of which may be attributed to the Diosphos (cat. no. 25) and Sappho Painters. The imagery of this group of lekythoi is often especially erotic. A lekythos in New York attributed to the Sappho Painter, which has been said to depict a dancing satyr, in fact, depicts an outlined old satyr with a white beard, hair, and tail, sitting with his legs akimbo on rocky ground, masturbating beside a large white pointed amphora.²⁷ The Diosphos Painter's depiction of an outlined black satyr with an erect red penis chasing a white maenad on the lekythos from Gela in Boston is well known because of J. D. Beazley's captivating drawing (fig. 3).²⁸ The Six's technique imagery of sexual pursuit may be especially violent: On a little lekythos in Berlin a satyr, who has seized a maenad with both hands, pins her down on rocky ground, as she manages to hold onto her *thyrsos*.²⁹ In the time of red-figure vase-painting, where both male and female figures were reserved, the distinction between the sexes possible in Six's technique must have seemed especially eloquent



Figure 3. Satyr pursuing a maenad. Drawing by J. D. Beazley of figures on an Athenian lekythos in Six's technique, attributed to the Diosphos Painter (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 98.885). Drawing in the Beazley Archive, Oxford, Vase 361413.

to ancient eyes. Rather than being designed as funerary vases, perhaps these erotic lekythoi served as personal unguent jars before ultimately finding their way into tombs. In light of the Late Archaic fashion for Six's-technique lekythoi, the assumption that all white-ground lekythoi served as funerary vases should be reconsidered (cf. cat. no. 59).

In the Sappho and Diosphos Painters' workshop, occasionally, as on Psiax's alabastron, white ground and Six's technique are employed together on the same vessel. On the Diosphos Painter's large Six's-technique lekythos in the Louvre, with a flying winged Iris holding a *kerykeion* and a writing tablet, the upper ornamental border of black keys is painted on a white ground.³⁰ On the Sappho Painter's black-figured Athens epinetron 2184 (a knee guard employed by women for carding wool), several ornamental borders on the vessel's

flanks are painted on a white ground.³¹ On the partly misfired black surface at its curved end, now poorly preserved flying Erotes with white flesh rendered in Six's technique flank this elaborate vessel's colorfully painted mold-made female head.

The Sappho Painter's famous name vase, the black-bodied hydria in Warsaw of ca. 500 B.C. with an inscribed depiction in Six's technique of the poetess playing the barbiton, is a special showpiece (cf. cat. nos. 54, 55).³² The name Sappho is incised in the black ground, and, save for the exposed white female flesh, the outlines of her form, draped in a chiton and himation, and her barbiton, replete with all of its strings, are also incised. The use of Six's technique facilitates this depiction: A musical instrument's strings could be rendered more visible incised into the black ground, rather than painted in black relief lines on a black background, as they were in contemporary red-figure (cf. cat. fig. 1.1).

Figure 4. Nude barbiton player. Stamnos in Six's technique, ca. 525–500 B.C. H 31 cm. Berlin, Antikenmuseum, Staatliche Museen—Preußischer Kulturbesitz F 4029. Photograph: Bildarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY. Photographer: Johannes Laurentius.



Stamnoi: Pots Decorated in Six's Technique

Representations of the barbiton with incised strings also appear on Attic stamnoi, the most popular large shape decorated in Six's technique during the late sixth century. The Six's-technique stamnos in Berlin (fig. 4) has a lone male figure painted onto each side; one of them, wreathed with ivy and sporting an exceptionally long beard, plays a barbiton with incised strings.³³ These pale figures silhouetted against the black, who do not stand on a groundline, are flanked by large red palmettes growing in the handle zones. A *komos*, consisting of a musician and a dancing male figure, painted in orange with incised details and flanked by big handle-palmettes, appears on a contemporaneous stamnos formerly in the Stavros S. Niarchos collection, which has been associated with the Antimenes Painter or the Leagros Group.³⁴ One musician plays the aulos, the other a barbiton with incised strings. The dancing red man opposite the piper on this fragmentary stamnos holds a cup, and on a now-fragmentary contemporaneous large Six's-technique skyphos in Malibu (cat. no. 21) an acrobatic red *komast* balances as he drinks from a cup. Such sympotic

imagery is appropriate for these large pots, which were used not only as storage jars for wine but also for mixing wine with water at drinking parties.³⁵ The prominent palmette ornament of the stamnoi with figural decoration associates them with the Late Archaic handleless models decorated solely with painted palmettes.³⁶ Finally, these stamnoi bring to mind the vogue for the painted red figures and palmettes of Six's technique on fifth-century Etruscan pots.³⁷

Phialai: Vessels for Wine and Ritual

The second part of Jan Six's 1888 study deals with Attic phialai decorated in Six's technique.³⁸ This tradition, which endured into the fifth century, may have been initiated by Nikosthenes, whose potter-signature appears on black-gloss phialai (see cat. no. 50, REFERENCES). A black-figure-on-white-ground phiale with hunt and animal friezes in London (cat. no. 50), of ca. 520 B.C., long associated with Nikosthenes, is also decorated with polychrome ornament, i.e., Six's technique, on the inside of its black rim. Several Six's-technique phialai with symposiasts and hetairai that have similar rim ornament might likewise have been produced in this potter's workshop.³⁹ The bird attending a symposium on a Six's-technique phiale in Berlin appears to have hatched from the same nest as those on the London white-ground hunt phiale.⁴⁰ The sympotic imagery on several Six's technique phialai raises the question of whether some of these libation bowls were actually employed for drinking, as they are shown in Late Archaic vase-painting (cf. cat. fig. 74.3).

At the same time, many fragmentary Six's-technique phialai have been found on the Athenian Akropolis, and they must have been dedicated there.⁴¹ These libation bowls, like the Louvre's phiale with swimming octopi and dolphins from Eretria (cat. no. 18), are often decorated with forms painted onto the black ground in superposed colors without incision. The superposed-color deer hunt on horseback, which unfolds in an unusual tree-studded forest setting on a late phiale from Athens now in Berlin (cat. no. 19) exhibits the elite iconography of men and horses that Psiach had introduced to early Six's

technique (Mertens, chap. 6, fig. 1). With bright and quickly painted, but not necessarily durable, decoration, phialai in Six's technique were ideal vessels for ritual use of limited duration.

Modern scholars have split hairs over whether decoration with superposed color on a black ground without incision, as is employed on many of the phialai, ought to be considered Six's technique,⁴² though Jan Six himself made no such restriction. As explained above, incision was an Archaic technique that had only a limited life beyond black-figure. Furthermore, significant exploration of the decorative possibilities of Six's technique incorporating elaborate incision, which appears to have reached the height of its development in the workshop of the Diosphos and Sappho Painters, did not survive the Archaic period. Surely the rise of white ground as the preferred polychrome medium, associated in particular with lekythoi, played an important role in sidelining Six's technique in fifth-century Attic pottery workshops.

Oddities of Six's Technique in the Fifth Century B.C.

Six's technique was occasionally pressed into service on fifth-century Athenian vases. Thus, figures applied in superposed colors with painted details embellish the black rim of a plastic kantharos in the form of a woman's head in London of ca. 480 B.C. (fig. 5).⁴³ The kantharos's molded woman's head has female flesh reserved in the color of the clay as is the norm on Athenian head vases (cf. cat. nos. 79–81). In contrast, on the front of the black rim, a woman with white flesh is seated before a colorfully draped youth with buff flesh, who leans on a staff; a similar buff-painted youth appears on the back. Thus the polychromy on the rim differentiates male and female flesh color, a feature that is excluded from the artistic vocabulary of the plastic part of the head vase itself.

The depiction of flesh color also plays

Figure 5. Plastic kantharos in the form of a woman's head with figures in superposed colors on the rim, ca. 480 B.C. London, The British Museum BM Cat Vases E 794.

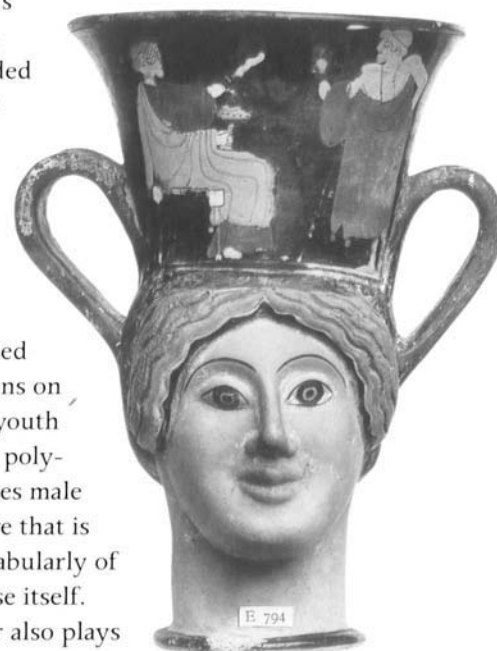




Figure 6. Pegasus in the sky beneath the moon and stars. Kalpis, ca. 425 B.C. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles De. Rid. 449.

a role in a most unusual instance of polychrome painting on a fifth-century red-figure vase: the Andromeda pelike of ca. 460 B.C. in Boston (cat. no. 49), associated with the Workshop of the Nio-
bid Painter. Here, probably under the influence of Classical free painting, instead of rendering the flesh of the Black slaves or servants in reserve—the nonnaturalistic norm in red-figure—their forms were originally outlined with white paint on top of the pelike’s black background so that the black gloss itself could serve as the color of their flesh.⁴⁴ These painted outlines have been substituted for the incised outlines of Late Archaic Six’s technique. In addition, subtle superposed pinkish-cream and pale red colors have been employed on the pelike to describe the exotic garments of the Black slaves.

During the fifth century, Six’s technique also retained its most venerable Athenian function of describing shield devices in the context of the traditionalizing black-figure amphorae that were awarded as prizes in the games at the Panathenaic festival in honor of the city’s patron goddess, Athena (cf. cat. no. 39). The Kleophrades Painter, a bilingual master who also worked in red-figure,

commonly emblazoned the shield of Athena with a Pegasus device on his Panathenaic amphorae. This flying winged horse, painted in white with delicately incised details on the goddess’s black round shield, is well preserved on a Panathenaic of ca. 490–480 B.C., with a racing chariot on the reverse, in New York (Cohen, chap. 1, fig. 5).⁴⁵

Pegasus appears once again on an extraordinary kalpis of ca. 425 B.C. in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris (figs. 6, 7). Here the vase’s body, which is covered with black gloss, evokes the night sky. Just below the curve of the pot’s shoulder, Pegasus, painted in white, with his long, streaming tail rendered in rapid brushstrokes, flies near a white crescent moon, which glows in a golden yellow, surrounded by (now-faded) twinkling stars. This amazing depiction of the winged horse might well be inspired by the constellation Pegasus, so named in the cosmology of early Greek philosophers.⁴⁶

Choes and the Anthesteria

Another Athenian festival provides the final fifth-century context for the production of vases decorated with a form of Six’s technique limited to superposed color. Bulbous wine jugs with trefoil mouths known as choes (plural of chous) were important for the Anthesteria, the annual celebration of the new wine. On the festival’s second day, which was known as Choes after the vases themselves, everyone from adults to small children drank wine, all providing their own wine in their



Figure 7. Detail of Pegasus, the moon, and stars on kalpis, fig. 6.

own jugs (see cat. no. 26 with REFERENCES). These choes could be employed, as all forms of oinochoai normally were, to pour diluted wine into drinking cups, but on this special occasion the potent liquid must often have been guzzled directly from the jugs themselves. Children were introduced to wine drinking during this festival, and choes in smaller sizes, which varied according to a child's age, were produced specifically for their use. A special market was set up where vases required for the Anthesteria could be purchased.⁴⁷

Most extant choes are decorated in red-figure; however, Anthesteria vases, frequently used just once and then discarded, also invited quick, though not especially durable decoration, i.e., colors superposed upon a black ground (cat. figs. 26.1–2). Choes from the fifth century rudimentarily decorated with a thick ocher-red hastily applied over the black gloss—emulating the visual effect of red-figure—have been associated with the workshop of the Haimon Painter.⁴⁸ On these cheap jugs, a single figure is usually set within an imprecisely drawn panel whose linear borders either do not meet or extend too far, the lines crossing at the corners. There may be an upper horizontal border with a rudimentary tongue pattern. The image of ritual on a chous with superposed color in the Louvre (fig. 8), 12.7 cm high, is self-referential: A naked youth wearing a helmet with a high crest and holding a spear performs a pyrrhic dance beside a chous set on the ground.⁴⁹ On a chous in Leipzig, 11.7 cm high, from the last quarter of the fifth century, a now poorly preserved maenad holding a *thyrsos* dances beside a large-leafed plant, celebrating the wine god's potent beverage.⁵⁰

The small choes designed for children are generally more elaborately and carefully decorated; they depict children's activities with great charm and in illuminating detail.⁵¹ Many late red-figured examples include white-painted forms, but some employ solely superposed color instead of red-figure, like the little chous with a boy and a dog, of ca. 400 B.C., in Karlsruhe (cat. no. 26). Details on the painted figures are now indicated in golden dilute gloss. This handling recalls the definition of forms painted in second white on some earlier white-ground lekythoi of the fifth century (e.g.,



Figure 8. Youth performing a pyrrhic dance. Chous, ca. 425 B.C. H 12.7 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 8. Photograph: RMN/Art Resource, NY. Photographer: Hervé Lewandowski.

cat. nos. 59, 62, 63) as well as on contemporaneous red-figured vases (e.g., cat. nos. 34, 35). In addition, like the Karlsruhe chous, these small vases are often enhanced with added-clay details that originally were either gilded or painted yellow in imitation of gilding.⁵² Their surface decoration is very fragile and has often suffered from modern cleaning and restoration. Like gilding, Six's technique is, in both its Archaic and Classical forms, one of the most fragile special techniques, and, thus, important parts of its story have been lost.

NOTES

- 1 E.g., Klein 1898; Klein 1887; Hartwig 1893.
- 2 Six 1888.
- 3 Beazley 1928, 8.
- 4 Grossman 1991 and Hünnekens 1991 are two more recent studies of this technique. Useful summaries include Pfuhl 1923, I, 333–35; Marilena Carabatea in Marangou 1995, 134–35, with references; Kurtz 1975, 116–19; and Boardman 1974, 178. Green 1970 discusses some choes of the fifth century.
- 5 Six 1888, 193.
- 6 See Payne 1931, 315, no. 1104; Amyx 1988, I, 540 on Corinthian black-polychrome; II, 232, White Bull Painter no. I; III, pl. 101.1.
- 7 Six 1888, 194.
- 8 Munich, Antikensammlungen 1471: *ABV* 137.60; *Para* 55; *BAdd*² 37; *BAPD* Vase 310320.
- 9 Such a use of white—for female flesh, a horse, and the arms of a *kithara*—is exceptionally well preserved on side A of a black-figured neck-amphora attributed to Exekias in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 17.230.14: *ABV* 144.3, 686; *Para* 59; *BAdd*² 39; *BAPD* Vase 310385; Bothmer 1994, 24–25, no. 12.

- 10 Six 1888, 195.
- 11 Cf. Gaunt 2002, 66.
- 12 The basic study of this shape is Eisman 1971; for additional bibl., see cat. no. 17, REFERENCES.
- 13 For London, British Museum GR 1842.4-07.16 and the Painter of Vatican 480 see cat. no. 17, REFERENCES; see also Six 1888, 202–203, no. XIII.
- 14 E.g., Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner-Museum 436: *ABV* 294.16; *BAdd*² 76; *BAPD* Vase 320362; Mertens 1977, 36, no. 5, pl. 3.4; and Malibu, JPM 77.AE.102: *BAPD* Vase 30359, which, despite Kurtz's arguments in Kurtz and Boardman 1986, 35–47, should probably be attributed to Psiax.
- 15 Brescia, Museo Civico: *ABV* 292.1, 692; *Para* 127; *BAdd*² 76; *BAPD* Vase 320347.
- 16 London, British Museum 1900.6-11.1: *ABV* 294.25, 674, 669; *ARV*² 8.13; *Para* 321; *BAdd*² 77, 151; *BAPD* Vase 200034; Kurtz 1975, 10–11, 117–18; Grossman 1991, 22, no. 6.
- 17 Murray 1903, 253; Corbett 1965, 24, pl. 14.
- 18 Murray 1903, 251.
- 19 Mertens 1977, 35–36, no. 4, 37.
- 20 E.g., San Antonio Museum of Art 86.25.1: Shapiro, Picón, and Scott, III, 1995, 131–33, cat. no. 66; *BAPD* Vase 9357; and Budapest, private collection: *BAPD* Vase 2712; Szilágyi and Szabó 1976, 45–47, no. 9, figs. 35a–b.
- 21 Established by Haspels 1936, esp. 106–107. See also Haspels 1969, and eadem 1972, 109. On the workshop, see, recently, Jubier 1999.
- 22 See Cohen, chap. 5, at n.41.
- 23 Haspels 1969, 27–28.
- 24 On funerary associations, see: for white-ground lekythoi, e.g., Oakley 2004a; for Six's technique, e.g., Hünnekins 1991, 16; Williams 1999, 63.
- 25 Warrior and fallen warrior: Columbia, MO, University of Missouri-Columbia, Museum of Art and Archaeology 58.12, attributed to the Diosphos Painter: *BAPD* Vase 2933; Haspels 1969; Grossman 1991, 23, no. 39. Eos and Memnon, attributed to the Diosphos Painter, e.g., London, British Museum 1910.4-15.2: *BAPD* Vase 390378; Haspels 1936, 236, no. 80; Grossman 1991, 22, no. 26; Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Paolo Orsi 23784: *BAPD* Vase 390382; Haspels 1936, 236, no. 85; Grossman 1991, 23, no. 37; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 24.97.29: *BAPD* Vase 31860; Grossman 1991, 22, no. 29.
- 26 Six 1888, 205–207.
- 27 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 23.160.87: *BAPD* Vase 390311; Haspels 1936, 228, no. 43; Grossman 1991, 22, no. 14.
- 28 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 98.885, from Gela: *Para* 248; *BAPD* Vase 361413; Haspels 1936, 236, no. 81; Grossman 1991, 22, no. 23; Panvini and Giudice 2004, 289, no. F 32 (A. Mondo).
- 29 Berlin, Antikensammlung F 2241, attributed to the Diosphos Painter: *ABV* 508; Haspels no. 90; *BAPD* Vase 305522 (incorrectly cited as black-figure); Six 1888, 205–206, no. xix; Haspels 1936, 236, no. 90; Grossman 1991, 21.
- 30 Paris, Musée du Louvre MNB 912: *BAPD* Vase 6557; Haspels 1936, 235, no. 76; Six 1888, 204, xxvii bis.
- 31 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2184, from Boeotia: *ABV* 481A; *BAPD* Vase 303429; Haspels 1936, 104–106, 228, no. 53, pl. 36.2 (the Six's technique was better preserved at the time the photograph was taken); Mercati 2003, 118–19, no. 25, 184–85, pls. 10–11.
- 32 Warsaw, National Museum 142333: *BAPD* Vase 510; Haspels 1936, 228, no. 56; Six 1888, 198, no. vii; Grossman 1991, 20; Boardman 1974, fig. 311.
- 33 Berlin, Antikensammlung F 4029: *ABV* 672; *BAdd*² 148; *BAPD* Vase 306459; Six 1888, 197, no. vi; Philippaki 1967, 25, no. 4, 27; palmettes at handle side: Jacobstahl 1927, 69–70, 134, pl. 14d; Grossman 1991, 20.
- 34 Stavros S. Niarchos collection, no. A 038: *BAPD* Vase 44109; Grossman 1991, 22, no. 3; Marangou 1995, 136, no. 19 (M. Carabatea).
- 35 Clark, Elston, and Hart 2002, 146; Richter and Milne 1935, 8–9.
- 36 E.g., Malibu, JPM 83.AE.324: *BAPD* Vase 4892; Grossman 1991, 13–17, figs. 1a–e; color: Clark, Elston, and Hart 2002, 144, fig. 136.
- 37 See esp. the Praxias Group, named after a Greek who produced vases in Etruria: Cristofani 1987. The question of whether or not some of the pots in Six's technique, traditionally considered Attic, might instead be Etruscan needs closer attention: e.g., amphora, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire R 280: *BAPD* Vase 10977; Grossman 1991, 23, no. 52. My thanks to Mario Iozzo for discussing this amphora with colleagues in Italy, who suggest that it might be Etruscan.
- 38 Six 1888, esp. 281–86.
- 39 E.g., Berlin, Antikensammlung F 2311: *BAPD* Vase 41707; Six 1888, 283, no. xxxv; Grossman 1991, 21; Berlin, Antikensammlung F 2312: *BAPD* Vase 41598; Six 1888, 283, no. xxxvii; Grossman 1991, 21; Munich, Antikensammlungen 2753: *BAPD* Vase 31999. Despite dated technical arguments, this group of Six's-technique phialai are illustrated together in Juranek 1978–1979, 109, figs. 1–4 (fig. 1, Munich [9030] correct number: 8991 has modern overpainting).
- 40 Cf. Berlin, Antikensammlung F 2311, see above n. 39, and cat. no. 50.
- 41 See REFERENCES for cat. no. 18.
- 42 For definition of the technique as necessarily including incision, e.g., Kurtz 1975, 116–17; Grossman 1991, 13.
- 43 London E 794, from Capua: see the detailed description in Smith 1896, 376–77.
- 44 For the depiction of Black slaves or servants with reserved flesh, cf. the Andromeda depiction on the unattributed red-figured hydria London, British Museum 1843.11-3.24, *BM Cat Vases* E 169: *ARV*² 1062, 1681; *BAdd*² 323; *BAPD* Vase 213802.
- 45 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.79: *ABV* 404.6; *ARV*² 192; *Para* 175; *BAdd*² 105; *BAPD* Vase 303047.
- 46 Yalouris 1977, no. 32; idem 1980, 318–19, pl. 40, fig. 15 (drawing), fig. 17 (reversed).
- 47 Simon 1983, esp. 94.
- 48 Green 1970. For the Haimon Painter, an early fifth-century painter of black-figured lekythoi, and his Manner, see *ABV* 538–71; *Para* 269–86; *BAdd*² 133–37; *BAPD* s.v. Haimon P; Haspels 1936, 130–41, 241–49, 368.
- 49 Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 8: *BAPD* Vase 15596; Hoorn 1951, 168, no. 821, fig. 180; Green 1970, 478, no. 28.
- 50 Leipzig, Antikenmuseum der Universität T 644: *BAPD* Vase 16335; Hoorn 1951, 134, no. 567, fig. 436; Green 1970, 478, no. 14; Paul 1997, 38–39, no. 15.
- 51 See, recently, Neils and Oakley 2003, 284–87, and cat. no. 26 with REFERENCES.
- 52 Hoorn 1951, 56.

15
NECK-AMPHORA OF
NICOSTHENIC TYPE

Signature of Nikosthenes as potter,
ca. 525–520 B.C.

H 32 cm

Paris, Musée du Louvre F 114

From Etruria, probably Cervetri; purchased
1863; formerly Campana collection

On each side of neck, *naked woman and dog*

On shoulder of side A, ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣ ΜΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ

On each handle, *tripod*

CONDITION: Body intact; A/B handle reassembled from fragments with plaster fill in cracks; mouth and foot restored; body partly repainted; added white partially deteriorated, esp. on face and neck of female figure on A, and flaked or chipped on legs of dogs and tripods, and on calves and lower right arm of female figure on B; some brown incrustations, yellow discolorations, and traces of root marks on the added white.



15.1



15.2

THE ATHENIAN POTTER NIKOSTHENES regularly imitated shapes of Etruscan bucchero in his export ware (cf. cat. no. 17). This characteristic Etruscanizing shape, a neck-amphora with a flaring mouth and adjoining broad, flat strap handles, has been named after him in modern scholarship. Most Nicosthenic amphorae are black-figured, but a few are red-figured or bilingual. Louvre F 114 is the sole extant model embellished with Six's technique, and it may preserve this special technique's earliest known occurrence. Moreover, only this Nicosthenic amphora echoes the entirely black surface as well as the shape of bucchero; thus here the rays that normally encircle an Attic amphora's lower body (cf. cat. no. 1) have been omitted. Its painter, whose hand has not been recognized on

other Nicosthenic products, must have written the potter's signature on the shoulder, *Nikosthenes made me*, in thick red paint, accidentally transposing two letters.

No ornament detracts from the stark white decoration with incised details painted directly on this neck-amphora's black-gloss ground. It has been boldly limited to two repeated motifs confined to the vessel's neck and handles. On each side of the neck a young woman, nude save for her jewelry and a red wreath around her head, sniffs a red flower and is greeted by a dog with an upward-curving tail. A tripod appears on each broad strap handle. This emblematic imagery would have appealed to a male viewer: These naked woman are probably hetairai—important

early examples of Archaic nonmythological female nudes—and tripods were often prizes in ancient competitions. Significantly, this Nicosthenic amphora's repeated images have been consciously varied. On the A/B handle (fig. 15.3), the tripod's own left handle overlaps its right, while, on the B/A handle, this overlapping has been reversed. On the neck, both women face right, but the positions of their limbs have been precisely reversed. The downward position of the woman on B's near right arm exposes her breast. Here the painter was so concerned about rendering this troublesome characteristic of female anatomy in a correct profile view that he has misplaced her clavicle.

This craftsman might have begun his work painting the female figure on side A from the head down: The available space has not been calculated properly so that her feet overlap the juncture of the vessel's neck and shoulder. This woman's hair is technically unusual. The long lock that falls upon her shoulder has not been painted in black over her white flesh; instead a space for it has been left in the shoulder's white so that the lock's black color is furnished by the black ground. In addition, her black hair has been distinguished from the ground by an unusual red wavy linear border. The woman on side B, by contrast, fits precisely onto the neck, and her black hair has an incised contour, a solution often employed in early red-figure. Yet the eye on her well-preserved face is technically unusual. As in black-figure, its contour has been incised through her white flesh, but its black pupil is not simply painted on the eye's white surface; instead the white has been scraped away, revealing the black ground. Clearly experimental, these women's light forms upon a dark ground do not merely mimic the aesthetic effect of the new red-figure reserve (cf. cat. nos. 3, 28), but they also present a fresh means for retaining on painted pottery the white traditional for female flesh in ancient art. This white color also introduces a new naturalism distilled from black-figure conventions: All of the forms depicted here—women, dogs, and shining metal tripods—could appropriately be described with white.



15.3

245, fig. 156; Ducati 1922, II, 264, 265, fig. 213; Pfuhl 1923, I, 334; Hoppin 1924, 253, no. 47; Paris 1936, 294a–95b; Rumpf 1953, 59–60, pl. 16.7; Boardman 1974, 178, fig. 309; Tiverios 1976b, 51, pl. 20c; Grossman 1991, 20, no. 1, 25n.7; Denoyelle 1994, 90–91, no. 40; Tosto 1999, esp. 7, 45–46, 49, 52–53, 59, 68, 87, 91, 131, 173–74, 179, 196, 199, 221, no. 81, pl. 25, fig. 49, pls. 64e, 66b, 128.81.

For Nicosthenic amphorae, see also Eisman 1974. See Williams 1999, fig. 48a, for an Etruscan bucchero neck-amphora compared with a Nicosthenic neck-amphora. Cf. the white tripod as a shield device on the shoulder of a black-figured Nicosthenic amphora formerly at Castle Ashby: CVA Castle Ashby [Great Britain 15] pl. 19.(18).5. In Tosto 1999, 174n.802 bis, reasons given for doubting the potter-signature's authenticity are unconvincing. For the female nudes, cf. the Amasis Painter's black-figured cup-skyphos of ca. 540 B.C., Paris, Musée du Louvre A 479 (ABV 156.80; *Para* 65, 90; *BAPD* Vase 310509), which depicts naked male couples alongside a naked male and female couple at the center of each side. The Amasis Painter's earlier white females hold flowers and wear similar earrings, but their breasts are not clearly differentiated from those of the male figures.

REFERENCES: *ABV* 226; *BAdd*² 58; *BAPD* Vase 302837; *CVA* Louvre 4 [France 5] 22, pl. 37.9, 12, 13, 16 and pl. 38.top; *Museo Campana*, series VIII, no. 51; Klein 1887, 65, no. 48; Six 1888, 194–95, no. 1, fig. 1, pl. 28A; Pottier 1901, 105; Walters 1905, I, 393–94, pl. 35, fig. 2; Pottier 1906, 751–52, 756, 758; Perrot 1914, 244,



16

BLACK-FIGURED VOLUTE-KRATER WITH GORGONEION MEDALLIONS

Probably associated with the Workshop of
Nikosthenes and Pamphaios, ca. 520 B.C.
H (to rim) 41 cm; H (with handles) 46.5 cm
Copenhagen, National Museum 3835
From Orvieto; purchased 1891 on the Italian
art market

CONDITION: Reassembled from many fragments
with cracks and minor losses filled in with toned
plaster; drill holes for ancient repairs; large chips
missing from one handle and from surfaces of two
gorgoneia; small chips missing around edge of rim;
taupish gray incrustation on one handle, one gor-
goneion, nearby palmette-lotus chain, and krater's
interior; orange misfiring on area of lower body
where black gloss applied too thinly; black gloss
on bottom of interior eroded.

MOST OF THE ORNAMENT on this black-bodied volute-krater is traditional: black rays above the foot, black and red tongues on the shoulder at the base of the neck, a chain of addorsed black-figure palmettes and lotuses on the neck's upper zone, a black key pattern around the rim, and black ivy on the flanks of the handles. The modern name *volute-krater* for this big mixing bowl for wine and water derives from the volutes in which the handles normally terminate at their upper ends. On this example, however, these standard spirals have been replaced with highly unusual flat discs that were covered with black gloss and then embellished with painted gorgoneia.

In the pot's unified schema of decoration, the same formula was, of course, repeated for each gorgoneion, but the hand-rendered details differ slightly from one to the other as does the size of the discs on which they are painted (ranging from H 5.5 cm, W 6 cm, and H 5.9 cm, W 7 cm on side A to H 5.9 cm, W 6.7 cm, and H 5.8 cm, W 6.7 cm on side B). The frontal monstrous female faces and ears of these Gorgon heads are painted white, and major features, i.e., brows, contours of eyes, bulbous noses, mouths (with or without teeth), and volutes describing the ears, are incised upon the white. The large oculi of their eyes, their traditional protruding tongues, and the faces' contours are all painted bright red. The scalloped brows of the gorgoneia suggest black hair, but their faces are simply surrounded by the black ground of the discs on which they are painted, which is not detailed by incision to describe the gorgoneion's characteristic hair and beard.

In antiquity, as is still the case today, the unusual large and colorful masks on the krater's handles must have been visually arresting. Such apotropaic gorgoneia, which often graced the interior tondos of black-figured drinking cups (cat. no. 74), were certainly appropriate decoration in the realm of symposium ware. In terms of their technique, however, how were these gorgoneia comprehended in the sixth century B.C., and how should they be classified now? While most Archaic Athenian gorgoneia are drawn in outline on a reserved ground (cf. cat. no. 74, Cohen, chap. 5, fig. 3), the Copenhagen gorgoneia avoid this prevailing convention and instead employ the technical vocabulary that normally describes the

white female forms in black-figure. The unknown painter of these gorgoneia, however, may not have intended them to be perceived simply as examples of black-figure vase-painting so much as examples of a new technique that employed white forms with both incised and red details on a black ground, namely Six's technique.

Early Six's technique is closely associated with the workshop of the potter Nikosthenes. His signature appears on this technique's first known example, the black Nikosthenic neck-amphora in the Louvre (cat. no. 15), which was inspired by black Etruscan bucchero and designed for the Etruscan market. This workshop also produced volute-kraters: a potter-signature of Nikosthenes occurs on a black-figured black-bodied volute-krater in the British Museum of unknown provenance. Black Attic cups with gorgoneion tondos and bearing potter-signatures of Nikosthenes and of his associate Pamphaios have been found at Vulci, while an unsigned example from this workshop was found at Orvieto. Also found at Orvieto, Copenhagen's unusual black-bodied volute-krater with gorgoneia on its handles must have appealed to the Etruscan market for the latest exports from Athenian pottery workshops. In general, however, Attic volute-kraters have more commonly been found in South Italy and Sicily, and this krater's gorgoneia have long been considered predecessors to the relief-mask medallions later employed on the handles of fourth-century Apulian pottery.

REFERENCES: *BAPD* Vase 2532; *CVA* Copenhagen, National Museum 3 [Denmark 3] 102, pl. 124.2; Schauenburg 1977, 203, fig. 7; Hitzl 1982, 301–302, 472, nos. 41a–42a, 535, pl. 41a–b, 536, pl. 42a, Beilage 7; Schleiffenbaum 1991, 277–78, no. V 87; Lund and Rasmussen 1995, 81, upper right, 205, p. 81; Gaunt 2002, 66, 87–92, 312, 461, no. 74.

On Gorgons and gorgoneia, see, recently, Padgett 2003, 82–90, 304–29, cat. nos. 81–90; Cohen, chap. 5. For Nikosthenes' black-figured volute-krater, London, British Museum 1842.4-7.17, *BM Cat Vases* B 364, see: *ABV* 229; *BAPD* Vase 330831; Tosto 1999, esp. 110–12, 227, no. 136. For black cups with gorgoneia from the Workshop of Nikosthenes and Pamphaios, see, e.g., Paris, Cab. Méd. 319, from Vulci: *ABV* 232.14; *BAPD* Vase 301245; Compiègne, Musée Vivenel 1092, from Vulci: *ABV* 236, bottom.2; *BAPD* Vase 301284; Orvieto, Museo Civico 586, from Orvieto: *ABV* 236, bottom.1; *BAPD* Vase 301283. A fragmentary volute-krater in Reggio di Calabria, Museo Nazionale 15863, was likewise decorated with gorgoneia on its handle-plates, see Hitzl 1982, 472, no. 42b, pl. 42b. On the association with Apulian pottery, see Schauenburg 1977; and Gaunt 2002, 312 with n.68. For special treatment of the volutes on a fourth-century Attic volute-krater, cf. cat. no. 36.



17.1

17 KYATHOS

Attributed to the Painter of Vatican 480,
ca. 520–515 B.C.

H (without handle) 6 cm; H (with restored
handle) 11 cm; Diam (bowl) 10.2 cm

St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum
B 4474

Acquired 1928; formerly Botkin collection

Satyr reclining beneath grapevines

CONDITION: Assembled from fragments; upper rear section of handle restored in plaster; handle's finial missing; chips missing at rim and edge of foot; black gloss cracked and chipped inside bowl, on handle, and at juncture of foot and body; added white pitted and flaked, esp. on satyr, vine's stem, and tendrils of handle florals; incised contours of satyr's eye, brow, and mouth abraded; chips missing along major break across vase's front above the kantharos and the satyr's left hand; chip missing at inner edge of foot's reserved resting surface.

THE DISTINCTIVELY SHAPED KYATHOS, with its tall, looped handle and teacuplike bowl with thin walls, was used as a dipper for ladling diluted wine from a krater. While *kyathos* means ladle in Greek, there is no evidence for the vessel's actual ancient name. Parallels are found in Etruscan bucchero and metalwork, and the kyathos is thus believed to be an Athenian imitation of a foreign shape intended for export to Italy. Evidently, the delicate bowl of an Attic kyathos such as this one could have been made directly on the potter's wheel by being fashioned along with its foot at the top of a large cone of clay in a process known as throwing off the hump. This Attic shape's creation and production have been associated with the potter Nikosthenes, whose workshop specialized in products for the Etruscan market and who also played an important role in the early development of Six's technique (cf. cat. no. 15). The St. Petersburg kyathos, a fine and well-preserved example of this experimental technique, is colorfully decorated with red and yellowish-white forms, the latter articulated with black or incised details, on a black ground.

A lone white satyr reclines beneath grapevines at the center front of the kyathos's bowl. His attention is focused on the large white kantharos grasped by its foot in his right hand. Vines, with white stems laden with heavy white bunches, grow upward behind his body and fan out to the left and right. A pair of white lotus buds on long tendrils springs from the lower root of the handle at the back. This decorative scheme's focus on a single, large central figure is unusual in the absence of the big flanking eyes commonly found on kyathoi as well as on contemporary wine cups (cf. cat. nos. 3, 4, 5). The simple and yet monumental composition here evokes early red-figured cups related to the Andokides Painter as does the kyathos's early Six's technique itself, which mimics the aesthetic of reserved forms with black details on a black ground. Details on the satyr's white form, however, have been delicately incised without penetrating the black ground, including his facial features, the contour of his pointed ear, individual hairs along the edges of his beard and forelock, the arc and nipple of his breast, the upper contour of his right thigh, his preserved left kneecap, and the fingers of his hand that hold the kantharos. An incised line also articulates the juncture of the kantharos's lip and bowl. The satyr's long hair and beard have been painted in black applied over his body white, and black dots indicate grapes on the white bunches. The vine's decorative trilobe grape leaves are painted in red on top of the black ground. This vessel's added red is an orange-red color rather than the often somewhat purplish red of black- and red-figure. A groundline consisting of a red line, bordered by two deeply incised lines, encircles the bowl, and the figural decoration is bounded above by a red line at the rim. Another red line runs around the rim's interior.

This kyathos's tall handle, terminating in a molded ivy leaf on a central rib at the front, and its low-walled bowl mark it as a relatively early model. Originally a conical or disk-shaped finial would have surmounted the handle. Attributed to the Painter of Vatican 480 by K. C. Gorbunova, the St. Petersburg kyathos's shape and decoration are directly related to this painter's best work, a black-figured kyathos, formerly in the collection



17.2

of the Marquess of Northampton, Castle Ashby, which depicts five satyrs cavorting amid grapevines with black bunches on which grapes have been incised. On a kyathos in Six's technique in the British Museum, a white Dionysos sits on a folding stool at the center front, holding grapevines identical to the colorful ones on the St. Petersburg vase. Both of these wine-dippers, with their appropriate decorative focus on a single large white Dionysiac figure surrounded by grapevines, should be by the same hand.

REFERENCES: *BAPD* Vase 8352; Eisman 1971, 98, 602, 608, no. 183; Gorbunova 1983, 198, no. 173 and color plate; Grossman 1991, 24, no. 93 (kantharos mistakenly called a kylix).

On the potting, see Schreiber 1999, 145–46, ills. 17d–f. On this shape, in addition to Eisman 1971, see Eisman 1975; Kanowski 1984, 72–75; and Tosto 1999, 95–102, 225–26, nos. 128–33, esp. for kyathoi with potter-signatures of Nikosthenes. For early red-figured cups, see Cohen 1989, esp. figs. 2 and 4; Pécasse 1990; see also, this volume, Cohen, chap. 1, and, for the Andokides Painter, cat. nos. 2, 27. For kyathoi associated with the Painter of Vatican 480, see *ABV* 609; and, recently, *CVA* Malibu 2 [U.S.A. 25] 26–27, pl. 74; and Iozzo 2002, 115–16, under no. 146. For the formerly Castle Ashby, now New York, Callimanopoulos collection kyathos: *ABV* 609.1; *BAPD* Vase 306106; *CVA* Castle Ashby [Great Britain 15] pl. 24.1–3, no. 34. For London, British Museum GR 1842.4–07.16, *BM Cat Vases* B 693, see: *ABV* 609, center.1; *BAPD* Vase 306110; Eisman 1971, 77–81, 93, 96–98, no. 13; Williams 1985, 35, fig. 40a; Grossman 1991, 20, no. 13; Williams 1999, fig. 48a, and also for the comparison of the Nicosthenic kyathos with an Etruscan bucchero kyathos; in addition, see Sinn and Wehgartner 2001, 60–71, no. 23.



18. Prerestoration photo.

18 PHIALE MESOMPHALOS

Unattributed, ca. 520–500 B.C.
H 4.7 cm; Diam 20.8 cm
Paris, Musée du Louvre MNB 624
From Eretria; purchased 1874

I, around the omphalos, tongues; in the zone,
octopi and dolphins

CONDITION: Reassembled from fragments; missing fragment from rim restored in plaster; several chips in rim and in gloss along rim; black gloss and added red on omphalos, yellowish beige on tongues around omphalos, and on line at edge of rim flaked and chipped; some of black gloss and added white on bowl's interior rubbed and chipped; yellow discolorations and crackle on surface of added white; white incrustations on surface of black gloss on interior; white line flaked on black gloss band of exterior at juncture of lip and bowl.

THE LIVELY, YET SYMMETRICAL, depiction of sea creatures on the interior of this shallow libation bowl employs three bright added colors on top of a black-gloss ground. This phiale is decorated entirely in silhouette with no incision. A large pair of white octopi, with spiraling tentacles—half of which curl left and half right—and with their heads oriented inward toward the central boss, or omphalos, anchor the composition. Between them, two pairs of large yellowish beige dolphins jump, somewhat unusually, outward toward the rim. Each large dolphin is echoed by a small red dolphin—perhaps farther away from the viewer—which jumps beneath it and also faces outward. This aquatic composition is contained by a thick, wavy white line that runs inside the rim between two thin yellowish-beige lines. The bowl's omphalos is embellished with alternate stripes of red and black plus a thin stripe of yellowish beige on the black-gloss circle at its center. The phiale's unknown painter was less careful on its plain exterior, where his finger accidentally smeared the lower edge of the broad band of black

gloss running around the lip. Close to this smear, two drill holes pierce the lower edge of the lip; on the phiale's interior these holes are located near the center of one octopus's tentacles. While drill holes in Attic pottery generally result from ancient repairs of breaks with metal clamps (cf. cat. nos. 10, 16, 45), here such holes must have been employed for suspending this handleless vessel from a thong in storage (cf. cat. no. 50).

After the masterpiece coral-red eye-cup by Exekias with Dionysos sailing amid swimming dolphins inside its bowl (Cohen, chap. 2, fig. 1), interiors of late sixth-century cups were often associated with the wine-dark sea of the Homeric epithet (cf. cat. nos. 6, 44). This polychrome phiale is embellished with denizens of the deep turned this way and that who would have seemed to swim when the libation bowl was filled with diluted wine. Thus this vessel belongs to the same potent iconographic and illusionistic Attic tradition as the cups, which was often expressed by means of special techniques of pottery decoration.

Similar small phialai, about twenty centimeters in diameter and decorated in superposed colors often without incision, have been found on the Athenian Akropolis, where these libation bowls must have been dedicated. The Late Archaic Athenian fashion for phialai with polychrome designs on black gloss is believed to have been influenced by earlier sixth-century examples from the Aegean island of Chios. Nonetheless, the Athenian phiale decorated in Six's technique, a type whose creation has often been associated with the potter Nikosthenes, is very much at home in the climate of technical experimentation that characterized Attic pottery workshops during the closing decades of the sixth century B.C.

REFERENCES: Rayet and Collignon 1888, 331, fig. 124; Six 1888, 285, l bis; Cardon 1978–1979, 133n.12; Grossman 1991, 21.

Cf. the polychrome phiale with octopi and prows of ships, Russel 1994, 36, no. 17; Tampa Museum of Art, Joseph Veach Noble Collection, 86.2. For phialai with dolphins jumping inward, see Grossman 1991, 19, figs. 3a–b; Malibu, JPMG 82.AE.40.73; and Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 1923: *BAPD* Vase 508; Boardman 1974, fig. 314. For the Akropolis phialai, see Six 1888, 201–207; Graef and Langlotz 1933, 102–12, nos. 1111–1252, pls. 85–89. See Boardman 1968 for the Chiot association, and also Boardman 1998, 146 and fig. 324. For the metallic origins of this shape and also its association with Nikosthenes, see cat. no. 50. Cf. Tosto 1999, 131, who disassociates polychrome phialai from Nikosthenes.



19

PHIALE MESOMPHALOS

Unattributed, ca. 510–490 B.C.

H 4.9 cm; Diam 19 cm

Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche
Museen zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz
V.I. 3311

From Athens; purchased 1894

I, stag hunt on horseback

CONDITION: Broken in antiquity; modern fill in drill holes from ancient repairs; large central intact section with fragments reattached on two sides; cracks go through two riders; added tan and cream colors flaked and faded on men, horses, leaves of trees, and tongue pattern; white incrustation over parts of interior surface; chips in black gloss on exterior and abrasion around edge of omphalos.

SEVERAL SUPERPOSED COLORS, in a narrow tonal range from cream to tan and brown, are employed in the unusual landscape depiction of three anonymous spear-bearing young horsemen pursuing a stag through a forest on the interior of this libation bowl. This hunt frieze runs clockwise, filling the zone around the circular omphalos with an engagingly organized disposition of form as well as color. Here four tall, leafy trees punctuate the spaces between the riders themselves and between the first and last riders and the running stag. Although the trees all have sticklike trunks and similar rows of spreading branches, the variety of leaf shapes—ivylike, elongated dabs, or strokes—suggests that they belong to different species. In addition, these trees are variously described with a tan trunk, tan branches, and cream leaves; a tan trunk, tan branches, and tan leaves; or a cream trunk, tan branches, and cream leaves. The scene's landscape setting has a remarkable lacelike delicacy, which is underscored by the sectional ornamental border around the omphalos, consisting of cream dots between tan lines bordering a tan dotted zigzag. This border, which is intersected by the trees, might be purely decorative, but it might also be a stylized suggestion of the uneven terrain beneath

the animals' feet. This scene is framed above by a row of tongues on the phiale's offset lip.

The unknown vase-painter has also manipulated the phiale's limited color palette in describing the horsemen. The lead rider on a cream horse is tan with a brown spear, the central rider on a tan horse is cream with a brown spear, and the last rider on a white horse is tan with a brown spear. Some of the tan appears to have been laid over white and has now flaked off. Given the coloristic vocabulary of this vase-painting, it is unlikely that the pale central rider is meant to be female. Here the animals' movement has been suggested by placing their hind legs on the ground and elevating their forelegs (cf. cat. nos. 24, 39). The naturalistic silhouette of the tan stag with a full set of antlers is beautifully realized. This hunt phiale's figural decoration might be associated with the nature of the libations for which it was employed.

Although the vase-painting that fills the zone inside the shallow bowl consists of colorful silhouettes not detailed by incision, the phiale's omphalos itself is decorated with a black rosette with incised borders inscribed within a compass-drawn incised circle. This circle is filled with tan pigment, and there are traces of red around the rosette. The black gloss that serves as a ground for the interior decoration also covers this phiale's exterior, save for a reserved line around the rim and the reserved concave underside of its omphalos.

REFERENCES: *BAPD* Vase 41713; *CVA* Berlin 1 [DDR 1] pls. 51.6, 52.4, Beilage 8; Furtwängler 1895, 40, no. 43, fig. 17; Neugebauer 1932, 57; Schauenburg 1969, 16 at n.72, 33n.72, 39, pl. 17; Schnapp 1997, 357, fig. 404, 519, no. 404; Barringer 2001, 68, no. 113.

The reference to a hunt with trees on a polychrome phiale in Pfuhl 1923, I, 334, probably is to this example. Cf. fragmentary Six's-technique phialai from the Athenian Agora, Moore and Philippides 1986, 273–74, esp. nos. 1432 (P 15922) and 1434 (P 24868), pl. 98. On the shape, see cat. nos. 18, 50.

20.1



20 MINIATURE EXALEIPTRON DECORATED WITH WHITE FIGURES ON RESERVE

Unattributed, ca. 525–500 B.C.
H 4.8 cm; Diam (of body) 7.5 cm
Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen
zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz F 2105
From Athens; purchased 1882

Upper frieze, *procession to right of three pantheresses alternating with three sirens*
Lower frieze, *three pairs of birds: hen on left facing a swan on right*

CONDITION: Very good; intact; chips missing from sides and bottom of foot; foot's resting surface abraded; black gloss around upper edge of mouth slightly abraded; upper frieze: loss of added white on body of one pantheress and on one siren; some added red lost; lower frieze: head of one swan lost; added white lost on another swan's legs.

THE TECHNIQUE EMPLOYED to decorate this Late Archaic miniature exaleiptron is highly unusual. In the little animal friezes on the upper and lower surfaces of its reserved body, pantheresses, sirens, and birds are painted in white directly on top of the clay ground. These white creatures are not merely silhouettes but are detailed with incision and added red as well as

slightly diluted black gloss. A single line of black gloss, running around the vessel's body at its broadest point, serves as a groundline for both friezes. The upper surface of the foot and short stem are painted black, and their dark color both anchors and emphasizes this vase's remarkable pale body.

This exaleiptron's technique is not standard black-figure, where white forms would be laid over black gloss and not like here directly upon the reserved ground. In contemporary early red-figure, white forms are generally not employed. In contemporary Six's technique, white forms are painted on top of a black ground, but, as here, also often detailed with light incision and added colors (cf. cat. nos. 15, 17). Thus, in terms of excerpting elements from the vocabulary of black-figure and employing them differently, perhaps in reaction to the advent of red-figure, this vessel's curious decoration, though it lacks a black ground, has its closest kinship with Six's technique.

Full-sized examples of the exaleiptron, a distinctive spreading vase shape, were made with a ledge around the inside of the mouth (lacking in this miniature), which was used to accommodate a lid. Like the full-sized models, this vessel is painted black inside, and it has an inward-curving lip, which probably served to prevent liquid contents—perhaps perfumed oil—from spilling. This shape has also been called a *kothon* or a *plemochoe* in modern scholarship, but exaleiptron may actually have been its ancient Greek name. In vase-paintings the large versions are generally held by women, often in scenes associated with weddings and funerals. The white decoration of this charming miniature emphasizes aspects of femaleness with its fearsome pantheresses and woman-headed birds, and, on the underside, domesticated hens paired with swans, the latter birds commonly associated with the goddess of love, Aphrodite.



20.2



20.3

REFERENCES: *BAPD* Vase 41989; *CVA* Berlin 7 [Germany 61] 62, pl. 46.9, 12–15, Beilage L, no. F 2105, with comparanda; Furtwängler 1885, I, 462, no. 2105; Burrows and Ure 1911, 76n.27; Pfuhl 1923, I, 245, 305, 335; Neugebauer 1932, 76; Gehrig, Greifenhagen, and Kunisch 1968, 179, no. F 2105.

Cf. the white cock on reserved ground on a black-figured skyphos, Athens, Agora Museum P 8919: Moore and Philippides 1986, pl. 106, no. 1620. For the Berlin vase's shape, see, recently, Clark, Elston, and Hart 2002, 89–90; Schreiber 1999, 106–109; see also, as plemochoe, Richter and Milne 1935, 21–22, figs. 146–48; and for depictions of full-sized versions in vase-painting, see Reeder 1995, 143, no. 12, 147, no. 14, 167, no. 24. Cf. the miniature black-figured exaleiptron with swans recently found in Athens, Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, 318, no. 323.



21

21

FRAGMENTARY SKYPHOS

Attributed to near the Theseus Painter and the Heron Class, ca. 510–500 B.C.

H 15.8 cm

Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 76.AE.127

Gift of Lynda and Max Palevsky, 1986

Youth drinking from a wine cup while balancing

CONDITION: Assembled from fragments; about one-third preserved; handles missing; black gloss abraded and chipped on lip and inside bowl; chips missing around outer edge of foot near resting surface; two patches of greenish residue from modern adhesive tape on bowl's interior; added red pitted and cracked on youth's body; preservation of red differs on upper (brownish red) and lower (brighter red) fragments of figure; added white of youth's cup chipped and scratched.

A SINGLE MALE FIGURE cavorts against a black ground on the preserved section of this large skyphos's body. This youth has bent clear over toward the left while drinking from his wine cup so that his left hand touches the ground, and he balances himself on that hand and his securely planted right foot as he lifts his flexed left leg up high, exposing his genitals. This acrobatic youth evokes the realm of red-figure vase-painting of the late sixth century B.C., where komasts commonly use and abuse drinking vessels in depictions on drinking vessels. A red-figure youth on a palmette eye-cup in Paris balances a large skyphos similar to the Malibu one on his midsection. Single figures in eye-catching, active poses also decorate tondos of red-figured cups. In addition, the impressive size of the Malibu skyphos brings to mind the monumental tradition cultivated by Oltos and Euphronios of spotlighting single red figures on either side of black-bodied amphorae.

Rather than being reserved in the color of the clay, however, the *red figure* on the Malibu skyphos has been applied with thick bright red paint on top of the black-gloss ground. Details of this youth's form have been incised into the red, including his eye and brow, the overlapping contours of his limbs, their inner anatomical markings, and his genitals. While the use of incision may recall black-figure, the shallow incised lines on the youth's body pierce only the red pigment, revealing the underlying black gloss. At the same time, the contour of his black hair has been emphatically incised directly into the black ground, a method of definition common in early red-figure vase-painting. His hair is bound by a fillet painted in the purplish red that is the usual added red of Attic vase-painting. This purplish added red is also the color employed for the fine double groundline on which the youth balances; these lines were applied on the wheel and encircle the skyphos's body. The youth's cup, which he grasps by the stem of its foot, has been painted on top of the black gloss in added white—a color more popular in black- than in red-figure. The spatial position of this cup has been carefully considered: Its rim overlaps the youth's chin, but its right side is overlapped by his arm. A nonsense inscription, painted in red (now faded), extends

across the ground above the cavorting figure. Writing in red on top of black gloss is standard in contemporaneous red-figure.

While the Malibu skyphos's Six's-technique decoration and acrobatic young komast may evoke contemporaneous red-figure, its shape and ornament place it firmly within the realm of late Attic black-figure. A black ivy vine, with a dilute central stem, encircles the rim on a reserved band just beneath the rounded lip, and a red line runs along the potted articulation at the top of the body. The fillet marking the juncture of the skyphos's body and foot is also red; above it, alternating red and black tongues on reserve, bounded above by three dilute lines and below by two, encircle the lower part of the bowl. Here the vase-painter's careless mistakes before the vessel was fired have been preserved. Black gloss spattered on both the lower and upper reserved ornamental borders, and the painter accidentally smeared two black tongues, one at the far right and another directly below the youth's right foot. The last smear has preserved the artist's fingerprint.

Janet B. Grossman (1991) associated the Malibu skyphos with the workshop of the Theseus Painter; it also brings to mind the Heron Class, from which that painter arose. A comparable black-figured skyphos of the Heron Class in Heidelberg, attributed to the Group of Walters 48.42 of the Krokotos Group, depicts on either side a large, awkwardly reclining drinker holding a cup by its stem flanked by aulos players and grapevines. The Heidelberg skyphos probably exemplifies the milieu of the Getty skyphos's artist before, inspired by red-figure, he made a bold venture into Six's technique.

REFERENCES: *BAPD* Vase 46460; Grossman 1991, 17–19, 18, figs. 2a–c.

For the palmette-eye-cup, near the Scheurleer and Bowdoin-Eye Painters, Paris, Musée du Louvre G 73, see *ARV*² 49.186, 170, 1630; *BAPD* Vase 200396; and see also, for the iconography of balancing and vase abuse, Cohen and Shapiro 2002, with pl. 19b. On spotlighted black-bodied amphorae, see Klinger 1993 and Neer 2002, 65–69; for a later example, attributed to the Berlin Painter, see Cohen, Introduction, figs. 1–2. For the black-figured skyphos, Heidelberg, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität 277, see *ABV* 206.2; *Para* 93.2; *BAdd*² 55; *BAPD* Vase 302648; *CVA* Heidelberg 1 [Germany 69] pl. 42.3–5. On large skyphoi of the Heron Class (named for the white herons under the handles of some skyphoi), *ABV* 205, 617, see recently Scheibler 2000. On red color, see this volume, Lansing-Maish in Technical Studies essay.



22.1

22 LEKYTHOS

Unattributed, ca. 520–515 B.C.

H 9.8 cm

Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 90/4
Basel art market; purchased 1990

Dog between eyes

CONDITION: Good; intact; black gloss chipped on exterior of mouth and handle, and at juncture of body and foot; chips on foot's underside; orangish misfiring of thinly applied gloss, esp. on lower back of body; chips in surface, esp. on back; minor losses in relief-line stems of black lotus buds on shoulder; some loss of added red on top of mouth, on band around top of body, on rings in oculi of large eyes, on pupil of left large eye, and on groundline; some added white flaked from left large eye, esp. at upper contour, and from legs of dog; gash in added white on right large eye.

THIS WELL-PRESERVED little lekythos is a charming example of Six's technique that, with its pale decoration on a black ground, mimics the aesthetic effect of contemporaneous early red-figure. The large, floating apotropaic eyes here, which tilt downward from pointed upper outer corners to long pronounced tear glands, recall eyes on very early bilingual eye-cups and also on Nicosthenic black-figured eye-kyathoi (True, chap. 7, fig. 1); both were decorated by the experimental vase-painter Psiach, an early practitioner of Six's technique (Mertens, chap. 6, fig. 1). Unusually, the Karlsruhe lekythos's large eyes have no brows, and, perhaps because their sclerae have actually been painted white, there are no white rings in the compass-drawn oculi. These oculi, in fact, are exceptionally small, with only a red ring around a black center and a red dot (preserved on the right eye) over the compass point.

A white dog, its body facing right but its head turned back toward the left, fills the space between the eyes. As he points his muzzle upward to howl, all four of his long rubbery feet are planted on the red groundline, and his bushy tail curls over his back. He wears a red collar; red also describes the pupil of his eye and an arc on his rump. Unlike the deep compass-drawn circles of the oculi, his other inner anatomical markings are rendered with delicate incision that does not penetrate the lekythos's black-gloss ground.

This dog seems to stand at the crossroads between black- and red-figure. An earlier howling black-figure dog sits between the eyes on the exterior of a Chalcidian eye-cup in Copenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum. On Attic pottery, several dogs inhabit black-figured tondos of early bilingual cups, including examples associated with the innovators of Six's technique, Psiach and

Nikosthenes. In contrast, red-figure dogs generally do not appear on eye-cup exteriors. Thus, though the Karlsruhe dog evokes red-figure, its closest kin may actually have been rendered in Six's technique: namely, the white dogs who greet naked women on the Nikosthenic amphora in the Louvre with the potter-signature of Nikosthenes (cat. no. 15). In sum, this slight lekythos by an anonymous minor master showcases an experimental technique that also characterized more ambitious creations at this time of transition.

REFERENCES: *BAPD* Vase 43095; Hünnekens 1991, 8–10, 19, figs. 1, second from left, 2–3.

For the Chalcidian eye-cup in Copenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum, see Rumpf 1927, 37, cat. no. 260, pl. 186.1. For comparable eyes on early bilingual eye-cups, see Cohen 1978, pls. 57.3, 58.3 and, for black-figure tondos, see 301–302, no. B 21, 304, and no. B 22, 309, pl. 62.3; Munich, Antikensammlung 2580, *ARV*² 40.13; *BAdd*² 158; *BAPD* Vase 200222. For kyathoi, see Eisman 1971 and 1975. Cf. also the Amasis Painter's contemporaneous black-figured cup with an eye-siren, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 10.651: *ABV* 157.86; *Para* 65; *BAdd*² 46; *BAPD* Vase 310515, on which dogs defecate beneath the handles; and, finally, an earlier top-band stemless of ca. 530 B.C. in Copenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum H 582, with a black-figure fox between the eyes on each side: *Para* 100.5; *BAPD* Vase 340247; *CVA* Thorvaldsens Museum 1 [Denmark 9] pl. 82, no. 78. For a dog in red-figure, cf. the tondo of the cup, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1966.447: *ARV*² 96.136, 1625; *Para* 330; *BAdd*² 171; *BAPD* Vase 200832.



22.2



23.1

23 LEKYTHOS

Unattributed, ca. 500 B.C.

H (restored) 22.2 cm

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art
67.11.22, Rogers Fund, 1967

Purchased 1967

Herakles with the Delphic tripod

CONDITION: Neck modern; nonjoining handle and mouth; mouth composed from fragments; body and foot intact, save for crack in left side of shoulder; abrasion and loss of black gloss on left side and at lower right; losses in red of groundline, lines around top of body, and leaves of Herakles' wreath; chip of white missing on Herakles' club; losses in creamy orange color especially on rings and legs of tripod and on tail and legs of fawn; traces of root marks and brown incrustation on Herakles' club and on underside of vase's foot.

IN THIS EXCERPT FROM THE STRUGGLE between Herakles and Apollo for the Delphic tripod, a popular myth in the Late Archaic period, the hero does not wear the Nemean Lion's skin, which may signify that the tripod incident was believed to have taken place before his labors. Here Herakles carries off the tripod, looking back as he runs toward the right. The pursuing god is not depicted, but Apollo's deer races after the hero. Its forelegs originally overlapped his rear heel. This energetic and colorful vase-painting, though unattributed, is a fine example of mature Archaic Six's technique, in which imagery is described by means of incision as well as polychromy upon a black ground.

With ornament—here tongues and lotus buds in black silhouette—restricted to the reserved shoulder, the lekythos is black-bodied. A pair of red lines run around the body above the figures, and there is a red groundline below. This formula for the disposition of ornament and black gloss is akin to the one employed in the contemporaneous late black-figure workshop of the Sappho and Diosphos Painters (cf. cat. nos. 24, 25), though both the unattributed lekythos's fatter body and the robust hand of its painter differ. The nude

male hero is a *black figure*, that is, his body's contour has been incised into the black ground, and the color of the ground supplies the color of his flesh. His facial features, locks of curly hair, and the anatomical markings on his limbs are likewise incised.

Although black on black ground, Herakles' body has been given greater substance through the clever spatial disposition of the tripod's legs. He holds the tripod horizontally in his left hand by its central orange-painted leg so that this tripod leg overlaps his left arm and the rear view of his upper torso. The remaining two orange tripod legs are in turn overlapped by Herakles' head and buttocks. The central tripod leg is adorned with black dots applied over the orange and terminates in an animal-paw foot, the toes of which have been incised. The tripod's cauldron and leg braces are white; its round orange handles have black attachments, which are painted over the added colors and distinguished from the black ground by the incised contours of their tips. Orange and black are also employed for the running deer; black spots on its hindquarters suggest fawn skin. This deer's inner anatomical markings and the contour of its eye are defined by incision. The tripod's white details are balanced by the knobby white club Herakles wields in his right hand and the central white stem of his bright red-leaved wreath. The red color of his beard is somewhat faded, and beneath Herakles' raised right arm are shadows of letters from an inscription that was once written vertically in red. The still legible E suggests it could have been a name tag for the hero.

This lekythos has misfired somewhat, especially where the black gloss was applied in thin streaks, including on Herakles' buttocks and thighs. In this orangish area of the hero's body many impressed preliminary sketch lines are visible, for the black gloss accumulated in these lines is darker than the surrounding vase surface. These sketch lines reveal the care that was nonetheless devoted to the execution of this minor work, which was intended to compete with pioneering products from contemporary red-figure workshops.



23.2

REFERENCES: *BAPD* Vase 311; Bothmer 1977, 61, no. 170, pl. 19.4; *LIMC* v (1990) s.v. Herakles I, 139, no. 3051, pl. 134 (S. Woodford); Grossman 1991, 24, no. 76, and 25n.3 for the preliminary sketch.



24.1

24 LEKYTHOS

Attributed to the Diosphos Painter,

ca. 500 B.C.

H 19 cm

Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B 34

From Agrigento; acquired 1838

Galloping horseman with riderless horse and hound

CONDITION: Good; body intact; break in neck; handle reassembled from fragments; foot reattached; chips around outer edge of foot's resting surface; brown and black incrustations on underside; losses of white color on rider's petasos and on void horse; losses of orange-brown flesh color on limbs of youth; on limbs, genitals, and tail of hound, and on tail of black horse; loss of added color, probably flesh color, for rider's spears; chips in vase surface, esp. on head of black horse and at top of rider's petasos; ground misfired red where added color has flaked, e.g., at the white horse's hind legs; red misfiring in circle above groundline to right of horses' forelegs; additional red misfiring behind horses where black gloss was applied thinly.

WITH THE NOBLE MALE GENRE SUBJECT on this rather well-preserved Six's-technique lekythos, the Diosphos Painter demonstrates his inventive technical ability, which avoids the use of red-figure (cf. cat. no 25). This is fitting, for he was an associate of the Sappho Painter (cat. nos. 54, 55) in an important late black-figure workshop that also produced black-figured and semi-outline white-ground lekythoi (cat. no. 56). On the Karlsruhe lekythos the speed of the chase is aptly represented by a young hunter with his horses and hound. Shown ideally nude save for the petasos on his head, he holds (now-faded) paired spears horizontally in his right hand, while pulling up on the horses's reins (which are apparently omitted) in his left. For the youth's body and his hound, the painter has introduced a naturalistic orange-brown flesh color, which echoes the effect of reserve but is simply painted on top of the black ground. Anatomical details on these flesh-colored forms have been delicately incised through the applied pigment without penetrating the underlying black ground. The genitals and tail

of the youth's mount are orange brown as well. In addition, contours incised in the black ground, characteristic of the most intricate form of Six's technique, describe the youth's black hair and his black horse. The youth's orange-brown body has been painted right over the already incised line of the horse's back. Finally, to prevent the large black animal from seeming insubstantial against the black ground, the Diosphos Painter has cleverly allowed the youth's mount to overlap the bright white void horse. The two horses in this memorable equine image move in tandem, wrapping around the lekythos's body with their tails streaming behind them, their rear hooves still planted on the ground, and their forelegs raised high. Their running position seems more naturalistic than the ancient convention of the flying gallop, in which all four legs are lifted from the ground at once and spread fore and aft (cf. cat. no. 50). This running position is repeated for the hound, who eagerly accompanies his master, filling the space beneath the horses.

Extensive impressed preliminary sketch lines, characteristic of the Diosphos Painter (cf. cat. no. 25), are still visible throughout the composition. Interestingly, added red—in a rather brownish hue—has been restricted to the Diosphos Painter's standard groundline and the pair of lines running around the top of the lekythos's entirely black body. Black palmettes with tendrils and dots decorate its reserved shoulder instead of the lotus buds common on smaller models (cf. cat. no. 22).

REFERENCES: *Para* 248. Haspels no. 78 (Carlsruhe 231); *BAPD* Vase 31768; repeated (under acc. no. 231) as *BAPD* Vase 361415; bibl. divided between the *BAPD* nos.; *CVA Karlsruhe* 1 [Germany 7] 37, pl. 31.1; Politi 1832, II, pl. 2.6 (reversed); Winnefeld 1887, 56, no. 231; Haspels 1936, 235, no. 78; Agrigento 1988, 26, 153, no. 35; Grossman 1991, 22, no. 24; Hünnekens 1991, 8, fig. 1. left, 14–15, fig. 11, 16, fig. 12, 18, fig. 13. left, 19–20.



24.2



25 LEKYTHOS

Attributed to the Diosphos Painter,
ca. 500–490 B.C.
H 19.2 cm
Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung
Ludwig BS 423
European art market; purchased 1965

Woman depilated by satyr

CONDITION: Poor; handle and neck cracked; body intact; chips missing at edge of shoulder; abrasion around edge of resting surface on reattached foot; surface pitted and eroded overall with much loss of black gloss; loss of added red from hearts of black palmettes on reserved shoulder, lines around lekythos's body, and hand mirror; patches of surface erosion over woman's body result in loss of her eye, much of her right hand, left breast, and right foot; erosion of incised contour of satyr's body; added white flaked and faded on satyr's beard, pitted on his hair and tail.

DESPITE THE BASEL LEKYTHOS'S ERODED condition, its unique depiction of a woman whose pubic hair is being plucked out by a satyr, which is rendered in the most elaborate form of Six's technique, counts among the masterpieces of this colorful technique's leading practitioner, the Diosphos Painter (cf. cat. no. 24). Forms on this substantial lekythos's black body are described with added red, black gloss, and incision in addition to added white. This variety in coloration has enabled the painter to emphasize effectively the gender contrast of white female and dark male flesh, which is traditional in black-figure but not possible in contemporaneous red-figure.

A hand mirror hanging at the upper right places this lekythos's intimate scene indoors, presumably in the women's quarters of a house. The indoor setting precludes the possibility that this image depicts a satyr with a maenad. Here a naked young female stands in a sort of contrapposto pose, with her weight on her right leg, and her left leg bent back at the knee so that the heel of her left foot is raised. She bends her upper body forward, placing her left hand on the balding head

of the satyr crouching before her. Her white body has been painted over the black ground. Inner anatomical markings are incised on the white, though not necessarily correctly; her right breast is high and awkwardly placed. The border of her black hair has been differentiated from the black ground by incision. Two long, wavy locks that fall on her white chest are painted in a brownish-black dilute, and her pubic hair is also painted over her body white in a black dilute.

This standing woman is leaning on the satyr for support during her depilation—a painful beautification ritual of an ancient woman's toilet. By crouching, the satyr has a better vantage point for his task, as he extends his right hand, with thumb and index finger together, toward the naked woman's pubic hair. The white impressionistically applied for the black satyr's long beard, fluffy hair, and curling tail suggests his advanced age. Copious impressed preliminary sketch lines are still visible within the incised contours of the satyr's body as well as in the black ground around the woman's body. The hand mirror, filling the space above the crouching satyr, helps to balance the impressive standing nude woman. This mirror, which hangs from a white loop, is another detail described naturalistically in the vocabulary of Six's technique, with a white handle suggesting ivory, and a round red disk suggesting the shiny surface of a bronze Greek mirror. This inventive scene is bordered with the painter's characteristic red groundline running around the lekythos beneath the figures and two red lines above.

In entering the woman's quarters and helping her with her toilet, the bestial satyr appears to take the place of a trusted foreign slave. At the same time, he is a male voyeur witnessing the female in an intimate moment that an Athenian man would never have been allowed to see in daily life, but which the Diosphos Painter has graphically visualized here.

REFERENCES: *BAPD* Vase 7672; *CVA* Basel I [Switzerland 4] 128, pl. 56.8, 10; Descoedres 1981, 8–14, fig. 1; Grossman 1991, 22, no. 21; Veyne, Lissarrague, and Frontisi-Ducroux 1998, 184–85, fig. 31.

On depilation by plucking, see Kilmer 1993, 137–41.

26 MINIATURE CHOUS WITH SUPERPOSED COLOR AND ADDED CLAY

Unattributed, ca. 400 B.C.
H 6 cm
Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B 1517
From Athens; acquired 1879

Boy and dog

CONDITION: Body intact; upper front edge of trefoil mouth restored; handle alien; white vine and stems connecting ivy leaves around neck of chous faded; losses of superposed white on face and limbs of boy and ear, muzzle, legs, and tail of dog; losses of added clay on corymb of ivy, boy's anklet, platform beneath dog, and left ball atop platform.

THIS TINY JUG, which has a distinctive shape consisting of a trefoil mouth and pinched neck that curve directly into a fat, rounded body on a ring foot, is one of some thousand surviving miniature choes (sing. chous)

associated with the Anthesteria, an ancient Athenian festival that celebrated the new wine. On the festival's second day, literally known as Choes, adults engaged in a drinking contest, guzzling wine from full-sized oinochoai of this shape with a capacity of several liters. Smaller versions were given to children, who may well have had their first taste of wine from these muglike little jugs, which varied in size with the recipient's age. These miniature choes also served as grave offerings for children who died, and they generally depicted children's activities, like the boy playing with his pet Maltese dog shown here.

Most of these small vessels are decorated in late red-figure technique, employing either standard reserve alone or else a combination of reserved and added-white forms. Occasionally, as on this example, red-figure reserve has been avoided; instead the vase is

entirely covered with black gloss and decorated solely with white forms detailed with brown dilute gloss and embellished with added clay. This showcasing of superposed color on a black ground should be considered a form of Six's technique. Such surface decoration is quite fragile, and it often does not withstand modern cleaning or restoration. In the case of this chous, more preserved white and added-clay details are visible in an old black-and-white photograph taken before the restoration of the vessel's mouth (fig. 26.2) than on the vase today.

The little boy at the left of the superposed color image on this chous is naked, save for (originally) an ankle ring and a diadem around his head, both of which were added in clay (fig. 26.2). The diadem was once embellished with white rays or finials. Anatomical details and long wavy locks of hair have been painted on top of the boy's white body in golden-brown dilute gloss. The frisky dog, perched on a low, added-clay training platform, jumps up on his hind legs to greet his master. Individual hairs in the fluffy coat of this white Maltese are painted in golden-brown dilute. Two added-clay balls that may soon be pressed into service rest atop the platform. This scene's groundline, which runs halfway around the vase, is also rendered in added clay. The ivy wreath that encircles the vessel's neck, which may allude to wreaths worn at the Anthesteria, is painted in a thick clay slip rather than reserved, and, at the center front, relief dots of added clay describe the berries in its corymb. In 1887 there were traces of red around the boy's added-clay diadem: A red surface can often be observed on clay that was once gilded (cf. cat. no. 48). Thus, although no traces of gilding have been preserved on any of the added-clay details, it may originally have been employed to enhance this juglet's delightful childhood vignette.

REFERENCES: *BAPD* Vase 12474; *CVA* Karlsruhe 1 [Germany 7] 37, no. 3, pl. 37, no. 3; Winnefeld 1887, 70; Hoorn 1951, 121, no. 459, fig. 323; Hamilton 1992, 216; Fittà 1997, 67, fig. 111; Neils and Oakley 2003, 285.

On choes for children and the Anthesteria, see Hoorn 1951 and, more recently, Hamilton 1992; Clark, Elston, and Hart 2002, 118; Neils and Oakley 2003, 145–49, 284–87. See Neils and Oakley 2003, 146–47, 280, and 286–87 (for color illustrations of red-figured choes); 285, no. 95, the Six's technique chous with a boy and dog of ca. 420 B.C., on loan to Cambridge, Harvard University Art Museums, Arthur M. Sackler Museum, 24.1908, is described incorrectly as having incised details rather than details painted in dilute gloss.

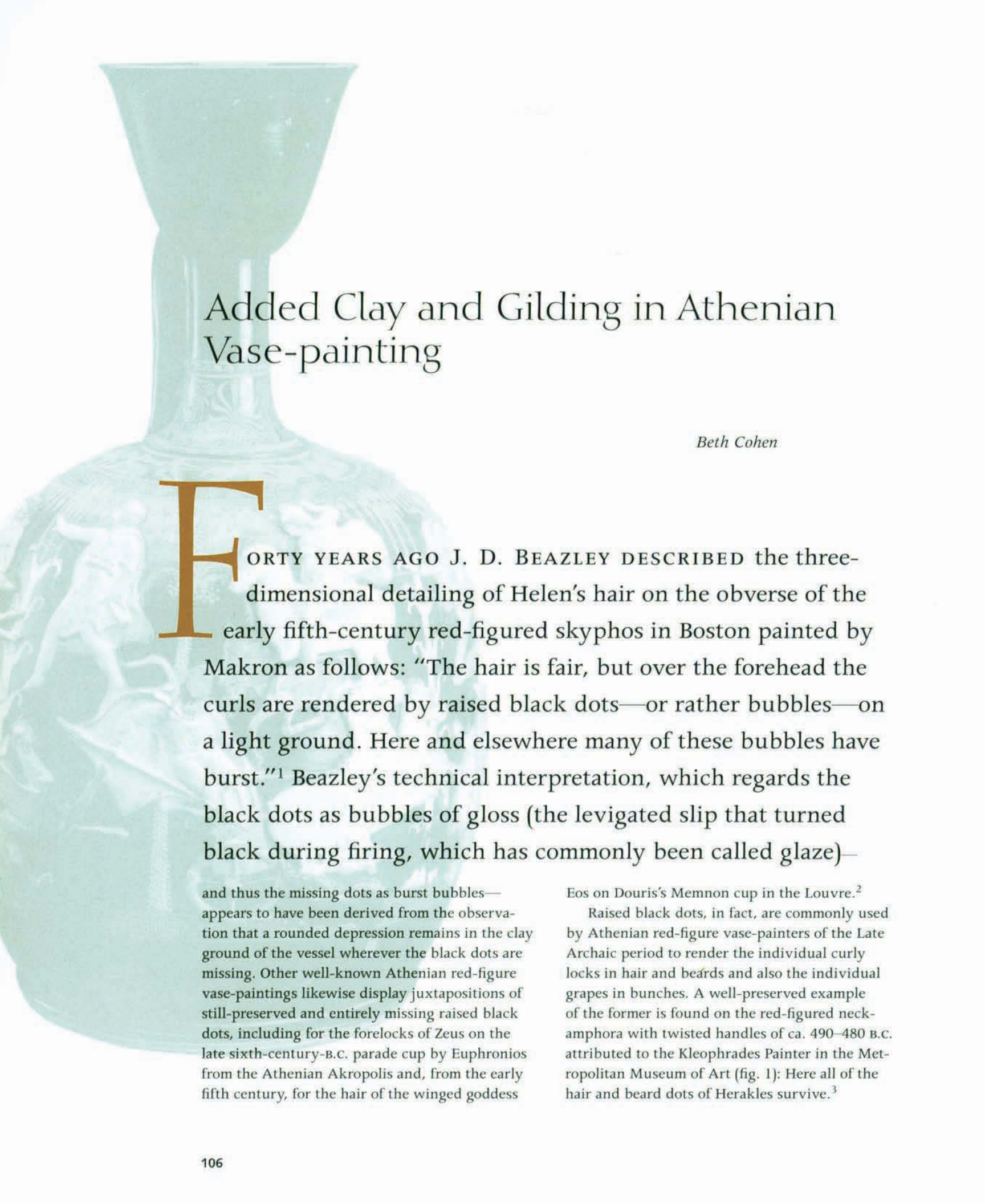


26.1



26.2

Added Clay and Gilding



Added Clay and Gilding in Athenian Vase-painting

Beth Cohen

FORTY YEARS AGO J. D. BEAZLEY DESCRIBED the three-dimensional detailing of Helen's hair on the obverse of the early fifth-century red-figured skyphos in Boston painted by Makron as follows: "The hair is fair, but over the forehead the curls are rendered by raised black dots—or rather bubbles—on a light ground. Here and elsewhere many of these bubbles have burst."¹ Beazley's technical interpretation, which regards the black dots as bubbles of gloss (the levigated slip that turned black during firing, which has commonly been called glaze)—

and thus the missing dots as burst bubbles—appears to have been derived from the observation that a rounded depression remains in the clay ground of the vessel wherever the black dots are missing. Other well-known Athenian red-figure vase-paintings likewise display juxtapositions of still-preserved and entirely missing raised black dots, including for the forelocks of Zeus on the late sixth-century-B.C. parade cup by Euphronios from the Athenian Akropolis and, from the early fifth century, for the hair of the winged goddess

Eos on Douris's Memnon cup in the Louvre.²

Raised black dots, in fact, are commonly used by Athenian red-figure vase-painters of the Late Archaic period to render the individual curly locks in hair and beards and also the individual grapes in bunches. A well-preserved example of the former is found on the red-figured neck-amphora with twisted handles of ca. 490–480 B.C. attributed to the Kleophrades Painter in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 1): Here all of the hair and beard dots of Herakles survive.³

Joseph V. Noble, in the first edition of *The Techniques of Painted Attic Pottery* of 1965 and in the volume's 1988 revision, provided an assessment of these raised black dots that differs from Beazley's, and that has become the prevailing explanation. Noble associated the dots with relief lines, which he believed were made from thickened black gloss extruded onto the surface of the vase by means of a syringelike "drawing instrument."⁴ His conclusion about the dots appears to have been based mainly on the well-preserved hair and beard of the Kleophrades Painter's Herakles, and Noble illustrated his important book with the black-and-white photographic enlargement shown here in figure 1.

Firsthand examination of other red-figured vases, however, readily reveals that these black dots are neither hollow bubbles nor solid globules of thickened gloss. Telltale evidence is provided by partially preserved black dots, a sizable sampling of which survives on vases by Euphronios. On a calyx-krater fragment of ca. 515 B.C. in the J. Paul Getty Museum, for example, the hair framing the face of the painter's helmeted Athena is a mass of curls indicated by raised black dots (cat. no. 29). In the catalogue of the Euphronios exhibition in Berlin, this last feature was described as "eine Serie aufgesetzter Firnispunkte"—"a series of raised dots of gloss."⁵ On the Getty Museum's red-figured Euphronios fragment, however, the outermost surface of most of the raised hair dots has chipped off. Examination of this detail under a microscope (cat. fig. 29.2) makes perfectly clear what can with a bit of effort also be seen with the naked eye: The raised dots are made of added clay. Evidently, during the leather-hard clay vessel's decoration in the pottery workshop, *clay* dots were pressed onto its surface in appropriate places and then simply coated with the levigated slip that became lustrous black gloss in the firing.

On the semi-outline, white-ground interior of a fragmentary cup attributed to Euphronios, which is also in the J. Paul Getty Museum (cat. no. 30), raised black dots describe the individual grapes in the heavy bunches hanging from the god Dionysos's vines. Fortuitously, for the present discussion, this fragmentary cup has cracked clear through the bunches. Microscopic examination



Figure 1. Head of Herakles. Detail of a red-figured neck-amphora, attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, ca. 490–480 B.C. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1913, 13.233.

of the damaged bunch hanging over Dionysos's shoulder (cat. fig. 30.2) accentuates chips and scratches that appear to reveal that this cup's raised black grapes should likewise be dots of added clay, simply coated on the surface with black gloss.

Interestingly, although the dots' clay composition is difficult to discern in the black-and-white photographs traditionally employed in vase scholarship (see fig. 1 and cat. figs. 29.1–2 and 30.2–3), the true nature of the damaged black dots is visible on the above two Euphronian works themselves and is readily apparent in enlarged color images.

The practice of applying dots in clay relief simply coated with black gloss was hardly exclusive to Euphronios. Partially preserved, and thus diagnostic, dot specimens are also found on vases by other Late Archaic masters: for instance, in the curly black hair and beard of Herakles on the Berlin Painter's magnificent red-figured amphora in Basel from the early fifth century (Cohen, Introduction, fig. 1). Noble's explanation has become so utterly canonical, however, that, more often than not, even when the clay fabric of the black dots is visible, they have been described as globules of thickened gloss matter.

In sum, raised black dots of thickened black gloss on Late Archaic Athenian red-figured vases are a fiction: They appear to be an unexamined assumption of twentieth-century scholarship.

These dots are actually tiny balls of clay pressed onto the surface of the unfired clay vessel before its decoration with the levigated slip that fired black.⁶

Added-clay Relief and Gilding on Athenian Vases of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B.C.

Indeed, raised black clay dots were commonly employed on Athenian Late Archaic red-figure pottery.⁷ In the first generation of red-figure during the 520s B.C., for example, the Andokides Painter used them for the hair of Herakles, struggling with Apollo for the tripod, on his very early amphora in Berlin⁸ and later in his oeuvre for Herakles' hair once again, in the unique fight with the Nemean Lion on the red-figure side of the bilingual amphora in London.⁹ An experimental form of relief appears in the hair of Herakles on this painter's early lionfight amphora in Basel (cat. no. 27). Here the hero's curly black locks take the form of long, S-shaped volutes, whose clay composition is evident in a microscopic photograph (cat. fig. 27.2).

Black dots for curly hair became the norm throughout subsequent early red-figure, as in the forelocks of Zeus, seated among deities in Olympos, on Olto's fine cup in Tarquinia.¹⁰ Significantly, on Euphronios's parade cup from the Athenian Akropolis, in the red-figure depiction of the wedding procession of Peleus and Thetis, black hair dots occur alongside items added in raised clay that do not appear ever to have been covered with black gloss. These clay-relief details—the forelocks of Hera and Athena, the bracelets of Athena and Thetis, and the phiale of Hephaistos—were most likely originally gilded.¹¹ Because gold leaf, unlike black gloss, has generally flaked off entirely in Late Archaic examples and in most Classical ones, exposed relief underpinnings for gilding have readily been recognized as added clay. Unusual examples of exposed clay relief modulated with incision appear on side A of the coral-red cup in New York, of ca. 500 B.C., signed by Hegesiboulos as potter (Cohen, chap. 2, fig. 8),¹² for the hair of the central youth holding an oinochoe and the sound box of the reclining symposiast's lyre. On the white-ground interior of the

lovely Early Classical cup in New York attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter that depicts a goddess standing before an altar, a half-dozen details—the goddess's phiale; the finial and butt of her scepter; her bracelets, necklace, earring; and the fillet binding her hair—are rendered in now-exposed clay relief that must once have been gilded (or possibly covered with tin leaf to imitate silver).¹³

Perhaps the first preserved use in early Athenian red-figure or white ground of once-gilded or otherwise coated added-clay relief for objects, such as camp stools and the sound box of a lyre, that were not intended to be covered with black gloss is on the exterior of the red-figure cup in the J. Paul Getty Museum of ca. 525–520 B.C., attributed to Psiax (cat. no. 28). A shared use of added-clay relief that was probably gilded strengthens the evidence for Psiax having been the teacher of Euphronios. Thus, it is possible to conclude that both black and originally metallic raised details in Athenian red-figure and white-ground vase-paintings share the technique of employing a base of added-clay relief.

During the fifth century raised black dots for curly hair gradually went out of fashion and were supplanted by more sophisticated added-clay renderings of jewelry and other objects that were not meant to be black. A red-figure cup of type C of ca. 490–480 B.C. in London, signed on the foot by the potter Brygos and attributed to the Brygos Painter (cf. cat. nos. 47, 60, 84),¹⁴ masterfully employs gilded added clay both inside and out. On the tondo, the young woman Zeuxo is about to pour wine into the embossed metal phiale held in the extended right hand of the warrior Chrysippos. This phiale is rendered illusionistically by means of gilded added-clay relief, and, remarkably, the figures' names have been written on the tondo with added clay that may also have been gilded. On side A (fig. 2), Hermes and Herakles come to the aid of Hera, who is threatened by satyrs. Here Hera's diadem and coiled snake bracelet, dots on Hermes' *kerykeion*, and Herakles' club have all been added in clay. The bits of gold leaf that still cling to the club and diadem on side A, and to the phiale on the tondo, comprise the earliest extant example of gilding on an Attic vase known to me. In addition, here a coating, prob-

ably red miltos, has been preserved on the surface of the added clay beneath the gold.

During the Classical period gilded relief elements on vases become ever more prevalent, and traces of the gilding are more frequently preserved. The Late Archaic Brygos cup (see fig. 2) was found along with six other vases in a tomb at Capua nicknamed the "Brygos Tomb."¹⁵ One of the later vases from this tomb, an Early Classical Sphinx rhyton (True, chap. 7, fig. 4)¹⁶ of ca. 470–460 B.C., has almost perfectly preserved gilding on three mold-made gorgoneia that embellish the creature's breast, and many more traces survive on the hair framing her face. This stunning rhyton comes from the workshop of the potter Sotades, which perfected several special techniques (cf. cat. nos. 86, 87, 90–99).

Other Early Classical examples of added clay with preserved gilding occur in conjunction with white-ground vase-painting. The covered cup in Boston of ca. 460 B.C. with a white-ground depiction of Apollo and a Muse (cat. no. 31) has not only preserved bits of gilding on its added-clay details but also remains of a preparatory ground. As is explained in the catalogue entry, this ground, which consists of gypsum and carbon, evidently could not have been fired and thus provides evidence that the gilding on this vase had to have been applied after the firing process.

Another early preserved trace of gilding on the added-clay of a white-ground vase is found on the lid from a pyxis of type B of ca. 470–460 B.C. with a wedding procession attributed to the Splanchnopt Painter (cat. no. 32). The color of the added clay employed here is orange, as on most of the above-mentioned examples (e.g., cat. nos. 27–31) and also on the red-figured name vase of the Penthesilea Painter (see fig. 4),¹⁷ the main painter of the workshop in which the London pyxis must have been produced. The raised additions for gilding of Classical white-ground vase-paintings, however, are often composed of white clay, as on the famous double-disk in New York attributed to the Penthesilea Painter himself (cat. no. 61) or on the delicate white-ground cups from workshop of Sotades (cat. nos. 14, 90, 92, 93).

During the second half of the fifth century, the Eretria Painter employs once-gilded orange



clay additions with subtlety and refinement on special vases in both red-figure (Cohen, chap. 5, fig. 8) and white ground (see fig. 5 and cat. no. 33). By the end of the century, the well-known red-figured vases of the Meidias Painter's circle literally sparkle with scores of still-preserved decorative gilded raised details. A red-figured pyxis of type B with a lid in the Manner of the Meidias Painter in London (cat. no. 35), though only 7.2 cm high with a diameter of 12.3 cm, has over a hundred raised orange-clay details for gilding. Significantly, here, in addition to the ubiquitous raised clay dots and short clay bands for bracelets and the like, long, often curvilinear clay lines have been employed for such items as the straps of necklaces (cf. cat. no. 33) and the feathered wings of Erotes. These details were clearly applied with clay extruded from a syringelike implement. The popularity of drawing with extruded clay extends the Meidian aesthetic down into the fourth century (cat. nos. 36, 100).

Figure 2. Hermes, Hera, and Herakles. Detail of side A of a red-figured cup of type C signed by Brygos as potter, and attributed to the Brygos Painter, ca. 490–480 B.C. London, The British Museum GR 1873.8-20.376, *BM Cat Vases* E 65.

Spatial Illusion in Athenian Vase-painting and Classical Free Painting

Does the presence of added-clay relief details on fifth-century Classical Athenian red-figure and white-ground vases have broader implications beyond the realm of pottery? My particular concern here is not associations between pottery and metalwork.¹⁸ Added-clay relief, of course, characterized the traditional pottery technique of barbotine, already employed so masterfully during the Aegean Bronze Age.¹⁹ When first applied in Late Archaic red-figure, added-clay details on pottery may have reflected an association between painted Greek relief sculpture, originally characterized by pale-colored figures against a darker ground, and, as I have discussed elsewhere, the invention of the light-on-dark technique of red-figure itself.²⁰ But such initial Archaic associations must have been submerged in pottery workshops as this practice was handed down from one generation of craftsmen to the next, and as red-figure itself developed. Thus, I believe, it is important to explore the possibility that by the fifth century the added-clay relief on Athenian vases may well have had an important artistic association beyond the pottery industry in contemporaneous free painting.

Beyond any initial associations with relief sculpture, details in added clay appear to have played a role in the avant-garde exploration of pictorial space that characterized Athenian red-figure vase-painting beginning in the late sixth century B.C. Raised black dots or spirals for curly hair are eye-catching foci that not only describe texture but also exhibit real highlights and may even cast shadows before the invention of painted ones. They thereby augment a vase-painting's two-dimensional layers of suggested depth (e.g., cat. nos. 2, 27, 29, 30).

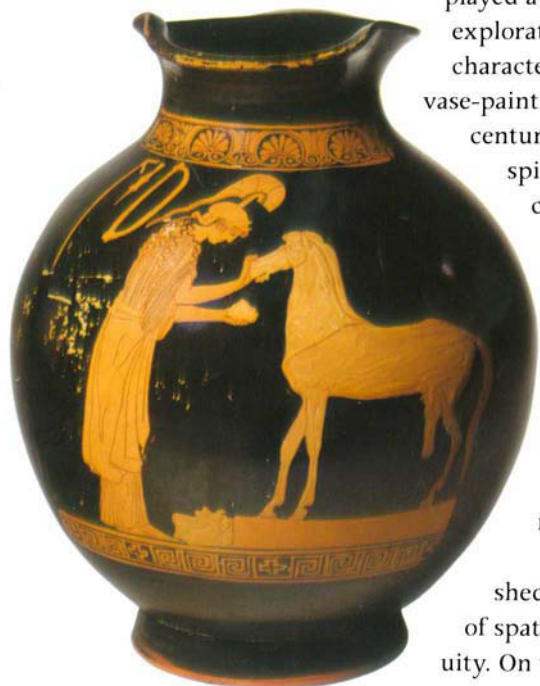
Images by Euphronios help shed light on primitive methods of spatial illusion in Greek antiquity. On this painter's Akropolis cup,²¹

once-gilded jewelry and metal vessels, projecting in relief from the picture plane, literally embodied luxurious objects or shining forms before their three-dimensionality and their reflective surfaces could be suggested entirely through paint. The ultimate development in such painted illusion is clearly attested on South Italian vases of the fourth century B.C.²² In the fifth century, however, while a trompe-l'oeil suggestion of depth of form came to be mastered through line drawing, the rendition of shining metal objects solely by means of paint was not yet common. Although gleaming highlights of real gold decoration on a clay vessel would surely have appealed to a status-conscious purchaser, the use of gilded elements alongside other relief details in vase-painting also appears to have belonged to a primitive stage of spatial illusion in which drawn recession into depth, which was generally extremely limited, was augmented or supplanted by three-dimensional forms projecting into the viewer's space from the picture plane.

With this dichotomy of modes of illusionism borne in mind, it is possible to see how the added-clay relief features of several now-famous fifth-century vase-paintings contribute masterfully to the depiction of space as well as texture, color, and, often, luxury. A closer look at the Brygos Painter's Late Archaic red-figured cup from Capua in London (see fig. 2), for example, reveals the subtle intricacy of spatial illusion attempted by its gilded added-clay details. On the red-figure tondo, the application of clay for the relief phiale held by Chrysippos avoids the vase surface on which the warrior's thumb is painted; thus his red-figure thumb seems to overlap the three-dimensional metal vessel.²³ On side A (see fig. 2), an illusionistic supposed overlapping of clay relief by painted red-figure forms appears once again: here Herakles' knobby added-clay club seems to pass behind the tail and a leg of the hero's lion skin as well as his own leg.

The use of added clay is self-referential on the unique red-figured oinoche in Berlin of ca. 470–460 B.C. that depicts the goddess Athena, the city's patroness of craftsmen, modeling a statue of a horse (fig. 3).²⁴ A mound of raw clay lies at Athena's feet, and she holds a wad of it in her hand as

Figure 3. Athena modeling a horse. Red-figured oinochoe, attributed to the Group of Berlin 2415 (name vase), ca. 470–460 B.C. H 21.5 cm. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz F2415. Photograph: Bildarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY. Photographer: Ingrid Geske.





she works on the creature's muzzle. The unfinished animal sculpture, which stands on a low base, is still missing a hind leg, and its rough clay surface has not yet been smoothed and polished. The vase-painting's texture and three-dimensionality have been achieved literally, by means of added-clay relief that projects from the vessel's surface, rather than pictorially, by means of highlights and/or shading. In this case, leaving the added clay the color of clay is an integral part of the illusion.

On the white-ground interior of a cup in Reggio di Calabria of ca. 475 B.C., attributed to the Pistoxenos Painter,²⁵ with a satyr attacking a maenad, the three-dimensional details include the pendants of the female figure's necklace, peeping over the neckline of her purple dress; the snake bracelet coiled around her arm, echoing the painted serpent coiling around her *thyrsos*; and the bangle encircling the satyr's wrist, which enhances the three-dimensionality of his form as much as the golden dilute gloss employed for shading.

Within the bowl of the very large red-figured cup with a diameter of 43 cm in Munich (fig. 4),²⁶ the name vase of the Penthesilea Painter of ca. 460 B.C., added-clay relief—on which preserved gilding had been observed as late as the mid-twentieth century—is employed for numerous details of the armor and weapons of the Greek warriors and also for the jewelry of the two Amazons and on their headbands. These once-shining golden raised elements amid the sophisticated spatial web of human forms in this majestic portrayal of Greek killing Amazon would have drawn the viewer's eyes around the vase-painting's monu-

mental composition. The squat lekythos in the Metropolitan Museum of Art from the 420s B.C. (fig. 5), attributed to the Eretria Painter,²⁷ is a sampler of modes of spatial illusion.

On the central white-ground frieze

Thetis and the other dolphin-riding Nereids bring the glorious armor wrought by Hephaistos to Achilles, who here bows in mourning beside the body of Patroklos. The individual pieces of the special panoply—including the fancy helmet wrought with three-dimensional curls of hair and the shield with a lion device—are palpably rendered in fine, originally gilded, added-clay relief projecting forward from the picture plane. By contrast, in the Amazonomachy in the red-figure zone below, where none of the armor or weapons shines, the Greek warriors' shields achieve three-dimensionality by means of masterfully drawn foreshortened views that illusionistically recede into pictorial space.

Finally, on the Eretria Painter's epinetron in Athens, the red-figure representation of the bridal chamber of Alkestis (Cohen, chap. 5, fig. 8) employs the above-mentioned two modes of illusionism within the same picture field.²⁸ While the open doors, painted in outline at the right, recede into pictorial space, the women's jewelry, the hanging wreaths, and the hand mirror, rendered in originally gilded added clay, project forward from the picture plane.

In his attempts to envision lost free painting, Martin Robertson used Attic vase-painting, including examples discussed above, such as the white-ground covered cup with once-gilded added clay in Boston (cat. no. 31). In *Greek Painting* of 1959 Robertson carefully noted these vases'

Figure 4. Achilles and Penthesilea. Interior of red-figured cup, attributed to the Penthesilea Painter (name vase), ca. 460 B.C. Diam 43 cm. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2688.



Figure 5. Red-figured and white-ground squat lekythos, attributed to the Eretria Painter, ca. 420 B.C. H (as restored) 49.5 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1931.31.11.13. Photograph: © 1982 The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

gilded elements.²⁹ Yet, when he discussed the Munich cup (see fig. 4), while he attributed the Penthesilea Painter's powerful red-figure composition and use of washes of color to the influence of monumental painting, he related the composition's then-gilded details to the influence of white-ground vase-painting.³⁰ In both his *History of Greek Art* of 1975 and *Art of Vase Painting in Classical Athens* of 1992, while Robertson continued to seek evidence for lost free painting in vase-painting, he no longer mentioned the gilded relief elements on Athenian vases in any context at all.³¹ Such silence may be symptomatic of an aesthetic disinclination to envision lost Classical painting with gaudy, projecting gold details similar to those common in Athenian vase-painting. At the same

time, Robertson also deemphasized the technique of employing gilded added clay in vase-painting itself. He has nonetheless admitted the possibility that more subtle three-dimensional details employed in vase-painting also existed in lost free painting—and specifically in the work of the renowned Polygnotos—such as raised pebbles, which form the floor of the tomb in the depiction of Polyeidios and Glaukos on the white-ground cup of ca. 460 B.C. attributed to the Sotades Painter (cat. no. 92).

In an effort to evoke lost Classical paintings of the fifth century, modern scholarship has turned to white-ground vases and has emphasized unusual applications of color in vase-painting, such as the purplish and pinkish-red washes of garments on the Penthesilea Painter's red-figured Amazon cup (see fig. 4; cf. cat. no. 49) or the flesh tone of a youth on a white-ground lekythos attributed to the Achilles Painter (cat. no. 65).³² The tiered composition on the obverse of the Niobid

Painter's red-figured calyx-krater in the Louvre has frequently been cited as a remarkable reflection of some lost monumental painting's composition.³³ Line drawings, employing motifs known from vase-painting arranged up and down the picture plane in tiered compositions, have been employed by scholars, most notably Karl Robert in the early 1890s and Mark Stansbury-O'Donnell a century later, to reconstruct Polygnotos's lost paintings in the Lesche of the Cnidians at Delphi on the basis of Pausanias's detailed description.³⁴ Agnès Rouveret has viewed such reconstruction efforts as a sterile pursuit;³⁵ instead she turns to preserved tomb-painting in Italy, such as the simple compositions painted on stucco-faced travertine slabs from the *Tomb of the Diver* at Paestum (Poseidonia) in Magna Graecia, in an attempt to evoke that which has been lost.³⁶

A Special Technique in Western Panel-painting

As an aid in interpreting extant evidence for lost Greek painting, Early Italian painting and Renaissance art theory have been put to invaluable use by modern scholars.³⁷ Since Classical Greek paintings, both monumental and small, generally appear to have been executed on prepared wooden boards,³⁸ it is important to consider whether they might have shared technical as well as aesthetic affinities with preserved panel-paintings from later periods of Western art. In the present context, such cross-cultural comparanda may shed light on the broader pictorial significance of the heretofore underappreciated gilded added-clay details of Athenian red-figure and white-ground vase-paintings.

The use of costly gold leaf in panel-painting to suggest the heavenly sphere of religious images, such as the Madonna and Child and portraits of saints, had been a Christian convention since the icons of Byzantine times.³⁹ Later in the Middle Ages, icons were often further enhanced with embossed precious-metal revetments, and crusader icons of the thirteenth century A.D. had gesso relief elements that were either gilded, silvered, or tinned in imitation of the precious metal additions.⁴⁰ In medieval Italian art, emerging from Byzantine influence, sometimes a panel-painting's

prepared gesso ground or even the plaster ground of a fresco was built up in relief as well as patterned and gilded, particularly for details such as halos.⁴¹

The use of gilded gesso relief in Italian panel painting, known as *pastiglia*, persisted through the fifteenth century A.D., even after gold itself could be convincingly suggested by means of paint. Although now generally regarded as merely *retardataire*, *pastiglia*, as in the following examples, was sometimes used to enhance the spatial illusion of three-dimensional form before trompe-l'oeil oil painting on canvas took over completely.

Dramatic examples of a sophisticated use of three-dimensional additions, including gilded gesso relief, occur in the oeuvre of Carlo Crivelli, an unusual painter active in the Veneto during the second half of the fifteenth century A.D.⁴² In the central panel from Crivelli's *Polyptych of S. Domenico of Camerino* (fig. 6) of 1482, now in the Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan, the Madonna's crown and jewels are rendered in gilded *pastiglia*.⁴³ In the polyptych's left wing, the keys of St. Peter the Apostle, which are literally three-dimensional, appear to be made of metal, and his crozier, modeled in high *pastiglia* relief against the gold ground, is surmounted by a *pastiglia* cross, which is not merely gilded and raised, but also drawn and modeled at an angle suggesting perspectival recession into pictorial space. Pietro Zampetti, the author of a monograph on Crivelli, has called the visual play of this panel "an alternation in aspects of truth that Pirandello would have appreciated."⁴⁴

Illusion-enhancing *pastiglia* was used also in secular works such as Sandro Botticelli's *Portrait of a Man Holding a Medal of Cosimo de' Medici* (fig. 7) of the mid-1470s, in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. This painting's unidentified sitter is strongly modeled in light and shade, but the gold medal he holds, rather than being suggested illusionistically through paint, is a gilded gesso cast of an actual medal affixed to a carefully prepared raised disc of wood on the panel's surface.⁴⁵

Finally, it is important also to consider evidence from the main preserved genre of panel painting from Classical antiquity itself—mummy portraits from Roman Egypt. According to Marie-



Figure 6. Carlo Crivelli (Italian, 1430–1494/1495), Detail of *Polyptych of San Domenico of Camerino*, 1482. Left panel: Saints Peter and Dominic; center panel: Virgin and Child. From the Church of San Domenico, Camerino. Tempera on wood, H 78 cm. Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera. Photograph: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 7. Sandro Botticelli (Italian, 1444–1510), *Portrait of a Man Holding a Medal of Cosimo de' Medici*, ca. 1475. Tempera on wood. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi. Photograph: Scala/Art Resource, NY.

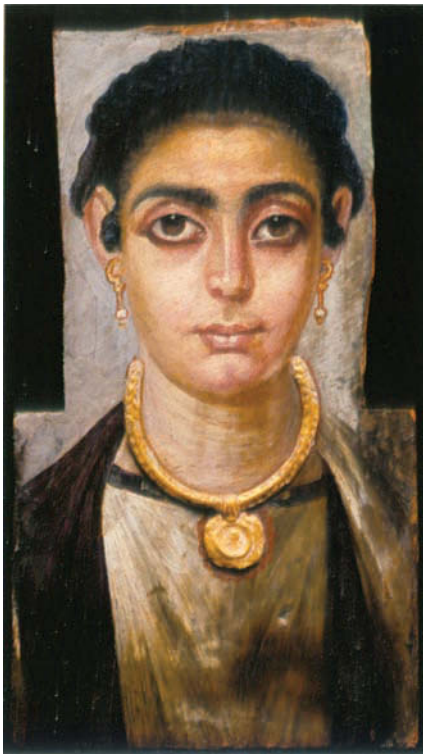


Figure 8. Head of a woman. Egyptian mummy portrait, A.D. 130–160. Encaustic on wood, with stucco, gold leaf, and gold coin. The Detroit Institute of Arts 25.2.

France Aubert, “Gold, an incorruptible metal the colour of the sun, was the ‘flesh of the gods’ for the Egyptians; when applied to effigies of the deceased . . . it was supposed to ensure immortality and divinity.”⁴⁶ Thus mummy portraits, generally rendered in encaustic (pigment in a beeswax medium) or else in tempera on wood panel, provide extant examples of the use of gold in the ancient pagan painting that preceded Byzantine tradition.⁴⁷

Gold leaf was sometimes added on the panel’s ground or even upon the portrait image itself.⁴⁸ Flat gold leaf could also be applied to add a wreath or jewelry to the image of the deceased.⁴⁹ Elsewhere, however, gold leaf was applied on top of stucco relief, as in the case of the raised wreath on a male mummy portrait in the Metropolitan Museum of Art of the late first century A.D.⁵⁰ Mummy portraits of women whose gold jewelry has been added in gilded stucco relief are of particular relevance here. Notable examples of such reliefwork include the large granulated gold-disk earrings and crescent-shaped necklace pendant of a woman’s portrait in Berlin,⁵¹ and the spectacular torque bearing a medalion, which houses a real gold coin, of a woman’s portrait in Detroit (fig. 8).⁵² The examples with three-dimensional gilded stucco jewelry are contemporaneous with other female mummy portraits with fashionable Roman jewelry that has simply been painted on illusionistically in yellow ocher with white highlights.⁵³

Beyond their local funerary function in Roman Egypt, mummy portraits are preserved representatives of a broader phenomenon: the Hellenistic tradition of illusionistic panel-painting.⁵⁴ These portraits document the occurrence in Classical antiquity of a distinctive technical feature—gilded raised (stucco) relief (see fig. 8)—that, one may conclude on the basis of the evidence presented here, must also have characterized earlier ancient Greek panel-painting.⁵⁵

Although lost free painting of the fifth cen-

tury B.C. has generally been visualized as a pure and subtle medium, judiciously employing color washes on a flat white ground, perhaps our mind’s eye ought to be redirected to envision Classical Greek paintings with details raised in relief, including golden baubles, bangles, and beads, that served to enhance both the paintings’ decorative splendor, and their splendid, if still primitive, illusion of space. Moreover, as we have seen, the pictorial tradition of golden raised details, which appears to have played a significant role in Western painting for millennia, may ultimately be traced back to the gilded added-clay details employed in Athenian vase-painting.

Some Fourth-Century-B.C. Fashions

With white-ground painting no longer being practiced and traditional red-figure vase-painting hardly able to compete with the sophisticated illusionism of free painting, Attic pottery workshops of the fourth century B.C. pursue different directions that involve elaborate technical experimentation. The resulting Athenian vases play an important role among the various luxury goods sought after in foreign markets within Greece, in South Italy and Sicily, and in centers along the Black Sea.

Inspired by elaborate metal reliefware, important relief vases are now also made of clay, their surface encrusted with painted and gilded mold-made appliqués that are sometimes employed in conjunction with gilded extruded added-clay details. The squat lekythos in the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, that depicts an exotic hunt in a Persian paradise park, which is actually signed in extruded clay by Xenophantos the Athenian as potter (cat. no. 37), is the jewel of such relief creations from the early fourth century. Found along the Black Sea at Kerch (ancient Pantikapaion), it may have been made by an Athenian working abroad.

Another new type of vessel that also involves the use of molds consists of a statuette front affixed to a vase back, which is decorated with red-figure ornament.⁵⁶ The use of gilding adds to a statuette-vase’s prestige. In the case of Berlin’s statuette-lekythos in the form of Aphrodite and

two Eroses (cat. no. 89) of ca. 375–350 B.C., the mold-made front is colorfully painted and highlighted with gilded details, such as hair and jewelry, and the vase is further adorned with gilded mold-made terracotta rosettes.

Another vase in the collection of the Hermitage (fig. 9), the great masterpiece of Athenian gilded-relief vases from the third quarter of the fourth century, the so-called *Regina Vasorum*—Queen of Vases—was found, not at Kerch, but at Capua in Campania, Italy.⁵⁷ This monumental tall-necked hydria, 65.5 cm high, has a relief shoulder frieze of Eleusinian deities with painted clothing and awesome gilded flesh. The complex technology of this frieze features mold-made heads and hand-modeled bodies (cf. cat. no. 105). The vessel's black ribbed body is encircled by a smooth band adorned with elegant facing pairs of animals and monsters in relief. The most important genre of fourth-century luxury black-gloss ware has neither figured scenes nor animal friezes. Instead, as on the British Museum's magnificent calyx-krater found at Capua of ca. 340–320 B.C. (cat. no. 38), extruded clay forming trompe-l'oeil golden wreaths and/or jewelry, seemingly draped around the vessel, takes the center stage. Scholars in earlier generations had difficulty believing that opulent gilded creations such as this calyx-krater or the *Regina Vasorum* could possibly have been Athenian.⁵⁸

The final flourishing of Attic red-figure vase-painting in the so-called Kerch style, which is discussed by Kenneth Lapatin in this volume (chap. 9), has likewise often been viewed with disdain. Yet despite many run-of-the-mill vases, this extravagant and colorful late style, named after the findspot of many important examples, is distinguished by several masterpieces (cat. nos. 103–105)—the Marsyas Painter's magnificent nuptial lebes gamikos of ca. 360 B.C. among them (cat. no. 103)—that are associated technically and aesthetically by an extraordinarily elaborate, masterful handling of gilded extruded clay.

Conclusion

Modern viewers have come to understand that the arts of the Classical period, though often

restrained in style, were both colorful and opulent, as Classical artists sought both to embellish and to reflect the Greek world. Bronze statues were enhanced by the insertion of naturalistic-looking artificial eyes and colored metal inlays; marble sculpture was brightly painted (Mertens, chap. 6, fig. 5) and fitted with shining metal additions; and colossal cult images were constructed with ivory and gold. The different Classical media did not ascribe to the austere boundaries established by Italian Renaissance *paragoni*. Based on the above exploration of the added-clay details and gilding in Athenian vase-paintings and their analogs in later epochs, it is possible to envision lost fifth-century free paintings as works that participated fully in both the rich and colorful aesthetic and the diverse ensemble of technologies that characterized Classical art. Moreover, it is now also possible to comprehend both the integral importance and ultimate triumph of the techniques of added clay and gilding on Athenian vases themselves over the course of two centuries of their history.



Figure 9. Relief hydria with Eleusinian deities and an animal frieze, the so-called *Regina Vasorum*, ca. 350–325 B.C. H 65.5 cm. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum 51659. Photograph: © The State Hermitage Museum.

- 1 CB III, 35, pl. 76; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 13.186: *ARV*² 458.1, 1654; *Para* 377; *BAdd*² 243; *BAPD* Vase 204681; Kunish 1997, 191–92, no. 300, pl. 98 (top); Simon/Hirmer 1976, pl. 166 (top). Earlier versions of parts of this chapter were given as talks at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in 1996 (see Cohen 1997) and at a conference of the Center for the Ancient Mediterranean at Columbia University in 2002; the latter was subsequently published, see Cohen 2004. My thanks go to William V. Harris for permission to publish material from Cohen 2004.
- 2 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 15214 (Acropolis Collection 2.176): *ARV*² 17.18; *BAdd*² 153; *BAPD* Vase 200081; Berlin 1991, 210. Paris, Musée du Louvre G 115: *ARV*² 434.74, 1653; *Para* 375; *BAdd*² 237; *BAPD* Vase 205119; Buitron-Oliver 1995, pl. 71.
- 3 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 13.233: *ARV*² 183.13, 1632; *Para* 340; *BAdd*² 187; *BAPD* Vase 20166; see Richter/Hall 36–37, no. 13.
- 4 Noble's proposed instrument also resembles a pastry bag. Noble 1965, 66 and 191, caption to fig. 217; on thickened gloss, relief lines, and the drawing syringe, see 57–58. In Noble 1988, see 139, fig. 218 and 117–20. There is little agreement among scholars about how relief line was produced, see contra Noble, e.g., Seiterle 1976; idem 1987; Kunisch 1994; Boardman 2001, 285–87. In earlier vase-painting literature "gloss" is commonly referred to as "glaze." Given the glassy surface of sintered slip, glaze is, in fact, probably the best term to use. The use of *gloss* rather than *glaze* throughout this catalogue reflects an editorial policy of the J. Paul Getty Museum.
- 5 Berlin 1991, 114, no. 7 (K. Wight).
- 6 That the reliefwork consists of little balls of clay pressed onto the vessel's surface rather than globules of thickened gloss helps to explain two characteristics that may be observed on vases with black relief details: (1) the rounded indentations in the clay surface of a vessel where raised dots are missing—Beazley's burst bubbles, see above, at note 1—and (2) cracks in the black gloss on the vessel's surface around preserved black dots, evidently caused by shrinkage of the little clay balls during firing (see fig. 1). Noble 1965, 78 and 213, graph 1, estimates a 9½% shrinkage of Attic clay during firing; Noble 1988, 200, graph 1. Both (1) and (2) appear in the forehead hair of Zeus on Euphronios's cup Athens, National Archaeological Museum 15214 (Acropolis Collection 2.176), see above, note 2.
- 7 The black-figure master Exekias had already used shallow raised black details, esp. for locks of hair, e.g., on the black-figured amphora Vatican, Museo Etrusco Gregoriano 344 (*ABV* 145.13, 686; *Para* 60; *BAdd*² 40; *BAPD* Vase 310395); see Cohen 1978, 111n.20. I have not had an opportunity to examine the Vatican amphora and other vases by Exekias out of the case and/or with a microscope in order to determine the technique employed. But Exekias's fine raised strands of hair may be compared with the Andokides Painter's coarser clay reliefwork on Basel, Antikenmuseum BS 491 (cat. no. 27). Exekias's interest in technical experimentation along these lines must have been handed down to the potter Andokides. On Exekias's raised details, see Mackay 2002, 206–208 and pl. 54c–e. The fragment New York, Centre Island, attributed by Dietrich von Bothmer to the Lysippides Painter, *ibid.*, pl. 55a–c, has low relief curls of hair bounded by incision that are closer to Exekias's Vatican amphora than to Basel BS 491. Mackay 2002 assumes that all of the relief details are globules of thickened black "paint"; earlier, in Cohen 1978, e.g., 28, I too had assumed them to be composed of "relief line matter."
- 8 Berlin, Antikensammlung F 2159: *ARV*² 3.1, 1617; *Para* 320; *BAdd*² 149; *BAPD* Vase 200001; detail: Mackay 2002, pl. 55b.
- 9 London, British Museum B 193: *ARV*² 4.8, 1617; *Para* 320; *BAdd*² 149; *BAPD* Vase 200008; Boardman 1975, 16 (head detail), fig. 10; Cohen 1978, pl. 34.2.
- 10 Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale RC 6848: *ARV*² 60.66, 1622; *Para* 327; *BAdd*² 165; *BAPD* Vase 200502; Arias/Hirmer/Shefton, pls. 101–104, detail pl. 104 (middle). The Tarquinia cup, which bears the potter-signature of Euxitheos as well as the painter-signature of Olto, also attests to the bond between Olto and Euphronios, who both worked with this potter: e.g., Euphronios's red-figured calyx-krater, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1972.11.10: *BAdd*² 396; *BAPD* Vase 187; Berlin 1991, 93–105, no. 4.
- 11 See above, note 3; Berlin 1991, 207, no. 44, color photographs: bracelets 209; hair of Hera 210. See Shapiro 1995, pl. 73b, for the hair of Athena and phiale of Hephaistos. See above, note 6. See, recently, Mackay 2002, 208. Cf. Scheibler 1995, 89.
In Berlin 1991, 207, E. Stasinopoulou-Kakarouga—not comprehending the technical similarity between the two types of raised details on Euphronios's Akropolis cup—describes the black forehead locks of Zeus as "kleinen Firnisbuckeln" and the other relief elements as "in Ton aufgehöhht."
- 12 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.47: *ARV*² 175, 1631; *Para* 339; *BAdd*² 184; *BAPD* Vase 201603; Cohen 1972, pl. 5.7b; see Richter/Hall 26, under no. 10.
- 13 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1979.11.5, ca. 470 B.C.: *BAPD* Vase 5330; color: Noble 1988, color ill. v; Robertson 1992, cover. For tin leaf, cf. the cup attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1973.1: *BAPD* Vase 802; Vickers 1974, pl. 17a and 177n.3; scientific analysis of its relief elements suggested that they were plated with tin. My thanks for this reference go to Jasper Gaunt. For tin leaf, cf. also below, at note 40. In this study I generally refer to bare clay-relief elements as originally gilded, because gilding is the metallic coating that is still clearly preserved on many Athenian vases.
- 14 London, British Museum 1873.8-20.376, *BM Cat Vases* E 65; *ARV*² 370.13, 398, 1649; *Para* 365, 367; *BAdd*² 224; *BAPD* Vase 203912; CVA British Museum 9 [Great Britain 17] pls. 62–64, no. 45.
- 15 Beazley 1945.
- 16 London, British Museum E 788: *ARV*² 764.8; *BAdd*² 286; *BAPD* Vase 209465.
- 17 Red-figured cup, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2688: *ARV*² 879.1, 1673; *Para* 428; *BAdd*² 300; *BAPD* Vase 211565.
- 18 Vickers and Gill 1994, unconvincingly proposed that Athenian red-figure vases were inexpensive reflections of inlaid-metal vases. Among the many opposing opinions, see esp. Boardman 1987; Williams 1995, 158 with n.90.
- 19 Betancourt 1985, 83–85, pl. 7A–E.
- 20 Cohen 1978, 110–17; recently, Boardman 2001, 79.
- 21 See above, notes 2, 11.
- 22 E.g., Apollo before a temple with his cult image, fragmentary Early Apulian red-figured calyx-krater, Painter of the Birth of Dionysos, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 2579: Trendall 1989, fig. 52; in color, Charbonneaux, Martin, and Villard 1972, 311, fig. 361; funeral of Patroklos, Apulian red-figured volute-krater, Darius Painter, Naples, National Museum 3254: Trendall 1989, fig. 204; color, Charbonneaux, Martin, and Villard 1972, 314, fig. 364.
- 23 See above, note 14.
- 24 Berlin, Antikensammlung F 215: *ARV*² 776.1, 1669; *Para* 416; *BAdd*² 288; *BAPD* Vase 209569.

- 25 Reggio di Calabria, Museo Nazionale (formerly Taranto): *ARV*² 860.3, 1672; *Para* 425; *BAdd*² 298; *BAPD* Vase 211326; Arias/Hirmer/Shefton, pl. 167, and 350, the raised elements were originally "colored in violet red or gilded"; color: Simon/Hirmer, color pl. xli; Robertson 1979, frontispiece. See below, note 26.
- 26 Munich, Antikensammlungen 2688: see above, note 17; color, Robertson 1959, 115–16. For the relief elements, see also Simon/Hirmer, 130 and color pl. xlii. Simon, 129, views the maenad on the Reggio di Calabria (formerly Taranto) cup (see above, note 25) as a sister of "Penthesilea" on the Munich cup and cites both the Pistoxenos and the Penthesilea Painter's love of plastic additions.
- 27 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 31.11.13: *ARV*² 1248.9, 1688; *Para* 469; *BAdd*² 353; *BAPD* Vase 216942; Lezzi-Hafter 1988, pls. 150–55; see also Lezzi-Hafter 1992; and Richter/Hall 175–78, no. 139.
- 28 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1629: *ARV*² 1250.34, 1688; *Para* 469; *BAdd*² 354; *BAPD* Vase 216971; Lezzi-Hafter 1988, pls. 168a, 169e.
- 29 Robertson 1959, 117, 134.
- 30 *Ibid.*, 117. Simon/Hirmer, 130: Simon attributes the use of special colors to the influence of white-ground vase-painting.
- 31 Robertson 1975, *passim*, esp. 261–62; Robertson 1992, *passim*, esp. 160, 173. Wehgartner 1983, *passim*, lists relief elements on white-ground vases but never mentions the possibility that they could have been gilded. Koch-Brinkmann 1999 never mentions the existence of raised and gilded elements.
- 32 Penthesilea Painter's Amazon cup in Munich: see above, at note 26; see Robertson 1959, 116–17; *idem* 1975, 263; *idem* 1992, 160.
- 33 Paris, Musée du Louvre G 341: *ARV*² 601.22, 1661; *Para* 395; *BAdd* 266; *BAPD* Vase 206954. Recently: Boardman 2001, 272, fig. 300, 316n.6; see also Robertson 1992, 180–83; Scheibler 1994, 143–44, fig. 68.
- 34 Pausanias 10.25.1–31.1. Robert 1893; *idem* 1892; Stansbury-O'Donnell 1989; *idem* 1990; see also Pollitt 1990, 127–40.
- 35 Rouveret 1989, 135.
- 36 *Ibid.*, 155–57, 156, figs. 8–9, see also 139, 143–44. Napoli 1970, 9–48 (color), on the painting technique 95–106.
- 37 Rouveret 1989, e.g., 20, 27, 79–81; Robertson 1975, e.g., 252, 261, 412, 413, 426, 432, 433; Bruno 1977, 36, 79, 95–97, 101–102. See, recently, Koch-Brinkmann 1999, 103–105, for comparisons with European Late Gothic panel-painting.
- 38 Napoli 1970, 96; Robertson 1975, 244–45; Bruno 1977, 105, 107–108. Four Archaic pinakes from Pente Skouphia (Pitsa), near Corinth, ca. 530 B.C., comprise a rare preserved example of Greek painting on wood; for a good color illustration of the plaque with a procession to an altar, see Pedley 2002, fig. 7.38 and cat. no. 40. Koch-Brinkmann 1999, 84, associates the white ground of Athenian lekythoi with the white ground of a wood panel.
- 39 For the tradition of icon painting and its significance, see esp. Belting 1990.
- 40 For precious-metal icon covers, see Onasch and Schnieper 1997, 256–59, with illustrations. Crusader icons with raised gesso relief: e.g., the icon of St. Marina, Houston, the Menil Collection: Folda 1992, 108–11 and fig. 99; in color on cover; here the raised gesso elements (halo, cuffs, figural outline, background ornament) were covered with tin leaf. The icon of St. George, London, British Museum, has a raised halo and a background with elaborate gesso "three-dimensional scrollwork, originally silvered": Buckton 1994, 176–77, no. 191 (R. Cormack); see also Evans and Wixom 1997, 395, no. 261 (J. Folda). See above, note 13, for tin in the context of Athenian vases.
- 41 Gilded relief halos: in trecento panel-painting, e.g., Bernardo Daddi, *Madonna delle Grazie*, 1347, Orsanmichele, Florence: Christiansen 1992, 52. For the influence of imported Byzantine icons in medieval Italy, see Belting 1990, 369–422, and for Byzantine influence in Italian medieval painting, in general, see Christiansen 1992, 31.
- 42 For the biography of Crivelli (ca. 1430–1494) with documentation, Zampetti 1997, 11–17.
- 43 *Ibid.*, pls. 61–62, history of altarpiece 279–80, reconstruction pl. 60.
- 44 *Ibid.*, 44, "... un alternarsi negli aspetti della verità che Pirandello avrebbe apprezzato."
- 45 See Lighthown 1989, 54; Brown 2001, 177, who reminds us that Botticelli "was trained as a goldsmith."
- 46 Walker 2000, 89, no. 49 (M.-F. Aubert).
- 47 Doxiadis 2000; sometimes portraits were painted directly on the stiffened linen shroud. See also Doxiadis 1995, 84–85, 91, 94–100. On the association between mummy portraits and Christian icons, see Belting 1990, 92–116.
- 48 E.g., Walker 2000, 88–89, no. 49, 90–91, no. 51, 109–10, no. 68, 110–11, no. 69; Doxiadis 1995, 114, fig. 86.
- 49 E.g., Walker 2000, 64–65, no. 26, 71–72, no. 31, 73–74, no. 32, 90–91, no. 51, 98–99, no. 60, 106–107, no. 66, 109–10, no. 68, 110–11, no. 69; Doxiadis 1995, 99, 115, fig. 87.
- 50 Walker 2000, 61, no. 22: London, British Museum EA 7404, 46–47, no. 9; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1912.11.139.
- 51 E.g., Walker 2000, 41–42, no. 4; Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Ägyptisches Museum 10974, ca. A.D. 70.
- 52 The Detroit Institute of Arts 25.2; Thompson 1982, 9 and fig. 11 (with caption); Doxiadis 1995, 112, pl. 84; the torque was added at the time of burial. This portrait, ca. A.D. 130–160, is of a type associated with Antinoopolis; eadem 1995, 147–52, on the necropoli of Antinoopolis, a town founded by Hadrian. I would like to thank William H. Peck for providing information about Detroit's mummy portrait.
- 53 E.g., Walker 2000, 39, no. 2, 88–89, no. 49; Doxiadis 1995, 99.
- 54 Doxiadis 2000, 30; eadem 1995, 82–85 ("Graeco-Egyptian artefacts of Roman times"), 94; Onasch and Schnieper 1997, 10–11.
- 55 For a contrasting view, Doxiadis 1995, 84–85: "Since there seem to be no literary references to gilded-background portraits (*epichrysoi*) before the time of Alexander's conquests, gold leaf on paintings is likely to have been an Eastern influence."
- 56 See Paris 2003, 122, 136, cat. nos. 82–83.
- 57 St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum 51659: Zervoudaki 1968, 36–37, no. 76. Adding reliefs to vases had already been tried in the sixth century B.C.: see, esp., Hübner 1993, 326, fig. 3, 327–28 for a fragmentary cup from the Athenian Akropolis, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 102: *ARV*² 1625; *BAdd*² 171; *BAPD* Vase 275048.
- 58 Rayet and Collignon 1888, 269; Kopcke 1964, 32, no. 42, 38, no. 117. For fourth-century gilded pottery and jewelry, see, recently, Williams 2001.



27.1

27 FRAGMENTARY RED-FIGURED AMPHORA OF TYPE A

Attributed to the Andokides Painter and to
Andokides as potter, ca. 520 B.C.
H (preserved) 39 cm
Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung
Ludwig BS 491
Purchased 1992; formerly collection of
Dr. A. Moretti

*A, Herakles fights the Nemean Lion while Athena
stands by
B, musical contest: aulete and singer on platform,
flanked by standing and seated listeners*

CONDITION: Poor; upper part of vase, including
mouth, neck, and handles, missing; remaining por-
tion assembled from fragments with missing parts
restored in plaster; upper borders of panels miss-
ing; on A, head of Athena and upper front portion
of Herakles' head missing, and elements drawn
in black gloss project from eroded, now-recessed
reserved areas; on B, heads of listeners and tops of
heads of aulete and singer missing; losses of black
gloss on right side of A, under (lost) A/B handle,
and on lower vase body on B. The lid is preserved.

THE ANDOKIDES PAINTER, the craftsman who
may have invented red-figure, has drawn attention
to the monumental nude Herakles, shown wres-
tling with the Nemean Lion on side A of this par-
tially preserved amphora, by rendering the hero's
beard and hair in relief. While raised dots—a fea-
ture that becomes standard in Archaic red-figure

(cf. Cohen, Introduction, fig. 1)—describe the hero's curly black beard, unusual large S-shaped coiling spirals form the curls in his short black hair. Short curly hair appears to have been an important attribute of this hero, and it is certainly emphasized on the Basel amphora. These relief curls, however, have regularly been described incorrectly as consisting of thickened black gloss. The microscopically enlarged detail clearly shows the orange clay in the cracks that run across the black hair spirals (fig. 27.2). The Basel amphora thereby documents that black relief details by the Andokides Painter himself are composed of clay covered with black gloss and not gloss alone, which places the use of added clay very early in Late Archaic red-figure.

While the hero's black hair has been distinguished from the black ground by an incised line, significantly, the contours of individual relief curls are not defined by incision. (Incised hair borders also appear on side B, but there additional incised lines and incised stippling suggest strands and locks.) Elsewhere on side A, embellishing red-figure's dramatic contrast of pale forms against a black ground, the Andokides Painter emphasizes intricate details drawn with black gloss on reserve, and he does not employ incision. Here the armed goddess Athena, who wears a scaly aegis on her back, stands at the left in the background plane and thus is depicted on a far smaller scale than the Herculean labor she oversees. The apotropaic frontal-faced gorgoneion device on Athena's shield, which is drawn angled in space, is seen from a side view (cf. cat. no. 74; Cohen, chap. 5, fig. 3). Thus, while the Andokides Painter was the only red-figure master to employ an old-fashioned bearded Gorgon's head, he broke with convention in its depiction. Here the goddess's red-figure shield provides the reserved ground necessary for traditional black outline drawing of the gorgoneion's facial features. The self-composed, curly-haired and bearded head of Herakles contrasts with the grimacing, bearded gorgoneion and with the head of the Nemean Lion, which gasps for air in the hero's stranglehold, its mouth hanging open and eye bulging as it futilely attempts to break the hero's iron grip with its paw.



27.2

Martine Denoyelle has suggested that the Andokides Painter's still early Basel lionfight was inspired by an innovative lionfight on a fragmentary red-figure calyx-krater in the Louvre by the younger Pioneer Group master Euphronios (see cat. nos. 10, 29, 30). While it is difficult to place the Andokides Painter's work, which probably dates ca. 520 B.C., later than that of Euphronios, it is interesting to note that both painters employ black-painted relief curls in the hero's hair and beard.

REFERENCES: *ARV*² 3.4, 1617; *Para* 320; *BAdd*² 149; *BAPD* Vase 200004; *CVA* Basel 3 [Switzerland 7] 10–13, pls. 1–2; Schauenburg 1961, figs. 1–2 (side A), 3 (side B); Marwitz 1961–1963, 80n.16; Bothmer 1965–1966, 212; *EAA*, Suppl. (1970) s.v. Attici, Vasi, Andokides, Pittore di, 99, fig. 102 (E. Paribeni); Brommer 1973, 140, no. B 15; Boardman 1975, 27–29, fig. 7; Cohen 1978, 27–29, 118, 129, 150–53, no. C 3, 156, 158–61, pls. 8.2, 28.1–2 (sides A–B); Berger 1984, 130–31; *LIMC* v (1990) s.v. Herakles B, 1 c (i) 23, no. 1851 (W. Felten), pl. 42; Denoyelle 1992, 51–52, fig. 5; Blome 1999, 43–44, fig. 50; Cohen 2004, 58n.15, 59n.18.

For side B, see also: Knauer 1965, 19–20; Shapiro 1989, pl. 20C; Shapiro 1995, 134, fig. 4. On the amphora's lid, see Bothmer 1964, 39–40, fig. 3. A similar gorgoneion shield device is better preserved on the Andokides Painter's red-figure amphora in Orvieto, Faina 64, see *ARV*² 3.5; *Para* 320; *BAdd*² 149; *BAPD* Vase 200005; Cohen 1978, 163, no. C 5, pl. 31.2. For Paris, Musée du Louvre G 110, by Euphronios, see, in addition to Denoyelle 1992, *ARV*² 14.3; *Para* 322; *BAdd*² 152; Berlin 1991, 70–76, no. 2. See Mackay 2002, 206–207, pl. 54c–e, for earlier relief effects on hair in Exekias's black-figure work, and Cohen 2004, 58–59n.15.



28

28 RED-FIGURED CUP OF TYPE A

Attributed to Psiax, ca. 520 B.C.
H 11 cm; Diam (restored) 27.5 cm
Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.278
Purchased 1986; formerly collection of
Molly and Walter Bareiss

I, male couple

A–B, gathering of men, youths, and women

CONDITION: Poor; burned in antiquity and refired in twentieth century; restored from fragments; many losses, including about half of bowl, both handles, and a third of foot; surface abraded; much added color flaked; brown discoloration on tondo; some white incrustation on exterior; greenish band of misfired black gloss around bottom of bowl from stacking during firing.

DESPITE ITS POOR CONDITION, this red-figured cup attributed to Psiax, which may be the first model with figural friezes on the exterior rather than an eye-cup scheme (cf. cat. nos. 3, 4),

is quite important. Long called an experimenter because of his work in the many competing techniques of vase decoration of the late sixth century B.C. (cat. nos. 1, 7, 52; Mertens, chap. 6, fig. 1), Psiax also merits this sobriquet because his very early red-figure technique is itself unusual—as the Malibu cup demonstrates.

This cup depicts erotically charged encounters between youths and men, and males and females, inside and out. Here Psiax paints red figures with squat proportions and employs a multitude of black dots to unify his images. These features recall eye-cups and other works attributed to the Andokides Painter (cf. cat. nos. 2, 27), with whom he must have worked side by side in the workshop of the potter Andokides (cf. cat. no. 1). On the fragmentary tondo, a himation-clad youth and a male figure walk along together on a ground-line decorated with Zs that forms one of the first known exergues in red-figure. Their hair borders and those of the other figures on this cup are reserved. On side A, three facing pairs of red figures have been preserved. A figure (head missing) wearing a chiton with a triple-dot pattern and a

himation extends a lyre toward a youth seated on a camp stool holding a staff. The standing figure grasps the himation's skirt, and its fabric cascades downward in avant-garde three-dimensional folds. The seated youth's dotted himation, which is wrapped around his lower body, likewise falls in three-dimensional folds. At the center, a young woman extends a dotted wreath (once added in color) toward another half-draped seated youth; fingernails are indicated on her hand. In her elaborate coiffure, the hair's outer border is dotted; unruly bangs are painted in dilute on a patch of reserve, and two corkscrew curls fall behind her ear. Her chiton is decorated with dot rosettes, and her himation with dots. She also wears a dotted headband, a hoop earring with dotted pendants, and a dotted necklace. The dot pattern of her chiton echoes the dots employed for the youths' breast nipples. The seated youth before her holds a black oval form, once covered with white, in his left hand; his right hand rests atop a staff. The anatomy of this youth's exposed torso is carefully delineated. At the right, a partially preserved woman extends a vessel with a dotted foot toward a fragmentary seated male holding a staff. Black upright circumscribed palmettes with red hearts and black lotuses on a reserved band ran around the exterior of the cup beneath the red figures.

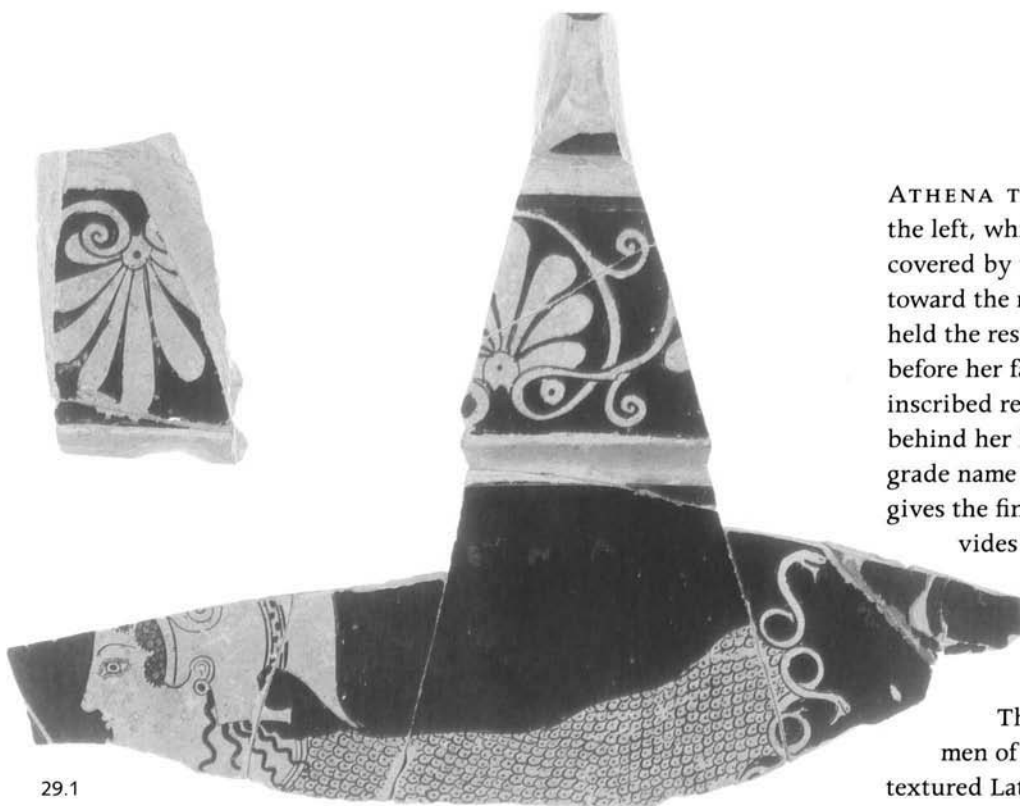
Animated now-fragmentary encounters of youths and men appear on side B. Here little more is preserved than the heads of a youth and of a man with a handlebar mustache and a long beard, and a youth, who walked or danced together toward the right. The man's expressive head with an open mouth is tilted back slightly. Toward the right a partially preserved figure plays an aulos (once added in white), its pipes held in extended nervous fingers. The musician's hair has a *krobylos* at the back and is tied up in a dotted band. The aulos player faces a bearded man in a himation, who probably held out a cup (added-white flaked). An ivy vine and a dot-leaved plant fill the space between them. Although the scene on side A is set amid stools rather than couches, the Malibu cup brings to mind later depictions in which Athenian men are entertained by musicians and attended to by hetairai at symposia.

In Psiax's red-figure pictures objects may be

described with incision and added-white as well as added-red colors rather than reserve. On the Malibu cup, these unusual renderings are joined by an extensive use of added-clay relief. Thus, on side A, the lyre has arms and a cross-piece painted in added color (now flaked), incised strings, and a raised sound box added in clay (now chipped); the leftmost youth, who holds a (once) red staff, sits on a camp stool added in clay relief, which has white hinges and is topped by a (once) red cushion. The stool of the rightmost youth also has a (once) red cushion and is rendered in added clay (mixed with a whiter clay or color for the legs). On side B, the plants are added in clay. Except for the white legs of the rightmost stool on side A, the surface of these three-dimensional elements is now simply the beige color of the clay, though they might originally have been enhanced by gilding and/or color. While Psiax's unusual technical features in red-figure have generally been understood as harking back to the influence of the older technique of black-figure, his use of added-clay relief for forms that are not covered with black gloss stands at the beginning of an important Attic red-figure tradition.

REFERENCES: *BAPD* Vase 10142; *CVA* Malibu 8 [USA 33] 10–11, no. 13, fig. 5, pls. 394.3–6 and 395.1–2; Mertens 1979, 30–34, pl. 11; Bothmer 1982, 45; JPGM Bareiss 1983, 30, no. 18, 78, no. 143; "Acquisitions/1986," *Getty MusJ* 15 (1987) 160–61, no. 7.

For the tondo, see *CVA* Malibu 8 [USA 33] pl. 395.1 and for side B see pl. 394.4–6. For the later depiction of symposia, see, e.g., Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 8935, attributed to Euphronios: *ARV*² 1619.3 bis, 1705, 1699; *Para* 322; *BAdd*² 152; *BAPD* Vase 275007; Berlin 1991, 90–91, no. 5.



29.1

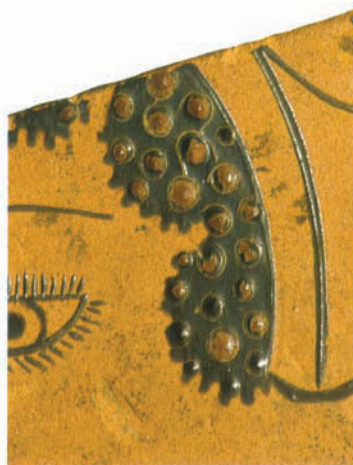
29 FRAGMENTS OF A RED-FIGURED CALYX-KRATER

Attributed to Euphronios, ca. 515–510 B.C.
H 12.5 cm; W 16.2 cm
Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AE.86.1–2
European art market; purchased 1977

Athena

CONDITION: Grayish black discoloration on Athena's face and helmet; scratches on her face, helmet, and aegis; black gloss chipped on surface of raised clay dots in Athena's hair.

29.2



ATHENA TURNS HER HELMETED HEAD toward the left, while she extends her left arm, entirely covered by the scaly, snake-fringed aegis, back toward the right. Her lost right hand must have held the reserved spear shaft that is tilted upward before her face. Part of the armed goddess's name, inscribed retrograde in red letters, is preserved behind her head. Another now-fragmentary retrograde name tag at the far right, which probably gives the final letters of the name Perseus, provides a key to the iconography. Here Athena stands her ground, protecting the fleeing hero, who, after beheading the Gorgon Medusa, was pursued by her two immortal sisters.

These fragments preserve a fine specimen of the Pioneer Euphronios's richly textured Late Archaic red-figure. Many details, including the scales of the aegis and Athena's eyelashes, have been drawn with black relief lines. Diluted gloss is employed for a dot at the center of each scale. Full-strength black gloss describes such details as the pupil of Athena's eye, the dot on her earring, the design on her Attic helmet's low crest, the long wavy locks that escape beneath her helmet's neck guard, and the background of the curly hair that surrounds the goddess's face. The curls themselves, as is common in Archaic red-figure, are described by rounded dots that project in relief from the vase's surface. Fortunately, here the shiny black gloss on the top of twenty of the twenty-six preserved hair dots has chipped off, thereby revealing that these dots are composed of tiny balls of clay rather than globs of thickened black gloss as had commonly been believed. According to the Getty Museum's conservators, the red color visible on the surface of these imperfectly preserved hair dots may be attributed to the composition of the clay itself.

REFERENCES: *BAPD* Vase 7503; Frel 1979, no. 7; Robertson 1981a, 27–28, fig. 11; Frel 1983, 156, fig. 77.AE.86, 157, no. 9; Walter-Karydi 1987, 137, fig. 214; Berlin 1991, 114–15, no. 7; Cohen 2004, 56–57, figs. 5.2–5.3.

On the iconography, see also Bothmer 1991, 40. For representations of Perseus without Athena, see cat. nos. 7, 56.



30 FRAGMENTARY SEMI-OUTLINE WHITE-GROUND CUP

Attributed to Euphronios, ca. 510–500 B.C.

Diam (restored) ca. 22.6 cm

Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum

86.AE.313.1–7

Purchased 1986; formerly collection of Molly and Walter Bareiss

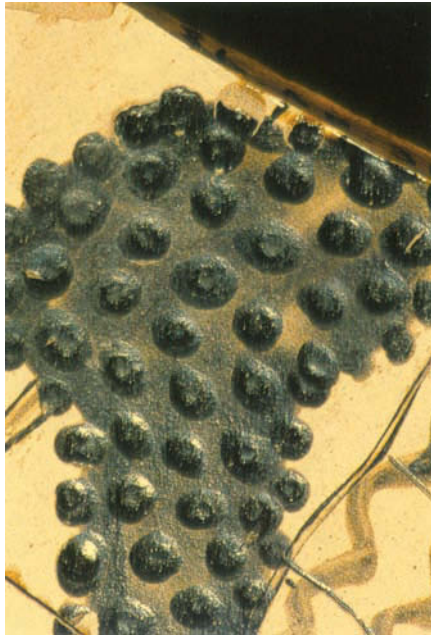
I, white ground, *Dionysos holding a kantharos and a satyr playing the aulos*

CONDITION: Broken in antiquity; drilled holes and channels for ancient repairs. Many losses, including much of the bowl and rim, the painted figures' heads, part of one handle, the stem, and foot. Yellow discoloration and brown and gray incrustations on the white ground. Black gloss on right handle chipped.

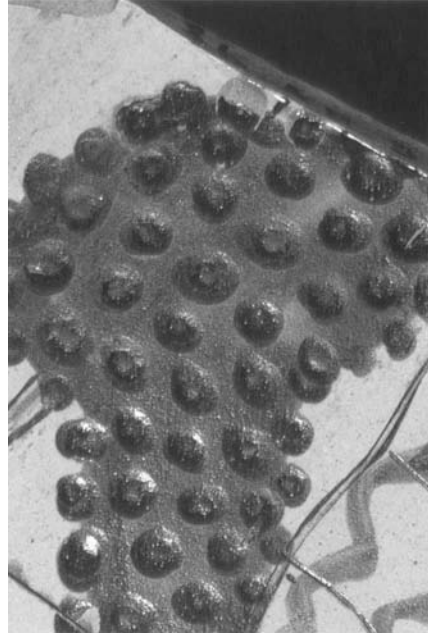
ONE OF THE EARLIEST PRESERVED models with a white-ground interior, this technically noteworthy cup with a black exterior was convincingly attributed to Euphronios by Joan R. Mertens. A

large white-ground vase-painting, surrounded by an internally offset black lip, fills the bowl's inner surface, unconfined by a tondo. The painting on this vase must have been influenced by the black-figure and white-ground compositions for round picture fields of Euphronios's master, Psiax (cf. cat. no. 52). The Malibu cup combines outline drawing with black-figure silhouettes and incision in a grand version of the technique traditionally called semi-outline, which is common on contemporaneous white-ground lekythoi (cat. no. 56). Here Dionysos, shown standing at the left dressed in a flowing chiton and himation, is painted in outline upon the creamy white ground. The major drawing lines defining the wine god's body and dress are the same black relief lines that delineate reserved forms in red-figure. Added colors have been avoided. Subsidiary details, such as anatomical inner markings and the fine linen chiton's folds, are painted in dilute gloss. The curly locks of Dionysos's long hair and his kantharos are both painted black.

Contrasting formally and iconographically with the ideal white god, his follower is rendered in black-figure. Thus the curly black locks of the



30.2



30.3

satyr's hair have incised contours, and anatomical markings on his black body are likewise incised. Significantly, this incision is feathery and modulated; it also describes hairs in the satyr's swirling horsetail, which has been brushed rapidly onto the white ground in black dilute. This black figure's execution reveals the hand of a red-figure draftsman.

The cup's grapevines adapt features of red-figure illusionism to white ground. These vines, outlined by relief lines and colored with golden dilute wash, have botanically plausible leaves rendered in black silhouette, while their bunches contain individual grapes rendered in low relief (fig. 30.2). Such three-dimensional grapes, common in Late Archaic red-figure, are unprecedented in white ground. Relief grapes, like relief hair dots (cat. no. 29), have commonly been assumed in vase scholarship to consist of thickened black gloss. The raised black grapes in the bunches here, however, happen to be cracked and scratched on the surface, revealing an orange color underneath that is clearly visible with magnification. These grapes'

visual layering of black over orange resembles the black-painted clay dots found on other Late Archaic vases (cf. cat. no. 29 and Cohen, Introduction, fig. 1), which suggests that even these low-relief grapes might be dots of added clay that have been covered with black gloss on their surface.

REFERENCES: CVA Malibu 8 [USA 33] 72, no. 106, pl. 463; Mertens 1972; Mertens 1974, 96–97, fig. 12; Mertens 1977, 162, no. 1, 165–66, pl. 26.1; Williams 1982, 37–38 (attributed to Onesimos); JPMG Bareiss 1983, no. 35, 50–51 with fig., 82, no. 181 (attributed to Onesimos as painter and Euphronios as potter); Bothmer 1991, 39–46; Williams 1991c, 41, 42, fig. 1 (attributed to Onesimos); Robertson 1992, 54, fig. 41 (Euphronios?); Cohen 2004, 57, figs. 5.4–5.6.

For relief grapes composed of clay dots covered with black gloss in Euphronios's red-figure work, see, e.g., the fragment from a neck-amphora, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 2001.563; Berlin 1991, 163, no. 25 (there published as Princeton University, Art Museum L.1984.56). A scientific examination to determine whether or not the dots for the grapes on the Malibu cup could be entirely composed of gloss, which was initiated by conservator Marie Svoboda at the Getty Museum, employing environmental scanning electron microscopy (ESEM) and energy dispersive spectrometry (EDS), has thus far been inconclusive, though the exposed interior of the relief work visually resembles unsintered gloss matter. Ongoing scientific analysis may reveal whether different techniques for relief work were employed in black- versus red-figure.



31

RED-FIGURED COVERED CUP OF TYPE C WITH WHITE-GROUND TONDO

Red-figure vase-painting, resembles later work of Karlsruhe Painter; white ground vase painting, not securely attributed, ca. 460 B.C.

H 7.9 cm; Diam 16.6 cm

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 00.356, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund

From near Vari, Attika; purchased from E. P. Warren in 1900

On cover, white ground, *Apollo standing before a seated Muse*; around this, red-figure, *laurel wreath with berries*

A–B, red-figure: A, *woman running with floral tendrils*; B, the like

CONDITION: Assembled from fragments; surface losses in white-ground painting, including part of Apollo's cloak and right knee, part of his lower left leg and front of Muse's left foot, and her lower left arm; most of gilding on added-clay details lost; white deposit on Apollo's cloak; abrasion around orifice.

ONE OF THE MOST BEAUTIFUL Early Classical white-ground vase-paintings, the tondo on top of this rare covered cup exhibits, not only fine outline drawing in brownish-orange dilute and well-preserved polychromy, but also added-clay details with still-preserved bits of gilding. On the basis of its impressive white-ground technique, which delineates a subtle composition showing the interaction of standing and seated male and female figures in a rocky landscape setting, this tondo has long been believed to reflect lost wall-painting by the renowned Early Classical artist Polygnotos.



31.2

Here we witness the god Apollo's epiphany before a charming young Muse on Mount Helikon. Apollo, standing at the left on a wavy line indicating uneven terrain, throws open his arms, which are wrapped in his purple madder mantle, thus revealing his slender, yet muscular body in full frontal nudity. The Muse, who wears a milky brownish-orange peplos with brown folds, is seated on a rock with her elbow resting on her knee and her hand raised to her chin in a popular artistic gesture denoting contemplation or uncertainty. These young male and female figures look into each other's eyes, imparting the intimacy of a romantic tryst to this remarkable encounter. The many impressed preliminary sketch lines reveal the artist's effort in creating these memorable figures.

The young male is clearly identified as Apollo by the large clay-relief laurel wreath that binds his hair. The Muse is identified, perhaps less securely, by the lyre held in her left hand. Its tortoiseshell body, which is drawn in dilute, has a blotch of dark purple on each horny plate. This purple also delineates the folds of Apollo's mantle. The lyre's arms and the ends of its crossbar are added in clay relief. The Muse is herself adorned with added-clay jewelry: an earring, a spiral snake bracelet, and a long dress pin that fastens her peplos at the shoulder. Four blobs of added

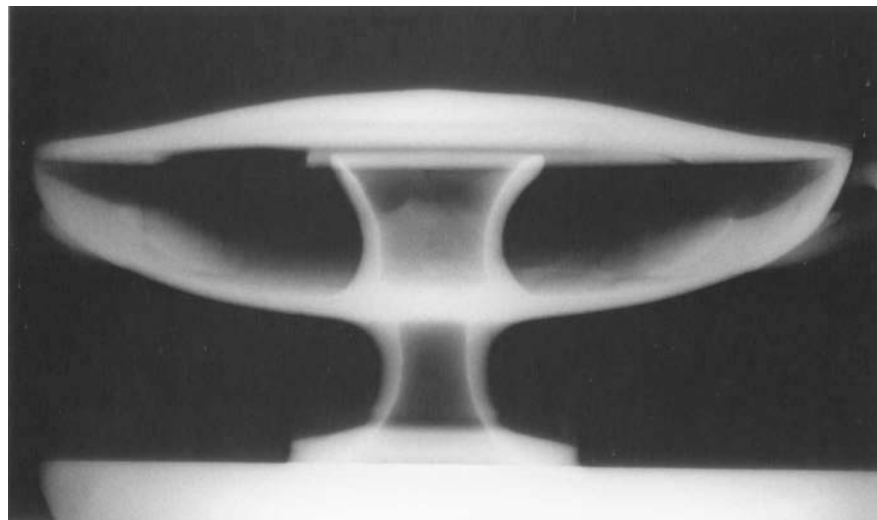
clay punctuate the key pattern of the exergue. Bits of gold still cling to some of these added-clay features, e.g., the topmost front leaf of Apollo's wreath, the central coil of the Muse's bracelet, and the lyre's leftmost arm, providing important evidence that all the raised details were originally gilded. In 1931, Caskey noted surviving gold also on the earring and on one clay blob in the exergue.

The Boston covered cup is one of the earliest known Attic vases with still-preserved gilding (cf. cat. no. 32; Cohen, chap. 4, fig. 2; True, chap. 7, fig. 4). Moreover, Pamela Hatchfield, Head of Objects Conservation at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in conjunction with scientists at that museum, has discovered a gray preparatory ground, consisting of gypsum and carbon particles, underneath the cup's gilding. Richard Newman, Head of Scientific Research, and Michele Derrick, Research Scientist, performed analyses by Fourier Transform Infrared microscopy (FTIR) and examination by scanning electron microscopy (SEM) and X-radiographs. They have concluded that this gray ground layer has clearly not been fired: Since gypsum is hydrated calcium sulfate ($\text{CaSO}_4 \cdot 2\text{H}_2\text{O}$), if it were fired, it would lose the associated water (i.e., the water of crystallization). The gilding of this cup's added-clay details, therefore, had to have been done after firing. It has not

been possible to determine, however, whether an organic binding material, either on top of or combined with the gypsum mixture, was originally employed to secure the gold leaf.

This unusual vessel, with its slightly domed integral lid, is a trick cup, as the X-radiograph published here shows (fig. 31.3). The foot's stem is hollow, and its inner edge rises up into the bowl's interior. The covered cup could thus have been inverted and filled from the bottom. When right side up, its contents could have come out only through the orifice beneath the tondo. An arc of teeth or tongues is painted above this aperture, and below a ridged clay band on the bowl may have served as a drip guard or strainer. This unusual cup's original function is not known. It is likely that it was a libation vessel in some special ritual rather than a common drinking cup.

The red-figure wreath that encircles the lid's white-ground tondo is technically noteworthy because most of its berries' stems are incised and because the berries themselves have been shaded with a nearly black dilute. Beazley associated this covered cup's run-of-the-mill red-figure exterior with the late work of the Karlsruhe Painter, but he was not certain that the white-ground tondo on the lid was by the same hand. Associations with the Villa Giulia Painter (Beazley 1918; Robertson 1992) and the Workshop of the Penthesilea Painter (Wehgartner 1983) (cf. cat. nos. 61, 32) have also been proposed, but the anonymous painter of this white-ground masterpiece has not yet been securely identified.



31.3

REFERENCES: ARV² 741; *Para* 413; *BAdd*² 283; *BAPD* Vase 209171; *Annual Report, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 25 (1900) 74, no. 32; Fowler and Wheeler [1909] 508, fig. 400; Swindler 1915, pl. 28, 408–409, no. 12; Beazley 1918, 154; Langlotz 1922, 13, pl. 35; Philippart 1927–1928, 107, no. 27; CB I, 33–34, no. 36, pl. 15; Philippart 1936, 77–81, no. 56, pl. 32; Pfeiff 1943, 96, pl. 40; Chase 1950, 80–81, 82, fig. 91; Rumpf 1953, 102, pl. 31.5; Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1959, 16, pl. 19; Robertson 1959, 132, 134–35; Chase 1963, 119–20, 129, fig. 107; Neumann 1965, 120–21, 125, fig. 59; *EAA* VII (1966) s.v. Schemata 101, fig. 133 (I. Jucker); Noble 1968, 372–73, figs. 5–7; Walter 1971, 318, 319, fig. 295; Charbonneaux, Martin, and Villard 1972, 259, fig. 295, 260–62, 392; Mertens 1974, 103–104; Robertson 1975, 261, 275, pl. 89c; Mertens 1977, 171, no. 32, 175, pl. 30.1; Dover 1978, 70, R783; Harrison 1979, 91–92, pl. 25; Robertson 1981b, 74, 75, fig. 112; Wehgartner 1983, 162, no. 2, 163–65, pl. 3; *LIMC* II (1984) s.v. Apollon 269, no. 689a (G. Kokkorou-Alewrás), pl. 239, Apollon 689a; Keuls 1985, 70, 72, fig. 55; Bianchi Bandinelli and Paribeni 1986, no. 451; Beazley 1989b, 36, no. 10; Robertson 1992, 172–73, fig. 183; *CAH plates to vols. v and vi* (1994) 38, fig. 42; Kyrieleis 1997, 22; Garrison 2000, photo on jacket, title page, page opposite preface; Harris and Platzner 2001, 607, fig. 15.5.

In regard to the lost painting of Polygnotos, see cat. nos. 61, 90, 92, 93. For the Karlsruhe Painter, see ARV² 730–39, 1668; *Para* 411–12; *BAdd*² 283. For the Villa Giulia Painter, see ARV² 618–26, 1662; *Para* 398–99; *BAdd*² 270–71. See also *BAPD* s.v. Karlsruhe P. and Villa Giulia P.



32.1

32 WHITE-GROUND LID FROM A PYXIS OF TYPE B

Attributed to the Splanchnopt Painter,
ca. 470–460 B.C.
H 7.6 cm; Diam 11 cm
London, The British Museum
GR 1894.7-19.1, *BM Cat Vases D 11*
Said to be from Eretria; purchased 1894

On the wall, *wedding procession*

CONDITION: Good; assembled from four large fragments; edges of three spool-shaped handles chipped; fourth handle broken; fragment with face and breast of bridegroom missing; large clay chip missing near bottom, to right of aulos player's feet; pale-yellow surface of white ground flaked, revealing a whiter white beneath; some taupe gray discolorations on white ground; most of gilding on added-clay elements now missing; base of pyxis lost.

THE LIVELY AND COLORFUL WEDDING procession embellished with originally gilded added-

clay details encircling this white-ground lid from a pyxis is the masterpiece of the Splanchnopt Painter. A cup-painter in the large mid-fifth-century pottery workshop in which the Penthesilea Painter (cat. no. 61) was the leading figure, the Splanchnopt Painter was so named by Beazley after the youth preparing to sacrifice viscera inside a fragmentary cup in Heidelberg. White-ground pyxides like the famous pyxis of type A in New York with the Judgment of Paris, attributed to the Penthesilea Painter himself, are a specialty of this workshop. Pyxides preserved in white marble and alabaster suggest the special affinity of white ground for this shape. These lidded containers were generally used by women as cosmetic boxes, and the clay models were often decorated with appropriate subject matter.

On a pyxis of type B, the vertical wall of the tall, cylindrical lid itself provides the field for the vase-painting. The nighttime wedding procession depicted on the London pyxis lid, instead of ending at the bridegroom's house as is normally shown, passes a flaming altar signifying the hearth of the bride's new home. The groom leads the veiled bride by the wrist, *cheir epi karpō* (fig. 32.1), a traditional gesture signifying the dominant male's possession of the female, also employed in scenes of abduction and ritual dance. The two torch-bearing women must be the married couple's mothers, with the groom's in the lead (fig. 32.3). But the two regal women with scepters at either side could be goddesses, and this scene might depict a myth, such as the ill-fated marriage of Paris and Helen attended by Hera and Aphrodite, shown in the guise of everyday life.

The figures and other forms on this pyxis lid are drawn with black relief lines upon the white ground. Here black gloss is used in a painterly fashion also for hair, and it describes slender objects, such as the scepters' shafts, the groom's walking stick, and the musician's pipes (fig. 32.2). The folds in most of the women's chitons are likewise drawn with black lines, but the folds in the pliant cloth of each himation are painted a darker shade of the garment's basic color. The himations themselves range in color from pale red to reddish brown and pale brownish orange as well as a now-grayish mauve. The groom wears tall red boots with darker tops and the musician short

grayish mauve boots. A painterly application of red describes the flames rising from the torches and the altar, as well as the gore from sacrifices on the altar's side.

Remarkably, twenty-eight preserved details carefully applied in relief with added clay enhance the white-ground vase-painting of this pyxis lid. These relief features include headbands or diadems, earrings, bracelets, the butts and floral finials of scepters, the base of the groom's walking stick, the round object held by the woman to the right of the altar, and the center of the altar's right volute. The bit of gilding still clinging to the back of the headband worn by the torch-carrying woman in a chiton with brownish-red borders is one of the earliest examples that has been preserved (cf. cat. no. 31). Originally, all of the added-clay details were gilded. In both of the British Museum's publications from 1896—just two years after the lid's discovery—the jewelry and other accessories are simply described as "gilt." A 1907 letter from Cecil H. Smith to Alfred Brueckner (Brueckner 1907) identified the round object in the hand of one woman with a scepter (fig. 32.3) as a fig on the basis of the way the then-preserved gilding was continued onto the white ground. Gilded added-clay relief details on a fifth-century white-ground pyxis are unusual; this one may have been either a special gift for a bride or destined for the tomb of a deceased matron or maiden.

REFERENCES: *ARV*² 899.146; *BAdd*² 303; *BAPD* Vase 211904; Murray and Smith 1896, 30 and pl. 20; C. H. Smith 1896, 393; Walters 1905, I, pl. 43, 457; Brueckner 1907, 80–85, 80–81, figs. 1–2; Perrot 1914, 729–31, figs. 400–401; Beazley 1918, 128; Rumpf 1928, viii, xi, fig. 176; *CB* II, 43; Stobart [1960], xvii, pl. 60, fig. 1, 213; Mertens 1977, 137, no. 8, 139; Jenkins 1983, 139, 141–42, pl. 18a; Wehgartner 1983, 141, no. 14, 146–47, pl. 50.1–3; Robertson 1992, 164; Lonsdale 1993, 214, 215, fig. 24, 217; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 34–35, 104–105, figs. 96–98; Reinsberg 1993, 62, 64, figs. 18a–c; Bonnechere 1997, 83, 89, figs. 15a–c; Woodford 2003, 158, fig. 121.

For the Splanchnopt Painter's name vase, Heidelberg, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität 143, see *ARV*² 898.132, 1674; *BAdd*² 303; *BAPD* Vase 211887. On the materials from which pyxides were made, see Kanowski 1984, 127–29. A marble pyxis was found in a woman's tomb on Rhodes along with the famous pelike of ca. 360–350 B.C. attributed to the Marsyas Painter, London, British Museum GR 1862.5–30.1, *BM Cat Vases* E 424 [Lapatin, chap. 9, fig. 3]; see Williams and Ogden 1994, 90–91, fig. 43. For the white-ground pyxis attributed to the Penthesilea Painter, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.36, see *ARV*² 890.173, 1673; *BAdd*² 302; *BAPD* Vase 211736. On the pyxis of type B, see Wehgartner 1983, 136–37; Moore 1997, 52–53.



32.2



32.3

33

WHITE-GROUND SQUAT LEKYTHOS

Attributed to the Eretria Painter,
ca. 420–415 B.C.

H 21 cm

Kansas City, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art
(Purchase: Nelson Trust), 31-80
Art Market; purchased 1930

On the shoulder: *Eros and woman (Aphrodite?)
seated on rock in garden*

On the body: *Woman (Aphrodite?), seated on rock
holding bird, and baby boy named Kephemos(?),
flanked by Antheia, Peitho (Persuasion), Eunomia
(Good Order), and Paidia (Playfulness) in garden*

CONDITION: Conservation work by J. Paul Getty
Museum 2005–2006; assembled from fragments
with losses restored in toned plaster; mottled losses
in white-ground surface affect all painted figures
and inscribed names, esp. those for baby boy (Keph-
emos?) and woman behind him (Eunomia); area
missing above seated woman (with her name?); on
shoulder, most of Eros's head, upper part of seated
woman (and her name?) missing; white incrustation
on underside of foot.

THIS TALL WHITE-GROUND squat lekythos,
whose potting is as exquisite as its painting,
reveals the Eretria Painter's seminal role in estab-
lishing the charming realm inhabited by lovely
female figures—many of them named personifica-
tions—that reigns on later fifth-century Athenian
vases of the Meidias Painter and his followers (cf.
cat. no. 35). Here the figural compositions of the
vessel's body and shoulder are sensitively drawn
upon the engobe with lines of dilute gloss varying
in intensity from black to a pale golden brown.
The fine, alternately simple and complex linear
dilute folds of the women's dresses are particularly
impressive. Like two better-known masterpieces
of the Eretria Painter's—his name vase, the red-
figured epinetron from Eretria (Cohen, chap. 5,
fig. 8), and the even taller red-figured and white-
ground squat lekythos in New York (Cohen, chap.
4, fig. 5)—the Kansas City lekythos showcases
this painter's embellishment of delicately painted

33.1

scenes with prominent added-clay details that must originally have been gilded. This vase is one of the painter's last works.

At the center of the main frieze, a female figure, seated on a rock, is engrossed with the little songbird perched upon her fingertips (fig. 33.1). A chubby baby boy, kneeling on a mound of earth before her, stretches both arms toward the woman, as if desiring either to get the bird for himself or to attract her attention. This figural frieze's subject might be clearer were an inscription with the seated woman's name preserved. She is most likely Aphrodite; but she might be a mortal mother shown on a vase destined for the tomb (Lezzi-Hafter 1988) (cf. cat. no. 95). This female figure's hair is caught up in a sphendone. The heavy himation worn over her linen chiton has slipped down, encircling only her lower body. The himation appears to be painted black, but traces of an underlying red are also visible. The seated female is richly adorned with added-clay jewelry: an earring, a beaded necklace, two bracelets on each wrist and, unusually, a ring on her raised left hand. Getty Museum conservator Jerry Podany has discovered a bit of gold still clinging to one of her added-clay bracelets. The baby boy before her is naked save for his own added-clay adornments: a band of hefty amulets slung diagonally across his body (cf. cat. no. 63), a heavy amuletic bracelet, and an anklet.

Behind the little boy, a lovely young woman with long curly hair picks added-clay fruit from a sapling to add to the tray she carries (fig. 33.2). The now partially preserved name inscribed above her, which has been questioned in earlier scholarship, does appear (in a digital enlargement) to be *Eunomia*, making her the earliest preserved depiction of the personification of "Good Order" in Greek art. At the far right, *Paidia* is shown as an oddly dignified matron who hardly suggests "Playfulness" or "Childish Play." Her hair is caught up in a diadem topped by added-clay finials; she wears an added-clay earring and necklace, and a black himation over her chiton. With her outstretched right hand, she dangles a string of added-clay beads that resembles her own necklace but is much larger. At the far left, *Antheia*'s dark himation is wrapped around her arms and worn

open; it serves as a foil for her peplos-clad body. *Antheia*'s hair is covered by an old-fashioned *sakkos*. She too wears an added-clay earring and beaded necklace. *Peitho*, shown with her hair in a sphendone, wearing a peplos and added-clay jewelry (a hair ornament, earring, necklace, and two bracelets on each wrist), stands between *Antheia* and the seated woman. She holds a stick(?) and may have been shown picking an added-clay flower from the now partially preserved plant before her.

A rocky garden setting is continued on the vessel's shoulder, where *Eros* approaches a now partially preserved female figure, who is probably *Aphrodite*. She is seated on a rock, with her dark himation wrapped around her legs, like the central female figure in the main frieze. The ornamental palmettes with tendrils, flanking the *lekythos*'s black handle with a central vertical ridge, seem to continue the delicate vegetation of its vase-paintings.



33.2



33.3

These lyrical white-ground vase-paintings are enhanced also by red-figure ornament outside the picture field. Circumscribed palmettes encircle the offset black neck, which supports the lekythos's all-black mouth. Egg patterns with dots, bordered by black lines, run above and below the main frieze, with the upper band of ornament painted between grooves upon an unusual curved clay molding that articulates the boundary between the squat lekythos's shoulder and body. Visually balancing the black neck and mouth, the body, below the lower egg pattern, is likewise black. It nestles upon the black upper degree of this charming vessel's otherwise reserved complex ring foot.

REFERENCES: ARV² 1248.8; BAdd² 353; BAPD Vase 216944; Jucker 1973; Taggart and McKenna 1973, 37.above-right; Mertens 1977, 211–12; LIMC I (1981) s.v. Aglauros, Herse, Pandrosos 291, Aglauros no. 36, pl. 215 (U. Kron); Schefold 1981, 317, fig. 458; Wehgartner 1983, 107, no. 12, 111, 209n.43, pl. 35; LIMC II (1984) s.v. Aphrodite 121, no. 1260 (A. Delivorrias); Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 344, s.v. no. 240, pls. 156–57; LIMC IV (1988) s.v. Eukleia 50, no. 13 (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); and s.v. Eunomia 63, no. 1, pl. 26 (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); LIMC V (1990) s.v. Horai 507, no. 38 (V. Machaira); LIMC VI (1992) s.v. Kephalos 4–5, no. 30, pl. 7 (E. Simantoni-Bournia); Shapiro 1993, 80, 81, figs. 33–34; 82; 181, 182, fig. 139, 203, 204, fig. 164, 237, cat. no. 30, 257, 260; LIMC VII (1994) s.v. Paidia 141, no. 1a (A. Kossatz-Deissmann) and s.v. Peitho 246, no. 28 (N. Icard-Gianolio).

Ines Jucker, 1973, 63, misread the baby boy's name as Kephalos rather than the more likely Kephemos, and this led to further incorrect interpretations of the lekythos. Jucker, 64, also believed incorrectly that the female figures' dark (black) himations were originally overpainted with red. Irma Wehgartner, 1983, 209n.43, suggested instead that red draperies were overpainted with another matt color, such as blue or green, that has turned black. A preliminary investigation by conservators at the Getty Museum, however, appears to indicate that the himations are, in fact, a slightly shiny black painted over red in places. The unusual use of red on these draperies is undergoing further examination.

RED-FIGURED SQUAT LEKYTHOS (TALLBOY)

Attributed to the Painter of the Frankfort Acorn and to Phintias the Athenian as potter, ca. 420–400 B.C.

H 18.4 cm

Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 91.AE.10

From Greece; European art market, by exchange 1991; formerly Münchenstein, private collection; Lausanne, Gillet collection

Loving couple (bride and bridegroom)

CONDITION: Neck and mouth reattached; abrasion around outer edge of mouth; crack in lower body; black gloss flaked and pitted; white on hands and arms of woman on left flaked; minor chips in and losses of added clay; front of hair and diadem of woman on right lost; white incrustation on upper surface of vase's foot.

THIS LEKYTHOS'S ORNATE RED-FIGURE vase-painting, combining traditional reserved forms with figures painted in white and details added in clay relief, was inspired by the rich style introduced by the Meidias Painter in the late fifth century (cf. cat. no. 35). Beazley derived its painter's name from a lekythos in Frankfurt with a lower body that mimics the cap of an acorn. The exquisite Malibu lekythos is a taller variant of the squat lekythos; its curved body with no angular shoulder was potted in one piece, save for the handle. The painter's name vase bears the potter-signature of Phintias the Athenian, and the Malibu "tall-boy" must likewise have come from his shop.

Lekythoi such as these, which once contained scented oil, often depict intimate feminine scenes and must have been used by women. On the Frankfurt acorn lekythos, a seated woman, who may be a bride, is attended by Eros and other women, who may be goddesses associated with love and marriage, such as Hera and Aphrodite and the personification of persuasion, Peitho. Wedding iconography on Athenian vases may thus seamlessly intermingle appropriate supernatural beings with everyday life, and often only



34.1



34.2

inscribed names can clearly elevate a depiction to the realm of myth and legend.

The couple falling in love on the uninscribed Malibu lekythos is sometimes said to be Helen and the Trojan prince Paris in their fateful meeting at her husband, Menelaos's, palace in Sparta. However, the youthful male, who locks eyes with and embraces the love-struck seated woman, carries a strigil, the attribute of an athlete, rather than the spear normally associated with Paris, an armed visitor from a foreign land. Other compositional elements here are also familiar from standard love and wedding iconography: a prominent door; a female figure—probably Aphrodite rather than Peitho—who flies above in a chariot pulled

by Erotes; a woman who gestures in surprise at the intrusion of a love deity into everyday life; a seated woman with a mirror, and a beautiful woman, wearing a diadem, with a cloak over her head, who recalls representations of Aphrodite. This romantic composition thus appears to be an assemblage excerpted from larger vases.

The enigmatic love scene on this lekythos is rendered in the colorful and elaborate form of red-figure vase-painting popular toward the end of the fifth century. In contrast to earlier red-figure, here the male lover's sex is specially emphasized by his being the only figure whose flesh is reserved. The female figures and Erotes are all depicted with white flesh on which their facial features and anatomical details have been fluidly, yet precisely sketched in a golden dilute. This technique recalls earlier white-ground lekythoi with a second white for the flesh of women and children (cat. nos. 62, 63). The Malibu lekythos's most striking technical feature, however, is its extensive use of added-clay relief. The raised details include bracelets, necklaces and diadems, furniture ornaments, door bosses, the chariot's wheels and pole, harnesses, fillets and anklets of the Erotes, the male figure's strigil, and the seated female's sandals and mirror, as well as hearts of the ornamental handle-palmettes. In addition, stray blobs of added clay adhere to the left arm of the rightmost Eros. Much of the added-clay work is striated, presumably to aid the adherence of a surface coating, which, on the basis of comparison with other Meidian vases, is generally assumed to have been gold, though no traces have been preserved.

REFERENCES: ARV² 1317.3; BAdd² 363; BAPD Vase 220524; LIMC II (1984) s.v. Aphrodite 117, no. 1192, pl. 120 (A. Delivorrias); Burn 1987, 101, no. F3, 113, no. MM 100 (erroneous double listing); "Acquisitions/1991," *GettyMusJ* 20 (1992), 146, no. 22; JPM Antiquities Masterpieces 1997, 47; Sutton 1997–1998, 37, fig. 16; Clark, Elston, and Hart 2002, 11, 13, fig. 7; JPM Antiquities Handbook 2002, 80.

For the potting of squat lekythoi, see Schreiber 1999, 178–79. Frankfurt, Liebieghaus 538: ARV² 1317.1; Para 477–78; BAdd² 362–63; BAPD Vase 220522; for the potter-signature, see Para 477–78; CVA Frankfurt 2 [Germany 30] 33.



35.1

35

RED-FIGURED PYXIS OF TYPE B

Attributed to the Manner of the Meidias Painter, ca. 410–400 B.C.

H 7.2 cm; Diam 12.3 cm

London, The British Museum

GR 1893.11-3.2, *BM Cat Vases* E 775

From Eretria; purchased 1893

On the wall of the lid, *Aphrodite with her chariot, drawn by Pothos (Longing) and Hedylogos (Sweet Talk), and her entourage: Hygieia (Health), Eunomia (Good Order), Paidia (Playfulness), Eudaimonia (Happiness), Himeros (Desire), Harmonia (Harmony), and Kale (Beauty)*

On the topside of the lid, *Dionysos seated and maenads*

CONDITION: Excellent; intact; bronze pin at center of lid still attached; chips in black gloss esp. around top edge and along reserved stripe near bottom; some added-clay details lost, including: on wall of lid, dots on sandal straps of Pothos and Hedylogos and beads from necklaces of Eunomia, Paidia, and Eudaimonia; on topside, most of upper bracelet on left arm of maenad with *thyrsos*, two beads in her necklace, earring and two necklace beads of maenad to left of Dionysos, bead in necklace of maenad with lyre, dots on perimeter of tympanum; much of gilding on added-clay details lost.

THIS COSMETIC BOX, WHICH STILL contains face powder, is said to have been found in a tomb at Eretria along with exotic and expensive items such as an ivory stylus and a pair of gold boat-shaped earrings with sirens and cockleshell pendants. Elaborately decorated, though made of clay, this red-figured pyxis, must have been a cherished



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possession of its fashionable female owner. It has over a hundred details rendered in added-clay relief and numerous preserved traces of gilding. The use of gilded added clay is characteristic of the florid late fifth-century red-figure style of the Meidias Painter, an influential anonymous artisan named after the potter of a splendid red-figured hydria in the British Museum.

This pyxis's lid contrasts the peaceful, alluring females in the sphere of Aphrodite with the frenzied maenads in the entourage of the wine god Dionysos. The painter distinguishes the Aphrodite composition from a female genre scene: Inscribed names in white letters identify the participants as personifications of abstract concepts associated with love and the good life. The winged Erotes Pothos and Hedylogos, harnessed to Aphrodite's chariot, are a central focus (fig. 35.2). As is common in late red-figure, their flesh as well as that of Himeros is white with inner anatomical details painted upon it in dilute gloss. Added clay describes their once-gilded radiate crowns, harnesses, and sandals, as well as their feathered wings. On the wings' surface, a grayish white undercoat for the gilding is preserved. In this vase-painting only the car of Aphrodite's chariot, drawn in an awkward three-quarter view characteristic of the late fifth century, has no gilded raised detail. The goddess holds an added-clay goad along with the chariot's white reins. At her epiphany, Aphrodite wears once-gilded added-clay jewelry: a beaded necklace, four bracelets, and a tiara.

Throughout the rest of this composition once-gilded added-clay objects play as important a role as the figures themselves. All of the other female figures wear once-gilded added-clay jewelry and headbands or hair ornaments. On the other side of the chariot, a bejeweled Hygieia stands beside a fruit-bearing tree (fig. 35.3). Eunomia holds an open beaded necklace. Paidia dangles a beaded necklace before Eunomia, while holding in her other hand a chest with white and once-gilded items peeping out of its top. Himeros dangles a necklace before Eudaimonia (fig. 35.4), who is balancing on one foot while tying or untying her sandal like the famous Nike on the relief from the Athenian Akropolis in reverse. Finally, the seated

Harmonia holds the ends of an open laurel wreath and turns toward Kale who holds an open beaded necklace (fig. 35.4).

The added clay on the topside of the lid displays a red surface where there was once gilding. Rosettes with once-gilded added-clay hearts stud the field. The seated nude young Dionysos wears a gilded radiate crown (fig. 35.1). But the frenzied maenads, dancing to the sound of lyre and tympanum, who also wear once-gilded relief jewelry, are of central interest here. One maenad with her head thrown back has tossed over her shoulder a child wearing a raised bracelet and anklet. Two maenads grasp a fawn, which is detailed with extruded added clay, by its limbs: The beast, upside down and helpless, will shortly be ripped apart in a Dionysiac *sparagmos* (rending). The above-mentioned two striking motifs recur later, in the fourth century, on the Derveni krater, a large bronze volute-krater with elaborate relief decoration found in a Macedonian tomb. Both vessels probably reflect a common source in monumental Classical art, perhaps a lost painting in the Temple of Dionysos at Athens.



35.4

REFERENCES: ARV² 1328.92; BAdd² 364; BAPD Vase 220648; C. H. Smith 1896, 367–68, pl. 20; Walters 1905, II, 142, fig. 131; Ducati 1909, 166–68, figs. 15–17; Robert 1919, 62–63, fig. 50; Curtius 1929, 12, fig. 15, 17; EAA III (1960) 516–17, fig. 623, s.v. Eudaimonia (A. Comotti); Richter [1970a] 32, fig. 142; Robertson 1972, 44–46, 48; Robertson 1975, 483, 706n.94; Albert 1979, 39–40, 210, fig. 57; Green 1982, 241, fig. 5, 242; LIMC II (1984) s.v. Aphrodite 117, no. 1196, pl. 120 (A. Delivorrias); Brümmer 1985, 138, 141, fig. 34e; Burn 1987, 34, 79–80, 116, no. MM 136, pls. 18a–c, 19a; LIMC IV (1988) s.v. Eudaimonia 147, no. 5, pl. 22 (H. A. Shapiro), and s.v. Eunomia 64, no. 7, pl. 28 (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); LIMC V (1990) s.v. Harmonia 414, no. 15 (E. Paribeni), and s.v. Himeros 426, no. 14 (A. Hermans); Shapiro 1993, 17, 32, 66, fig. 19, 84, fig. 37, 108, fig. 60, 109, 117, 122, 123, fig. 76, 129, 130, fig. 83, 183, 234, no. 19; LIMC VII (1994) s.v. Pentheus 314, no. 68, pl. 264 (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); Williams and Ogden 1994, 56; Couëlle 1996, 234–38, 235, fig. 95; Carpenter 1997, 115–16, pl. 45A; LIMC VIII (1997) s.v. Mainades 785, no. 33, pl. 529 (I. Krauskopf; E. Simon); Moraw 1998, 97, 300, no. 466, pl. 23, fig. 57; Grassigli 1999, 112, fig. 16; Provenzale 1999, 73–81, pl. 12.1; Carpenter 2000, 54, 55, fig. 5; Osborne 2000, 13, fig. 8, 14.

See cat. no. 32 on the pyxis of type B. The name vase of the Meidias Painter is London, British Museum 1772.3–20.30, *BM Cat Vases* E 79; ARV² 1313.5, 1690; *Para* 477; BAdd² 361; BAPD Vase 220497. For the contemporaneous relief from the Nike Temple parapet, see Stewart 1990, II, fig. 420. On the Derveni krater, see Carpenter 2000, fig. 4, with bibl., and Beryl Barr-Sharrar forthcoming book.



36.1

36

RED-FIGURED DINOID VOLUTE-KRATER AND STAND

Attributed to the Meleager Painter,
ca. 390 B.C.

H (of krater) 54 cm; H (with restored stand)
76.9 cm

Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 87.AE.93.1–2
European art market; purchased 1987

Neck, A: *Adonis reclining with Eros serving him, between Aphrodite(?), Persephone(?), a mantle-dancer, and other women*; B: *Symposium*
Stand, side: *Dionysos reclining, Eros, Apollo, and Sabazios(?), satyrs, and maenads*; top: *hare hunt with hunting dog and animal combats: youth and bull, youth and griffin, youth and deer with antlers, male in oriental dress and griffin*

CONDITION: Good; krater assembled from fragments; small losses filled in with plaster; head of Adonis missing; losses of gilding on added-clay details of red-figure, on mold-made female heads of handle-volutes, and on hair of Black men's heads at sides of handles; several clay-relief berries of krater's olive wreath lost; black gloss cracked and chipped on ribs of krater's body; lost top and vertical element of stand restored in plexiglass; upper surface of stand's base scraped and filed around central broken edge; losses of added white in red-figure on side of stand; red and greenish misfiring on stand.

THIS UNIQUE VOLUTE-KRATER, with a squat, rounded body like a dinos, has a projecting ring, rather than a foot, which was designed to rest securely upon a separate stand. The resulting monumental ensemble, which is strongly indebted to contemporary metalwork, counts among the most elaborate preserved examples of Athenian pottery from the early fourth century. The krater's basic form was thrown on the wheel and then vertical ribs with arched tops were meticulously carved by hand around its body and shoulder. Such ribbing, which may first have been adopted on fifth-century Athenian black-gloss pottery under the influence of luxurious Persian metal vessels (cf. cat. nos. 96–99), may also evoke the

lost ancient art of basket weaving. An olive wreath with once-gilded leaves, modeled in clay relief on a smooth band just beneath the shoulder, encircles the black ribbed body. The krater's volute-handles are themselves masterpieces: Tiny gilded molded female heads embellish the volutes' centers, while spirals with projecting leaflike forms fill the spaces between the neck and the handles' vertical elements. The vessel's handles are flanked at the bottom by molded heads of Black men, which are covered with black gloss, have white-painted eyes and mouths, and gilded hair. The red-figure leaf-and-palmette ornaments on the volute-krater's handles, mouth, and neck have gilded dots of added clay for their berries and hearts. An ivy vine in added-clay relief runs above the red-figure scene on the front of the neck. This opulent, exotic creation, which parallels South Italian products, may well have been designed specifically for export.

The red-figure scenes on the krater's neck are the Meleager Painter's most careful known work. This early fourth-century master, named for his depictions of Meleager and Atalanta, appears to have been a pupil of the Dinos Painter. On side A, females assemble to celebrate the glorious dying youth Adonis, who here reclines on an elaborately patterned fringed tapestry as he binds a fillet around his (missing) head. He is attended by Eros, whose wings are rendered in once entirely gilded extruded added clay. On each side of the composition, a woman wearing gilded added-clay jewelry holds a mirror with a gilded pommeled handle and finial and a reserved reflective surface framed by a gilded added-clay border. On the back, in a simple symposium composition of three male couples, details of the figures' wreaths or diadems and some fruit or flowers are likewise rendered in gilded added clay.

A distinction has been made between the splendid decoration of the krater's neck and handles and that of the stand where no gilded added-clay embellishment has been employed. In the stand's Dionysiac scene, however, significant use has been made of the added white characteristic of late red-figure, such as for the body of Eros. Recent attributions of the stand to an associate of the Meleager Painter (Curti 2001 and Kathariou



36.2

2002) suggest a hierarchy in the relegation of work within this Attic pottery shop.

REFERENCES: *BAPD* Vase 44230; "Acquisitions/1987," *GettyMusJ* 16 (1988) 143, no. 7; Burn 1991a, with cover; *JPGM Handbook* 1991, 49; Schauenburg 1991, 187n.42; Schleiffenbaum 1991, 67–68, n.134, 368–69, no. V289a; Sparkes 1991a, 48, 49, fig. 22; Vallera-Rickerson and Korma 1992, 86, fig. 12; Söldner 1993, 282n.179; *CAH*, plates to vols. v and vi (1994) 40, fig. 45; *EEA*, suppl. II.1 (1994), s.v. Attici, Vasi 559, fig. 618 (P. E. Arias); *JPGM Antiquities Masterpieces* 1997, 52; *JPGM Handbook* 1997, 5; Manakidou 1997, 302, fig. 5; Walter-Karydi 1998, 72, fig. 57, 76–77; Barringer 2001, 68, no. 121; Boardman 2001, 167, fig. 193; Curti 2001, passim, pls. 3–7; *JPGM Handbook* 2001, 52; Salapata 2001, 31, 32, fig. 2; Gaunt 2002, 306, 311–12, 330–31, 615, no. 8, pl. 38, figs. 137–44; *JPGM Antiquities Handbook* 2002, 81; Kathariou 2002, 7–9, 34, 36, 73, 75–77, 92, 213, no. MEL 12, 386, fig. 4a–b, 387, figs. 5a–b, 6a–b; Allen 2003, 229–30, fig. 29, 236nn.115–17; Spivey and Squire 2004, 252, fig. 394, 253.

For the association of ribbed and fluted Attic black-gloss vases with Persian metalware, see M. C. Miller 1997, esp. 145–52, on the technique 149, figs. 51–64; see also Shefton 1971; and Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 21–22, 73–74. For the Dinos Painter, see *ARV*² 1151–55, 1685; *Para* 457; *BAdd*² 336; *BAPD* s.v. Dinos P. See Marie Svoboda's analysis of the gilding on this vase's clay relief details, this volume, Technical Studies, with figs. 3, 4. For side B of this dinoid volute-krater, see *JPGM Antiquities Masterpieces* 1997, 52.



37

RELIEF SQUAT LEKYTHOS

Signature of Xenophantos the Athenian as potter, attributed to the Xenophantos Painter, ca. 390–380 B.C.

H 38 cm

St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum
P 1837.2

From Dubrux near Kerch 1836; acquired
1837

Around base of neck, ΕΞΕΝΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ
ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ

On the shoulder, *Centauromachy and Gigantomachy*

On the body, *Persians hunting*

CONDITION: Handle reattached; foot cracked; otherwise intact save for reattached or lost relief decoration; losses include griffin's beak and breast, charioteer's head, part of chariot's wheel, forepart of animal attacked by central horseman, forelegs of his horse, knee of Persian attacking boar at upper right, forepart of lion monster's body at lower right, car of the right Nike's chariot, and its horses' heads (in shoulder frieze); red, pink, blue, and green paint has been lost from relief decoration, exposing a white undercoat; loss of much of gilding recorded in nineteenth century on reserved raised clay elements, including central palm tree, weapons, horses' manes, shoulder frieze, and potter-signature; black gloss chipped on mouth and edges of handle and cracked on lower portion of vase.

THIS ELABORATE VESSEL, THE LARGEST of all known squat lekythoi, is one of the earliest and best preserved of the fourth-century relief vases that were produced as the quality of Attic red-figure declined and the influence of metal relief-vases increased. An exotic royal Persian hunt in a paradise park unfolds on the body. Here, in two registers, Persians pursue real beasts (boar and deer) and mythic ones (griffin and lion monster) on foot, on horseback, and by chariot. Inscribed names, such as Dareios, Abrokomos, and Atramis, identify figures as historical personages of the late fifth century. Miniature reliefs on the shoulder depict contrasting excerpts from the Greek mythological battles of *Centauromachy* and *Gigantomachy*.

The vase itself was formed on the potter's wheel and then embellished with a complex combination of decorative techniques. First, red-figure was employed for ornament, including the floral on the lekythos's neck, the palmettes and the egg pattern with dots on its shoulder, the configuration of palmettes and tendrils under the handle, and the stopped meander interrupted by checkerboard squares on the lower body. In addition, traditional red figures appear at the sides of the hunting composition. Next, many details were added with extruded clay, including the central tall palm tree on the body, fruit on other vegetation, tripods atop the *akanthos* columns, the red-figure hunters' bows, spear tips, bracelets, and torque; hearts of the red-figure palmettes; the necklace of beechnut pendants that hangs down from the shoulder ornament (cf. cat. fig. 38.3); and the potter's signature itself. Then, mold-made figural reliefs were pressed onto the surface of the vase's body and shoulder, their adhesion probably aided by a coat of slip.

A white base coat was applied to the body reliefs; it is still well preserved and may thus have undergone the firing process along with the black gloss of the vase's ground. The figures' inscribed



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names were written in white on this black ground. The whitened body reliefs themselves were colorfully and illusionistically painted with red, pink, blue, and green. Gilding was applied to the miniature shoulder reliefs and to details of the body reliefs, such as men's hair and horses' manes and tails, as well as to extruded clay elements. Originally, this vase would thus have been far more resplendent than it is today.

Xenophantos, who signed as potter both on this relief squat lekythos and on another smaller example in the Hermitage, also found at Pantikapaion in the Crimea, specifically identified himself as an Athenian. This special signature suggests either that Xenophantos was not working in Athens at the time—though he did use Attic clay—or that his fancy Attic vases had been created expressly for export. Beazley attributed these relief vases' red-figure to a Xenophantos Painter, named after the potter. When so many special

techniques are employed together, however, it is difficult to assign primacy of place to the red-figure vase-painter or even to determine the number of craftsmen involved and precisely what the division of labor may have been—if there was one.

REFERENCES: *ARV*² 1407.1; *Para* 488; *BAPD* Vase 217907; Kruse 1841; Gerhard 1856; Jahn 1865, 16n.71; Stephani 1866, 139–47, pl. 4; Stephani 1869, 310–16, no. 1790; Klein 1887, 202–203; Reinach 1892, 97–101, pls. 45–46; Ducati 1915, 294–303; Hoppin 1919, II, 474–75, no. 1; Courby 1922, 129–30, no. 3; Pfuhl 1923, 591, 600, 710, 713; Jacobsthal 1927, 99n.161, pl. 110a; Schefold 1934, 140, fig. 67; Peredolskaya 1945; *EAA* II (1959) s.v. Crimea 934, 935, fig. 1200 (V. D. Blavatskij); Zervoudaki 1968, 26, no. 35; Gorbunova and Saverkina 1975, no. 57; Boardman 1989, 169, fig. 340; Borchardt 1990, 123, no. 5 (A. Dinstl); Suslow 1990, 79, fig. 62; Boardman 1993, 132, no. 122, 134, fig. 122; Tiverios 1996, 202, pl. 187, 337–38, no. 187; M. C. Miller 1997, 167, fig. 81; Tiverios 1997; Boardman 2000, 213–15, figs. 5.93a–d, 250nn.193–96; Boardman 2001, 103, fig. 138; Piotrovsky 2004, figs. on 195, 197.

For the second vase signed by Xenophantos, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum 108i, see *ARV*² 1407; *BAPD* Vase 217908; Tiverios 1997, 279, fig. 10. Cf. cat. no. 34 for the potter who signs as Phintias the Athenian.

38

BLACK-GLOSS CALYX-KRATER DECORATED WITH WREATHS, NECKLACES, AND EARRINGS IN GILDED ADDED CLAY

Unattributed, ca. 340–320 B.C.

H 68.5 cm

London, The British Museum

GR 1871.7-22.3

From Capua; purchased from Alessandro
Castellani 1871

CONDITION: Good; assembled from fragments; restoration in toned plaster along cracks, esp. for missing chains of earring pendants at A/B handle; some gilding flaked from added-clay decoration; black gloss on handles, foot, and body slightly chipped; black-gloss deeply chipped and pitted on bottom of bowl's interior.

BEGINNING IN THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C., in addition to vases with figural decoration, Attic workshops also produced pottery that was simply painted black. During the fourth century this once-humble black-gloss ware was enriched with decoration in gilded added clay and also enlivened by potting, often directly inspired by metal vessels, that was generally finer than that of late red-figured vases. This monumental fourth-century calyx-krater bears exceptionally elaborate gilded clay-relief decoration, combining illusionistic wreaths and jewelry, that runs all the way around the pot.

Side A is embellished with a gilded-clay wreath composed of twin sprigs of myrtle that intertwine at the center and a gilded-clay strap necklace with beechnut pendants that hangs down like a swag. Above the gilded necklace on side B, a delicate flowering grapevine with fanciful tiny bunches has been substituted for the myrtle. The naturalistic conception of this ensemble is revealed above the krater's handles, where the myrtle wreath is intertwined with the grapevine, and the necklaces are suspended from the golden vegetation by their fastening cords, which, instead of being tied around a woman's neck, are here

looped over myrtle leaves and vine tendrils (fig. 38.2). In a seemingly casual asymmetry, the cords of the necklace suspended from the grapevine hang slightly lower than those of the necklace suspended from the myrtle. Over each of the vase's handles, one member of a pair of elaborate golden earrings hangs from the foliage's intertwined stems. Each earring has a complex pendant in the form of a rosette disc with a boat-shaped pendant from which smaller beechnut pendants are suspended by chains.

These gilded extruded-clay necklaces and earrings—a far cry from the simple gilded clay dots that describe jewelry in fifth-century vase-paintings (cf. cat. nos. 33, 34, 35)—are precise imitations of contemporary fourth-century jewelry (fig. 38.3), and the krater's golden wreaths recall the freestanding gold wreaths in the form of various plants also produced at this time. The *trompe-l'oeil* effect of golden jewelry and wreaths suspended about the body of this black calyx-krater is enhanced by the contrasting red-figure egg-and-dart pattern that encircles its rim. At the same time, the gilded extruded-clay florals that grow from the krater's handle-roots and the band with extruded-clay dots that borders the edge of the cul reinforce the identity of all of this vessel's gilded features as vase ornament.

This calyx-krater, which, though made of clay, surely suggested that its owner possessed wealth, high social status, and refined contemporary taste, would have made a striking centerpiece for a drinking party if it had been used in daily life before being consigned to a tomb. Such black-gloss vessels with gilded decoration were among the most popular products of fourth-century Attic workshops. (Back in the late nineteenth century [Rayet and Collignon 1888], however, their luxurious decoration was thought to clash with the “sober” taste of Athenian potters and thus to signify that these vases were not Attic.) The British Museum's krater is said to have been found in a tomb at Capua, and, in addition to South Italy, where this type of Athenian pottery was also copied locally, similar Attic exports have been found in North Africa and along the Black Sea.





38.2

REFERENCES: Rayet and Collignon 1888, 269; Walters 1905, 498; Zahn 1908–1909, 189; Scheurleer 1936, 139, pl. 43.124; Beazley 1939, 36; Beazley 1945, 153; Kopcke 1964, 32, no. 42, 34, 68, Beilage 18.4, 19; Williams 1985, 62, fig. 70; Williams and Ogden 1994, 35, 36, fig. 33; Tiverios 1996, 234, fig. 221, 359, no. 221.

On Attic black-gloss ware, see Sparkes and Talcott 1970. A preserved fourth-century bronze calyx-krater is decorated with a silver vine: Chi and Gaunt 2005, 24, no. 9 (J. Gaunt). For a clay calyx-krater with comparable gilded relief decoration, see Simon 1982, 107–10, no. 46. A similar Greek gold necklace and similar earrings are in the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg BB 32–BB 33; see Williams and Ogden 1994, 190–91, also 165 and 180 for gold wreaths; and see also Williams 2001, 233–34.

38.3. Strap necklace with beechnut pendants, ca. 300 B.C. Gold, L 33 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1937, 37.11.8.



38.3



39.1

39

PANATHENAIC PRIZE AMPHORA

Attributed to the Marsyas Painter,
340/339 B.C.

H (with lid) 99.5 cm; maximum
Diam 39.2 cm

Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AE.147
European art market; purchased 1979

A, *Athena Promachos between columns surmounted
by statues*

B, *chariot, charioteer, and apobates*

CONDITION: Excellent. The vessel retains its lid and is intact. Cracked gloss at handle roots; numerous gashes and scratches on both sides, some in-painted; minor chipping on lip; added white well preserved on both sides, though abraded on Athena's right arm on A and faded on *apobates*' shield on B. Added gold largely lost.

PANATHENAIC PRIZE AMPHORAЕ held the sacred olive oil awarded to victors at the games held at Athens every four years to honor Athena. Their production was contracted by the Athenian *boule* (council) and the ten *athlothetai* (commissioners) who administered the games (see Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 60). The vessels hold some 35–40 kg of oil, and a victor might win as many as 140 amphorae, or about five tons. The earliest Panathenaics date to the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. Although red-figure effectively replaced black-figure by the early fifth century, as ritual vases, Panathenaics continued to be painted in the traditional black-figure technique as late as the second century B.C. In the fourth century B.C., when this example—attributed to the Marsyas Painter, one of the principal Athenian painters of red-figured Kerch-style vases (cf. cat. no. 103, Lapatin, chap. 9, figs. 2–3)—was decorated, black-figure had become a special technique (see Cohen, chap. 1).

The decoration of Panathenaics was conventional as well: one side featured Athena, the other the event in which the prize vase was won. Here, fully armed and wearing a snakey aegis on her chest, the goddess brandishes her spear and shield as she advances to the right. Highly mannered and

appropriately archaistic in style, her peplos and himation both have long, swallowtail folds. She wears an Attic helmet with raised cheekpiece and a crest that rises high onto the neck of the vessel, touching the plastic demarcation between the tongues and the addorsed palmettes. Placed at the sharp curve of the amphora's shoulder, the goddess's shield is foreshortened, while her right arm, spear, and head overlap the tongues on the neck, making her still more imposing and projecting her three-dimensionally from the surface of the vessel, an effect also achieved by the Marsyas Painter elsewhere (see Lapatin, chap. 9).

Added white is employed on side A for Athena's flesh, as is traditional in black-figure for female figures, as well as for her aegis, for emphasis at the ends of the folds of her peplos and mantle, and for the upper rim of her shield. Consistent with the practice of the Marsyas Painter and contemporary painters of Kerch-style vases (see Lapatin, chap. 9), dilute yellow is applied over the added white for such details as Athena's bracelets, necklace, earrings, facial features, hands, and toes.

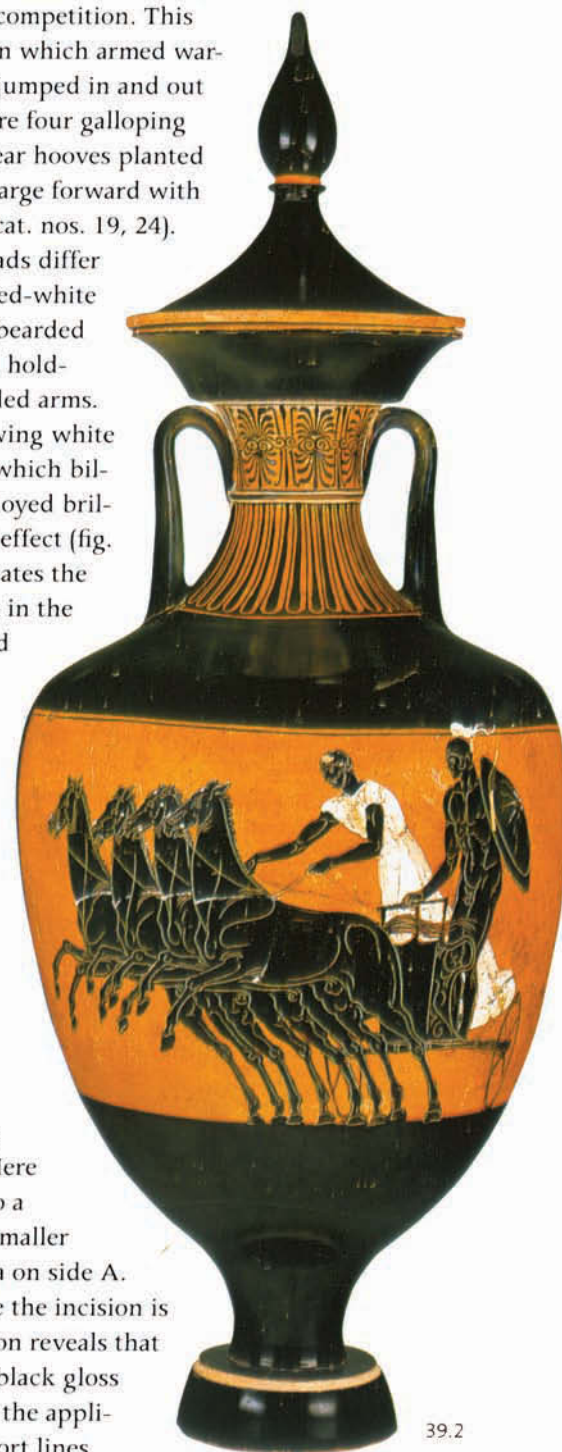
The goddess is flanked by two tall, unfluted columns on rectangular bases. The one behind her supports a miniature version of the goddess herself. Here, too, she faces right, but in a less warlike pose. She still wears a crested helmet, but holds a *stylis* (naval flag pole), a symbol of Athens' maritime power, which is rendered in added white as are the goddess's exposed flesh and the crest of her helmet. Alongside this column, written vertically, is the traditional inscription of Panathenaic prize amphorae: *ton athenethen athlon* ("from the games at Athens").

The column on the right supports a bearded male figure, probably Zeus, wearing a himation draped over his left shoulder, leaving most of his chest bare. He stands in a contrapposto pose, holding a scepter in his right hand and a small Nike in his left. Added white is employed for his scepter, wreath, and the Nike. Alongside this column is the inscription *Theiophrastos arche*, dating the vase to the archonship of Theophrastos, i.e., 340/339 B.C.: It was manufactured for the Panathenaic games of 338/337. Fourth-century Panathenaic amphorae often depict well-known statue types, and Norbert Eschbach has plausibly identi-

fied the figures on the columns as representations of statues that stood in the Sanctuary of Zeus Soter in Athens' port, Piraeus.

The reverses of Panathenaic amphorae conventionally represent the event in which they were won. Side B of this vase depicts the *apobates* (literally "dismounter") competition. This was a dangerous event, in which armed warriors ran alongside, and jumped in and out of, coursing chariots. Here four galloping stallions, all with their rear hooves planted firmly on the ground, charge forward with their forelegs raised (cf. cat. nos. 19, 24). The attitudes of their heads differ slightly, but all have added-white dots and harnesses. The bearded charioteer leans forward, holding the reins with extended arms. The traditional, long flowing white garment of a charioteer, which billows behind him, is employed brilliantly for compositional effect (fig. 39.3); added yellow indicates the interior folds. Beside him in the chariot, which is depicted in three-quarters view, with foreshortened oblique wheels, the *apobates*, beardless and nude but for helmet and shield with an *episema* (shield device) in the form of a starburst in added white, stands calmly with feet together, clutching the rail with his right hand. His white helmet crest nicely echoes the balding charioteer's tuft of hair. Here the figures are confined to a panel and are somewhat smaller than the imposing Athena on side A.

Throughout this scene the incision is masterly. Close examination reveals that for interior details in the black gloss incisions were made after the application of added white. Short lines



39.2

are employed for the details of the horses' heads, manes, and genitals; the charioteer's face, hair, and arm muscles; and the ribs and neck muscles of the *apobates*. Longer flowing lines are used for the horses' legs, flanks, and tail, and the decorative side panel of the chariot car. They are echoed in yellow by the vigorous, swirling folds of the charioteer's garment at the back of the chariot (fig. 39.3). The Marsyas Painter's use of copious added white, with yellow for interior details, is found also in his red-figure work (see cat. no. 103 and Lapatin, chap. 9).

Impressed preliminary sketches reveal that the painter made minor adjustments to the composition (cf. cat. no. 45). On side A the original pair of vertical strokes delineating the goddess's right sleeve have gathered dirt and are clearly visible through the added white of her right arm. On side B, preliminary sketches for the outer chariot wheel and the *apobates*' shield as well as some of the

horses' heads are all located further to the right of the finished image.

Gilding is present on side A over the reserve at Athena's shield band, and over the black gloss and incision at the right sleeve of her garment, as well as on the garment of the small Athena on the column. On the reverse, traces of gold remain on the charioteer's forelock, chest, and the bottom of his fluttering garment (fig. 39.3). This added gold is problematic. Gold is not found on any other Panathenaic amphora. It has been applied here, not over extruded clay, as on other Athenian vases by this and other painters (cf. cat. nos. 31, 35, 104), but rather over ancient reserve, black gloss, incision, added white, and yellow. Its location on the vessel, moreover, appears haphazard rather than determined by the composition (except for the charioteer's forelock on side B), and the larger pieces of the preserved gold strips appear to be rectilinear. Scientific investigation has determined that the gold lies over a modern adhesive: polyacrylate mixed with wax, calcite, and silica. But while the gilding of this Panathenaic amphora seems not to have been an original part of the decoration, the gold itself is not necessarily a modern, rather than ancient addition. The gold could have been affixed by a modern restorer (before entering the Getty Museum's collection), having been added by an ancient owner of the vessel after its production, for some Panathenaic amphorae clearly had subsequent lives as trophies.

KENNETH LAPATIN

39.3

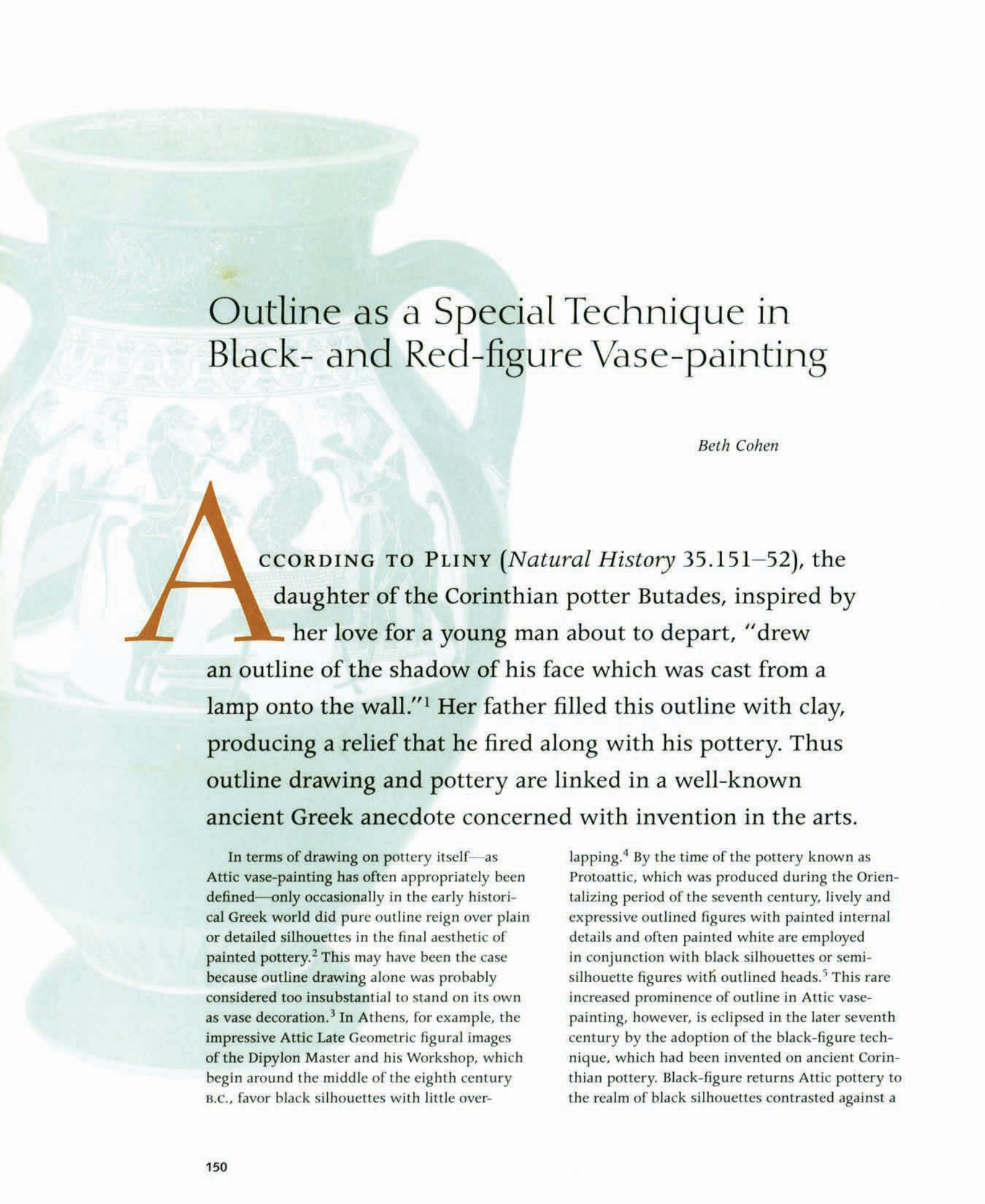


REFERENCES: *BAPD Vase* 1493; *JPGM Guidebook* 1980, 47; Matusch 1981, 91; Simon 1982, 110; *JPGM Handbook* 1986, 47; *JPGM Handbook* 1991, 51; Valavanis 1991, 69, 252, pls. 85–87; Hamilton 1992, 237; Kyle 1992, 90–91, fig. 57; Frel 1994, 29 (h), fig. 11; Manakidou 1994, 296, no. 11; Eschbach 1995, 460–61; Hamilton 1996, 154; *JPGM Antiquities Masterpieces* 1997, 54; *JPGM Handbook* 1997, 53; Bentz 1998, 175–76, no. 4.080, pls. 117–18; Cromey 2001, 99; *JPGM Handbook* 2001, 53; Neils 2001, 138–39, fig. 101; Berlin 2002, 258, no. 156; *JPGM Antiquities Handbook* 2002, 84; Hadzi-aslani 2003, 30–31; Valavanis 2004, 373, figs. 537–38; S. G. Miller 2004a, 142–43, fig. 229.

For the text of Aristotle, see S. G. Miller 2004b, 81, no. 119. For other Panathenaic amphorae made in the archonship of Theophrastos, with identical statues on the columns, see Eschbach 1986, 90–108, pls. 25–27. For the *apobates* race, see, e.g., Kyle 1992, 89–91; S. G. Miller 2004a, 142–43, etc. For Panathenaics as status symbols, see Bentz 1998, esp. 89–119; and for the possibility that some late Panathenaic amphorae were not made to hold oil, but rather served as trophies, see Eschbach forthcoming.



Outline in Black- and
Red-figure Vase-painting



Outline as a Special Technique in Black- and Red-figure Vase-painting

Beth Cohen

ACCORDING TO PLINY (*Natural History* 35.151–52), the daughter of the Corinthian potter Butades, inspired by her love for a young man about to depart, “drew an outline of the shadow of his face which was cast from a lamp onto the wall.”¹ Her father filled this outline with clay, producing a relief that he fired along with his pottery. Thus outline drawing and pottery are linked in a well-known ancient Greek anecdote concerned with invention in the arts.

In terms of drawing on pottery itself—as Attic vase-painting has often appropriately been defined—only occasionally in the early historical Greek world did pure outline reign over plain or detailed silhouettes in the final aesthetic of painted pottery.² This may have been the case because outline drawing alone was probably considered too insubstantial to stand on its own as vase decoration.³ In Athens, for example, the impressive Attic Late Geometric figural images of the Dipylon Master and his Workshop, which begin around the middle of the eighth century B.C., favor black silhouettes with little over-

lapping.⁴ By the time of the pottery known as Protoattic, which was produced during the Orientalizing period of the seventh century, lively and expressive outlined figures with painted internal details and often painted white are employed in conjunction with black silhouettes or semi-silhouette figures with outlined heads.⁵ This rare increased prominence of outline in Attic vase-painting, however, is eclipsed in the later seventh century by the adoption of the black-figure technique, which had been invented on ancient Corinthian pottery. Black-figure returns Attic pottery to the realm of black silhouettes contrasted against a



Figure 1. Unfinished sketch of an Amazon on horseback. Bottom of a two-handled mug, ca. 450–425 B.C. Diam 16.3 cm. Princeton University Art Museum. Museum purchase, Classical Purchase Fund y1987-70. Photograph © 1990 Trustees of Princeton University.

paler clay ground, albeit now these silhouettes are enhanced with added-red and -white colors and incised interior details.⁶ By the late sixth century, the new technique of red-figure threatens black-figure's preeminence and soon dominates the Attic pottery industry. Red-figure, too, is essentially a silhouette technique: Now, however, these pale silhouettes are reserved in the color of the clay, set off against a black ground, and they have drawn internal details.⁷

The importance of outline in the genesis of a red-figure silhouette image is demonstrated by a rare unfinished sketch preserved on the bottom of a two-handled mug of ca. 450–425 B.C. in the Art Museum, Princeton University (fig. 1),⁸ which depicts an exotically dressed Amazon on horseback (cf. cat. no. 87), carrying two spears. To produce a mature red-figure vase-painting, forms were first sketched onto the vase, probably with a stick of charcoal, which left impressed lines on the pot's surface that, as here, are often still visible today.⁹ These sketched forms were then outlined with black-gloss relief lines,¹⁰ which have been partially completed in the Princeton sketch. A broad contour stripe of gloss applied with a brush, which appears around the unfinished Princeton Amazon's profile face and cap, would then have surrounded the entire red-figure form. This stripe provided insurance against mishaps while the background was filled in with black gloss, transforming the image from an outline drawing into a pale red-figure silhouette. In the black-figure technique, this process would have

been reversed: an outlined form would itself have been filled in with gloss, thereby contrasting with the reserved ground.

Unlike the special technique of white ground, which is considered by Joan R. Mertens in chapter 6, as indicated above in Attic black- and red-figure vase-paintings, outlined forms generally did not stand on their own in a finished product, though internal line is much used in the rendering of complex red-figure scenes. There are, however, certain traditional and nontraditional exceptions to the role of silhouettes in black-figure, as well as individual red-figure images in which normally hidden or integrated outlines have purposely been exposed and, thereby, emphasized. Some of these special instances will be examined here.

Corinthianizing Archaic Athenian Fashions

Just as Athens adopted black-figure vase-painting from Corinth and then in a typically Athenian fashion made the technique her own, so early contexts for the use of outline on sixth-century Attic vases may likewise be attributed to Corinthian inspiration. Sophilos, the first Athenian vase-painter (or potter) known to have signed his name, broke away from the early black-figure Corinthianizing tradition of animal friezes and began to tell stories from myth and legend in lively, colorfully painted figural scenes.¹¹ Sophilos combines traditional black-figure silhouettes, detailed by and bordered with incision, with forms described by red outlines that are usually colored with white pigment painted directly onto the pot's clay ground. Several of the preserved fragments of Sophilos's dinos from the Athenian Akropolis (cat. no. 40) focus attention on the special aspects of his technique. The procession at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis in the dinos's main frieze, with a guest list that appears to have contained more unattached females than lone males or divine heterosexual couples combined, is a prime example of the vase-painter's unusual handling of white in the depiction of female flesh. In fact, all of the figures on the largest preserved fragment (cat. fig. 40.8) are female: Iris, wearing a short tunic topped by a nebris, leads Demeter and Hestia, and Leto and Chariklo (the wife of Chiron),



Figure 2. Athena with Herakles and the Lernaean Hydra. Corinthian aryballos, ca. 600–575 B.C. H 11.2 cm. Malibu, JPM 92.AE.4. Photographer: Ellen Rosenbery.

who walk regally in pairs. Here fine red outlines are employed for Iris's limbs as well as for the faces, dresses, hands, and feet of the female guests and for details drawn on the white, such as facial features, sandal straps, and Chariklo's fingernails. These fine red lines are emphasized by the copious use of red elsewhere in the vase-painting, for garments, for the frieze of ornament above, and, most of all, for the inscriptions. The characters' names, written directly on the clay ground of this fragment in red, rather than in the standard black of black-figure, have been boldly painted onto the pot with a far thicker brush than the one used to outline the white female figures. On another large fragment of the dinos (cat. fig. 40.1), Sophilos's red painter-signature is scrawled between the red door of Peleus's house and its porch's white column with a fine red outline.

While all of Sophilos's red-outlined forms are filled in with white on the Akropolis dinos, on the painter's well-preserved contemporaneous dinos and stand in London, the red-outlined chitons of a number of figures, including Dionysos and the Muses, have been left the color of clay. Rather than this omission of color being a mistake, here "Sophilos is deliberately trying to use a fourth colour, in addition to the regular black, red, and white."¹²

A Corinthian black-figured aryballos in Malibu from the first quarter of the sixth century (fig. 2) exemplifies this non-Attic fabric's use of outline, with which Sophilos would have been familiar, and in this particular example there is no use of

white.¹³ The figures on this small vase are comparable in size to the figures in the friezes of Sophilos's dinoi. Here Athena looks on as Herakles kills the multi-headed Lernaean Hydra. Athena's outlined flesh and dress, reserved in the color of the clay, contrast with her dark hair and her himation, which was once covered with red over black. Like Sophilos's Chariklo, the goddess even has outlined fingernails. Outline also describes such details as the far trace horse of the waiting chariot behind Athena, the lower borders of her dark himation, and the hilt of Herakles' sword. The names of the goddess and the hero are inscribed in large Corinthian letters: This aryballos's vase-painter both writes and draws with the same fairly thick brush. Corinthian round aryballoi of this type commonly have outlined female heads or busts on the clay ground of their back handle-plates.¹⁴ At least one of these Corinthian females was a much-admired prostitute, and such desirable profiled females also appear on the tondos of Corinthian cups.¹⁵

The greatest painter of Early Archaic Attic black-figure, Kleitias, whose style is as measured and elegant as Sophilos's is lively and down-to-earth, continued the use of many small Corinthianizing black-figure friezes on the monumental volute-krater potted by Ergotimos of ca. 570 B.C., known as the François Vase.¹⁶ Thus, in the wedding procession of Peleus and Thetis, which fills this krater's main frieze, Kleitias retains the Corinthian fashion of outlining female flesh and laying its white color down directly on the pot's clay ground. Instead of red paint, however, Kleitias appears to employ a brown dilute of black gloss for his outlines as well as for the now mostly vanished details painted on top of once white female flesh or horses.¹⁷ In contrast, 127 of the 129 inscriptions on the François Vase are written with black gloss, and two are incised.¹⁸

As Humfry Payne demonstrated, two important conventions in Greek art—the apotropaic gorgoneion (the frontal face of a Gorgon) and the somewhat later fully embodied monstrous Gorgon—were both developed in Corinth. The gorgoneion, as depicted first on Corinthian pottery and subsequently on Athenian, is normally rendered largely in outline.¹⁹ While running

Gorgons, painted in standard black-figure, decorate the handles of the François Vase, the older convention of the gorgoneion appears on the top of a small round stand in New York of ca. 570 B.C., which likewise bears the signatures of Kleitias as painter and Ergotimos as potter (fig. 3).²⁰ The gorgoneion of the New York stand may well be the finest drawing from ancient Greece that has come down to us; it is certainly the most precise. The frontal grimacing bearded Gorgon's face that fills the medallion, drawn with a balance of perfectly painted black lines on the clay ground and perfectly incised details on areas of black gloss, is strictly symmetrical. Kleitias has translated a Corinthianizing motif in a Corinthianizing outline technique into a refined Athenian image.

In sixth-century Athens the outline gorgoneion enjoys a long history on the tondos of black-figured drinking-cups (see cat. fig. 74.3). During the last third of the century, many of these cups also employ outline for the large eyes and brows on their exteriors, following the eye-cup scheme invented by Exekias. Frontal Dionysiac masks, with their flesh parts delineated in outline, may fill the spaces between the large eyes instead of black figures (cat. fig. 74.1). The outline frontal face alerts the beholder to alternative identities of Self and Other under the dominion of the wine god.

In the special realm of symposium ware, outline had already been associated with the exterior of Attic wine cups by the mid-sixth century B.C., and, at the time, they provided the dominant context for Corinthianizing line drawing in the Athenian pottery industry. These wine cups are known as Little-Master cups,²¹ and in this genre outline appears on a special model of black-figured lip-cup known as a head cup. Here a profile human bust drawn with the flesh parts in outline, takes the place of the offset lip's standard black-figure, and the lip-cup's decorative handle-palmettes are generally omitted, though an inscription, such as the potter's signature or an invitation to drink, remains a standard feature of the handle zone.²²

The lip-cup in Copenhagen of ca. 550 B.C. signed by Epitimos as potter (cat. no. 41) is a fine, especially elaborate early head cup. On its lip, Athena, who wears a high-crested Attic hel-

met and wields shield and spear, faces toward the left on side A, confronting the Corinthian-helmeted giant Enkelados, her opponent in the Gigantomachy, who is depicted on side B. The armed goddess is readily identifiable without an inscription, but Enkelados's name appears on his helmet's reserved crest. The busts on the Copenhagen head cup, which unusually tell a story, are especially elaborate. They have been extended to include the spear arms of both figures as well as the upper portions of their shields. Significantly, though details such as armor and clothing are in true black-figure that employs incision and added color, the flesh parts of both the female and the male figure have been rendered in outline on the reserved lip, fostering a unity of design. The potent Dionysiac associations of this type of lip-cup are expressed by the head cup in New York potted by Epitimos, where a semi-outline profile head of Dionysos himself appears.²³

The Copenhagen and New York lip-cups are usually attributed to the Epitimos Painter, named after the cup's potter. This vase-painter is very close to, but not identical with, Lydos, a painter with a robust style who is the most important Attic master of the mid-sixth century.²⁴ Lydos himself probably decorated a black-figured oinochoe in Berlin with the potter-signature of Kolchos, on which the flesh of Athena is drawn in outline.²⁵

In the formulaic decoration of Little-Master cups, because the potter's signature is a standard feature, but not the painter's, we generally do not know their painters' names, and we also do not know whether potter and painter were the same person. Sometimes, as we have seen in the case of the Epitimos Painter, the unknown painter is nicknamed after the potter; sometimes, as in the case of the potters Hermogenes and Phrynos, it is not clear whether a single painter decorated all of the potter's works.²⁶ The exception to this picture is the painter

Figure 3. Gorgoneion. Top of a stand with the signatures of Kleitias as painter and Ergotimos as potter, ca. 570 B.C. Diam 9.1 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1931, 31.11.4. Photograph, all rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Sakonides (see cat. no. 42), who signed his name on Little-Master cups and finally on an unusual black-figured eye-cup in Cambridge.²⁷

Sakonides appears to have begun painting head cups under the influence of the Epiteimos Painter.²⁸ Usually depicting just the heads and shoulders of virtually identical unidentified women on both sides of a cup's lip, Sakonides helped to reinforce that simple unified convention as the dominant formula for the head cup.²⁹ His memorable female heads in elaborate *sakkoi* on the fragmentary signed lip-cup in Berlin (cat. no. 42) emphasize the black gloss, incision, and added color of black-figure for the parts of the semi-outline image around the reserved flesh. As on the signed cup in Munich, the painter's simpler type of profile female head, which has long hair bound by a headband with incised borders and fastened at the bottom back with an incised tie, seems more modern.³⁰

The profiles of head cups bring to mind the inspiration classic Western art has long derived from the pure draftsmanship of the ancient Greeks. For the twenty-first-century viewer, these simple outline profiles inevitably conjure

up Pliny's accounts associating the origin of art with tracing a "man's" shadow on a wall (*Natural History* 35.16, 35.151–52). At Vallauris, France, in 1949, Picasso captured the human form in thin air by means of an eloquent, spontaneous line drawn with a flashlight (fig. 4); indeed, this preeminent Modern master has been considered a direct descendant of Mediterranean tradition.

A closer look at the outline profiles of Attic head cups, however, reveals that they are hardly unpremeditated, instantaneous, fluid sketches. Evidently, the Little Masters of head cups began by first roughing out the outline profiles in impressed preliminary sketches, employing the same methodical preparation described above for black- and red-figure vase-painting.³¹ In fact, on side A of the Berlin cup, there are two distinct preliminary sketches for the woman's profile that appears above the potter-signature of Tlenpolemos (cat. fig. 42.1). While the outline heads on Attic Little-Master cups may not exemplify spontaneous drawing in the modern sense, they surely emphasize the affinity between outline drawing and writing, which must have been important to newly literate sixth-century craftsmen in the Athenian pottery industry and their patrons.

Figure 4. Picasso "drawing" with a flashlight, Vallauris, France, 1949. Photographer: Gjon Mili. From William Rubin, ed., *Pablo Picasso: A Retrospective*. The Museum of Modern Art, New York (1980) 385.



The Amasis Painter

D. A. Amyx in *Corinthian Vase-painting of the Archaic Period* called the Amasis Painter's use of outlined female flesh "a Corinthianizing trait."³² The Amasis Painter, however, probably explored outline by following in the footsteps of Lydos,³³ and the later master truly makes this technique his own. A half dozen known amphorae and fragments employing outline for female flesh have been attributed to this black-figure vase-painter, active from ca. 560 B.C. to the teens of the sixth century, named after and perhaps identical with Amasis, the sensitive potter of his vases. The neck-amphora in the Cabinet des Médailles with a pair of maenads dancing "in step" toward Dionysos is the most famous of the outline group.³⁴ The amphora in Basel (cat. no. 43) is special because, other than the lost amphora once in Berlin,³⁵ it is the Amasis Painter's only known work to have employed outline on both sides: for the

maenad in the vintage scene of side A and for the unidentified females who dance around Dionysos alongside naked youths on side B. The Amasis Painter's outline for the reserved flesh of female figures is both assured and sinuous, suggesting their alluring and unfettered nature. On one of the Samos amphora fragments,³⁶ black satyrs with incised hair and pale maenads with outlined flesh embrace and kiss. Joan R. Mertens has discerned an iconographic kinship among the Amasis Painter's outlined women: Neither ordinary mortals nor Olympian deities, they "were beings whom no one had really seen or studied, so that in depicting them, the Amasis Painter could allow his creative imagination some latitude. He was not bound to render what everyone could observe, and he did not have to be totally 'orthodox' in using standard black-figure."³⁷

The Amasis Painter's use of outline with reserve for female flesh has been considered an immediate antecedent to red-figure, and it has also been suggested that he could well have painted in the new technique.³⁸ According to Dietrich von Bothmer's chronology, however, all of the Amasis Painter's known females with outlined flesh date a decade or more before the earliest red-figure, although this master continued to work until the time of the Pioneer Group.³⁹ The Amasis Painter appears to have been concerned with the purity of outline itself in a way that was at odds with pale red-figure silhouettes, whose outlines have been merged with the black ground.

Martin Robertson attempted to describe the special integrity of the Amasis Painter's outline for female flesh: "When he shows the naked body of a nymph in outline against the black silhouette of a satyr's he stops the black just short of the outline."⁴⁰ Robertson's description is erroneous, however; it probably relies on photographs rather than the vases themselves. Instead, as may be observed on both sides of the Basel amphora (cat. no. 43) as well as on other extant works in the special outline group, whenever one of the Amasis Painter's outlined forms crosses or even encounters a black silhouette, the outline is bordered by an incised line that runs along the entire length of the contact. While innovative early red-figure sidelines or suppresses incision, the Amasis Painter's use of

outline with reserve is bound by incision. On the painter's late works, which are contemporaneous with red-figure, he explores a different special feature of his black-figure—intricate drawing with incision on areas of black gloss, such as for shield devices.⁴¹ Incised drawing on black has much in common with mature Six's technique (cat. nos. 23–25), but it veers sharply away from the bold light-and-dark contrast of red-figure.

Drawing Experiments in Late Archaic Red-figure

As we have seen, the new red-figure technique merged the outlines of reserved forms with the vase-painting's black ground (see fig. 1; see also cat. nos. 1–5, 27, 29). In mature red-figure the major black-gloss drawing lines are relief lines. Once the first generation of red-figure and bilingual vase-painters had fully mastered the new technique, certain artists delighted in occasionally, or even frequently, organizing their vase-paintings to promote the special visibility of outline. For example, on the red-figure tondo of a late sixth-century cup in the Louvre attributed to the bilingual vase-painter Skythes,⁴² a young komast crouches beside an oinochoe, with a full wineskin upon his left shoulder, acrobatically filling a wine cup balanced on his extended right hand. The youth's profile head and upper back overlap the wineskin and are thereby transformed from red-figure into outline drawing. Since the youth's black hair is here silhouetted against the reserved wineskin, Skythes has avoided using his usual incised-line border to separate black hair from red-figure's black ground (cf. cat. no. 8).

Elements of setting—water, rocks, architecture, and the like—provide ready fields for engaging examples of outline drawing in Late Archaic red-figure vase-painting.⁴³ On the tondo of a red-figured cup attributed to the Ambrosios Painter in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (cat. no. 44), a youth perched on a rocky outcropping fishes in a reserved sea inhabited by outlined reserved fish. On the tondo of a red-figured cup in Malibu of the early fifth century attributed to Onesimos (cat. no. 46), a satyr climbs down a delicately shaded rock in order to plant a kiss surreptitiously on the lips of a sleeping blonde hetaira or maenad.

Figure 5. Theseus and Skiron. Red-figured cup, attributed to Douris, ca. 480–470 B.C. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen—Preußischer Kulturbesitz F2288. Photograph: Bildarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz/ Art Resource, NY. Photographer: Johannes Laurentius.



This satyr's limbs are outlined on the large reserved rock, his genitals on his reserved leg, and the lips and contrasting profiles of both figures on the maenad's arm, which is folded back behind her head.

One of the most unusual compositions featuring outline on reserve is the tondo that depicts a city siege inside a cup in Malibu of ca. 500 B.C. attributed to Apollodoros (cat. no. 45). Here a city wall forms the reserved field upon which a battle between two attacking and two defending warriors unfolds. On a humble red-figured askos near the Tyszkiewicz Painter, of ca. 470 B.C. in Boston, the shade of an armed warrior rises from his burial mound.⁴⁴ Pieces of sporting equipment—*halteres*, a diskos, and crossed javelins—have been hastily drawn on the mound's reserved surface. These outlined forms are affixed to the mound with red ties, and its reserved surface is further embellished with a red and a white sash.⁴⁵

In the late sixth and early fifth centuries outline drawing figures prominently in the decoration of white-ground vases (cat. nos. 30, 56–60), and some painters who painted white ground also emphasized outline in their red-figure pictures. An outline white-ground lekythos in Malibu is attributed to the young Douris (cat. no. 58). After

a few early white-ground works, this painter did not again work for a potter who produced white ground. On the elegant red-figure tondo of his late cup in Berlin of ca. 480–470 B.C.

(fig. 5), Douris depicts the young Theseus, the hero of the Athenian democracy, turning the tables on the brigand Skiron by hurling him over a cliff into the sea.⁴⁶ Shaded scalloped lines and the turtle drawn in outline at the base of the rocky outcropping indicate the watery setting. Skiron still clings to the rock, and much of his upper body is thus outlined upon it. In addition, the helpless, doomed Skiron's bearded head is shown in frontal face—an important motif that entails the use of outline drawing in Attic red-figure.⁴⁷

The greatest fifth-century composition with an outline depiction of the sea is the Selene tondo inside the Brygos Painter's Gigantomachy cup in Berlin of ca. 490–485 B.C. (cat. fig. 47.3). Here Selene, with the outlined moon disk shimmering above her head, plunges her frontal chariot pulled by winged horses into the sea. This tondo's sophisticated arrangement of outlined and overlapping forms is fully in accord with the Brygos Painter's extraordinary facility for working in outline on a white ground (cat. no. 60; Mertens, chap. 6, fig. 4).

The Selene tondo is the first depiction of the moon goddess as a fully embodied being shown in the context of a broader image. Earlier in red-figure, Selene is shown only as a profile head or bust upon the reserved moon disk itself. Gesturing with one outlined hand raised before her outlined profile face, Selene appears on a reserved moon disk under the B/A handle of the Parade cup in Berlin (fig. 6) with the potter-signature of Sosias.⁴⁸ Shown with a frontal eye and outlined lips, the goddess wears a disk earring with two pendants; her black hair is bound by a reserved fillet. A similar outline image of Selene appears against a moon disk on the tondo of a cup in Bonn from the early fifth century, attributed to Beazley's Elpinikos Painter, probably a phase of the painter Apollodoros,⁴⁹ who, as we have seen (cat. no. 45), intriguingly explored the technique of outline.

Special Effects on Some Classical Athenian Vases
Unusual uses of outline on Classical Athenian vases often suggest inspiration from prototypes in lost free painting, one of the major arts during the fifth century B.C.⁵⁰ In this regard, a unique use of outline may be observed on the red-figured pelike in Boston of ca. 460 B.C. (cat. no. 49), associated with the Workshop of the Niobid Painter. This pelike famously depicts Andromeda being bound to a stake by a Black slave to expose her to the sea monster; other Black slaves carry the Ethiopian princess's dowry. Here painted white lines have been employed to draw the Black slaves in outline on the black-gloss ground, so that the black gloss may serve as the color of their flesh. With this clever use of outline the vase-painter has avoided the red-figure convention of depicting Black people with reserved flesh.⁵¹ This pelike's more naturalistic approach combined with the use of unusual added colors for the slaves' garments, which on one level is related to Six's technique, at the same time strongly suggests the influence of lost painting.⁵²

Elements of setting play an important role in the use of outline on Classical Athenian vases such as the name vase of the Penelope Painter, a skyphos of ca. 440 B.C. in Chiusi (fig. 7).⁵³ Here



Figure 6. Moon disk with Selene in profile. Detail under B/A handle of a red-figured cup with the signature of Sosias as potter, ca. 500 B.C. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen—Preußischer Kulturbesitz 2278. Photograph: Bildarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz/ Art Resource, NY. Photographer: Johannes Laurentius.

the loom bearing the shroud for Odysseus's father, Laertes, which Penelope unwove each night in her ruse to stave off the suitors until her husband's return, forms an extraordinary backdrop for the red-figure vase-painting. Penelope sits at the right cocooned in her draperies in abject despair. She rests her head on her outlined arm, and her face is drawn in three-quarter view. Telemachos stands before his mother. His paired spears, which form the composition's central vertical axis, are shown above in outline when they overlap the loom and its cloth. Telemachos's upper body, which also overlaps the cloth, is likewise drawn in outline upon it. By the mid-fifth century this sort of overlapping would hardly be a new feature, save for the fact that Telemachos's outlined head casts a shadow on the cloth. This amazing indication of space must betray the influence of lost free painting.

Figure 7. Telemachos, Penelope, and her loom. Red-figured skyphos, attributed to the Penelope Painter (name vase), ca. 440 B.C. Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1831. Photograph: Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana, Florence.





Figure 8. *Epaulia* after the wedding of Alkestis. Red-figured epinetron, attributed to the Eretria Painter (name vase), ca. 425 B.C. L 28.7 cm. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1629.

The inclusion of architectural elements in wedding depictions is a venerable tradition in Attic vase-painting going back to Sophilos's early sixth-century dinos from the Athenian Akropolis (cat. no. 40), where the colorful porch and closed door of Peleus's house are represented parallel to the picture plain. On a red-figured pyxis of ca. 475–470 B.C. in London, attributed to a follower of Douris (cat. no. 48), with an inscribed frieze showing Cassandra and several Argive heroines viewed at home as potential brides, the half-seen figure of Iphigeneia in the house's frontal, half-open doorway is drawn in outline on the reserved ground. Finally, on the Eretria Painter's red-figured epinetron of ca. 425 B.C. in Athens (fig. 8),⁵⁴ in the depiction of the *epaulia* for the wedding of Alkestis, the shaded outlined doors of the double doorway shown in the background at

the far right open diagonally into pictorial space, challenging the integrity of the picture plane.

As vase-painting attempts ever more to compete with the color and spatial richness of free painting, and as the fifth century B.C. passes into the fourth, vase-painting's time-honored role as appropriate surface decoration for a vase declines. Fourth-century drawing on pottery, examined by Kenneth Lapatin in chapter 9, strives for complex spatiality and the independent existence of figural form (e.g., cat. no. 103). Outline, which at first affirms the clay surface of a vase, at last, often combined with shading, is employed illusionistically to break the surface, either suggesting the pictorial space beyond or else describing the human form itself as a spatial entity. In this way, outline brings the craft of Athenian vase-painting to its end.

NOTES

- 1 Trans. Pollitt 1990, 29.
- 2 For vase-painting as drawing, see, e.g., Williams 1991a; Padgett 1996.
- 3 Beazley 1989a, 2–3.
- 4 For Geometric figural vase-painting, see Coldstream 1991; idem 1977, 109–19; and Boardman 1998, 25–28, 32–46 figs. 40–75.
- 5 Boardman 1998, 88–90, 108, and 98–107 figs. 188–212.
- 6 Beazley 1986, 1; idem 1989a, 1; for black-figured Corinthian pottery, see Boardman 1998, figs. on 92–93, 96–97, 189–202; and Amyx 1988, I, III.
- 7 Beazley 1986, 2; idem 1989a, 9. The techniques for producing Attic black- and red-figured pottery, and Greek pottery in general, have been described many times; see the recent summary in Sparkes 2000a; see also Sparkes 1991b, 8–27; and Noble 1988, which is still the most detailed account, though some conclusions are dated. For the firing process, see also Technical Studies essay.
- 8 Princeton, Princeton University, Art Museum y1987-70: Russell 1994, 40–41, no. 20 (J. M. Padgett); Padgett 1996, 80, fig. 12, 82; and see also Papadopoulos 2003, 267–68, fig. 4.36, “unfinished practice sketch.”
- 9 On preliminary sketch, in general, see, e.g., Corbett 1965; Olmos Romera 1976; and Boss 1997, who says the impressed lines were made with a wooden stick.
- 10 For relief lines and the lack of agreement about how they were produced, see Cohen, chap. 4, note 4; and see also Boardman 2001, 286–87, who believes the relief lines were applied with a thin brush. Although not currently in favor, Joseph V. Noble’s suggestion that relief lines were produced with a syringe-like or pastry-bag-like instrument should not be ruled out: Noble 1988, 118–25.
- 11 See, recently, Baurain-Rebillard 1999, and cat. no. 40.
- 12 Williams 1983a, 28; for the dinos London, British Museum GR 1971.11-1.1, see also cat. no. 40 with REFERENCES.
- 13 Malibu, JPMG 92.AE.4: JPMG *Antiquities Handbook* 2002, 55.
- 14 E.g., Amyx 1988, I, 164–65, Liebieghaus Group, III, pl. 63.2b; Malibu, JPMG 92.AE.4 has such a profile head on its handle-plate, which is not visible in fig. 2.
- 15 For the “popular Aineta,” see Payne 1931, 162, no. 5, aryballos no. 480, fig. 70. For the cups, see Amyx 1988, I, 195, no. 3, Boston 12.422, attributed to the Medallion Painter; ibid. III, pl. 76.1a; ibid. I, 200, no. 1, Athens 992, attributed to the Klyka Painter; ibid. III, pl. 83.1a; and see Keuls 1985, 155.
- 16 For the François Vase, see cat. no. 40 REFERENCES; and Lissarrague 2001, 10–21, with color photographs.
- 17 Cf. Beazley 1986, 25.
- 18 Cohen 1991, 52.
- 19 Payne 1931, esp. 79–87; see, recently, Tsiafakis 2003, 85. See also Winter 1885, cols. 188, 190.
- 20 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 31.11.4: *ABV* 78.12, 682; *Para* 20; *BAdd*² 22; *BAPD* Vase 300735; Bothmer 1987, 18, no. 8.
- 21 See Beazley 1932; idem 1989a, 48.
- 22 Beazley 1932, 174–75. On the conversational formulas of the copious “drinking” inscriptions that appear on Little-Master lip-cups in addition to the potter-signatures, see Lissarrague 1990a, 62–67. The use of outline on Little-Master cups was noted by Winter 1885, col. 189.
- 23 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 25.78.4: *ABV* 119.9; *Para* 48; *BAPD* Vase 310289.
- 24 Andrew J. Clark, in *CVA Malibu 2* [USA 25] 48–49, discusses the attribution of cups to the Epitimos Painter. For Lydos, see *ABV* 107–13, 714; *Para* 43–46; *BAdd*² 29–32; *BAPD* s.v. Lydos.
- 25 Berlin, Antikensammlung F 1732: *ABV* 110.37, 685; *Para* 44, 48; *BAdd*² 30; *BAPD* Vase 310183.
- 26 On the question of attribution to painters, see *ABV* 164–66 for cups potted by Hermogenes, and see *ABV* 168–69 for cups potted by Phrynos, some of which are attributed to the Phrynos Painter. For the works of these craftsmen, see *BAPD* s.v. Hermogenes, Phrynos, and Phrynos P.
- 27 In addition to lip-cups ([cat. no. 42] and see below, note 30), painter-signatures of Sakonides appear on the band cup with the potter-signature of Kaulos, Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 6221 (*ABV* 171; *Para* 71; *BAdd*² 48; *BAPD* Vase 301103), and the black-figured eye-cup with the potter-signature of Hischylos, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR 38.1864 (*ABV* 172; *BAdd*² 49; *BAPD* Vase 301106).
- 28 E.g., Iozzo 1998, 256–57, with n. 31 and pl. 72.1, Sakonides’ fragmentary head cup from Olbia with a bust of helmeted Athena: Cf. the Athena of cat. no. 41. Cf. cat. no. 42 with the female head in a *sakkos* on side B of the New York cup attributed to the Epitimos Painter, above, note 23: See Haldenstein 1983, 87.
- 29 For alternative views of beautiful outline female heads as either aristocratic status symbols, on the basis of a similar profile head on an Attic horsehead amphora of ca. 600 B.C. Munich, Antikensammlungen 6070 (1360) (*ABV* 16.2, 679; *Para* 9; *BAdd*² 4; *BAPD* Vase 300173), or desirable hetairai, see Vierneisel and Kaeser 1990, 142–43, with figs. 21.1–21.6. The unusual head cup, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2167 (*ABV* 677; *BAPD* Vase 306480), ibid. 158, figs. 25.3a–b, is inscribed *Kalistanthekale* on each side; the named beautiful hetaira frowns in one of her two images. See also the head cup Munich, Antikensammlungen 2166, classified as an imitation of Sakonides: *ABV* 171; *BAPD* Vase 301102.
- 30 Munich, Antikensammlungen 2165: *ABV* 171.1; *BAdd*² 48; *BAPD* Vase 301088. Cf. the unsigned variant in which the hair of the woman’s head is tied up at the back, e.g., Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Astarita 4, inv. 34950.2.1: *ABV* 688.7 bis; *BAPD* Vase 306561; Iozzo 2002, 142–44.
- 31 See above, after note 9.
- 32 Amyx 1988, II, 540n.20.
- 33 See above, at note 25. Cf. Mertens 1988, 420–21. For other associations between the Amasis Painter and Lydos, see Bothmer 1985, 40–41, who does not mention the use of outline.
- 34 Paris, Cab. Méd. 222: *ABV* 152.25, 687; *Para* 63; *BAdd*² 43; *BAPD* Vase 310452; Bothmer 1985, 125–29, cat. no. 23. For the outline group, see Bothmer 1985, 128; Mertens 1987, esp. 169–71. Other vases in this group include the Basel amphora (cat. no. 43); fragments of amphorae in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1985.57 (*BAPD* Vase 14735); Kavala, Museum 983 (*Para* 65; *BAdd*² 43; *BAPD* Vase 350469); and see below, notes 35–36.
- 35 Formerly Berlin 3210, present whereabouts unknown: *ABV* 151.21, 687; *Para* 63; *BAdd*² 43; *BAPD* Vase 310449.
- 36 Samos, Vathy, Museum K 898: *ABV* 151.18, 687; *Para* 63; *BAdd*² 42; *BAPD* Vase 310445. See Bothmer 1985, 128.
- 37 Mertens 1987, 176.
- 38 E.g., Mertens 1988, 421–22; cf. Robertson 1975, 214–15.
- 39 Bothmer 1985.
- 40 Robertson 1992, 7.
- 41 E.g., black-figured neck-amphora, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8026: *ABV* 152.26, 687; *Para* 63; *BAdd*² 44; *BAPD* Vase 310453; Bothmer 1985, 130–33, no. 24. For a consideration of special uses of incision in black-figure, see Mertens 1987, 423–24.
- 42 Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 2997: *ARV*² 83.9, 1578.3; *BAPD* Vase 200670.

- 43 For a consideration of elements of landscape and setting in both black- and red-figure, see Hurwit 1991.
- 44 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 13.169: *ARV*¹ 188.59; *BAPD* Vase 3029; Herrmann, Jr., and Kondoleon 2004, 45, color fig., 175, cat. no. 47. See Beazley 1918, 55.
- 45 Because of the variety of athletic equipment shown on the mound, Herrmann and Kondoleon 2004, 45, describe the deceased warrior as a pentathlete. This red-figure vase-painting is comparable to the imagery of white-ground funerary lekythoi, cf. cat. no. 62: See Kurtz 1975, 207, pl. 21.1.
- 46 Berlin, Antikensammlung F 2288: *ARV*² 438.130, 1701; *BAdd*² 239; *BAPD* Vase 205176. The turtle may be the carnivorous one that ate Skiron's own victims, which is mentioned in later sources, such as Pausanias, 1.44.8; see Gantz 1993, I 252.
- 47 See Korshak 1987, 15–16, 62, no. 183; Tsingarida 1991, 15–16. Cf. the female musicians—a nymph and Muses—in early black-figure depictions of the procession for the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, who are shown playing the syrinx in frontal face with their features drawn in outline on their white faces on Sophilos's Akropolis and London dinoi, and Kleitias's François Vase: See above and cat. no. 40 with REFERENCES.
- 48 Berlin, Antikensammlung F 2278: *ARV*² 21.1, 1620; *Para* 323; *BAdd*² 154; *BAPD* Vase 200108; Berlin 1991, 244–49, cat. no. 59 (I. Wehgartner); the painter-attribution of this cup has been contested. Winter 1885, the outline head noted without identification. The Berlin cup is also technically unusual because of the added clay used for fruit and leaves on the branches carried by one of the Horai (Seasons) on side B; see Cohen 2004, 60.
- 49 Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 63: *ARV*² 119.1, 1576; *BAdd*² 175; *BAPD* Vase 200998; *LIMC* 1 (1984) s.v. Astra, B. Selene 913, no. 42, pl. 676. See cat. no. 45 and esp. Williams 1977 and idem (1993), in *CVA British Museum* 9 [Great Britain 17] 25, for the joining of the Elpinikos Painter with Apollodoros. The Munich and Bonn heads were noted by Winter 1885, cols. 192, 194–95, pl. 12.1.
- 50 For the influence of lost free painting on vases, see the discussion with references in Cohen, chap. 4.
- 51 See the discussion of cat. no. 49 in Cohen, chap. 3, with note 44.
- 52 For a comparable use of unusual color, though on top of reserved clay rather than black gloss, cf. the interior of the red-figured cup attributed to the Penthesilea Painter (his name vase), Munich, Antikensammlungen 2688: *ARV*² 879.1, 1673; *Para* 428; *BAdd*² 300; *BAPD* Vase 211565. See Robertson 1959, 117, with the old color photographs on 115–16; and Cohen, chap. 4, fig. 4.
- 53 Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1831: *ARV*² 1300.2, 1689; *Para* 475; *BAdd*² 360; *BAPD* Vase 216789. See above for the use of outline with elements of setting on Late Archaic red-figured vases.
- 54 See also the discussion at note 28. For the subject, see Oakley and Sinos 1993, 40–42, 46.



40

40 FRAGMENTS OF BLACK-FIGURED DINOS

Signature of Sophilos as painter, ca. 580 B.C.
H (of main figural frieze) 8.5 cm
Athens, National Archaeological Museum
15165, Acropolis Collection 1.587
From the Athenian Akropolis; signed
fragment found 1883
[Not in the exhibition]

Wedding of Peleus and Thetis

CONDITION: Ten preserved fragments; chips and scratches on surface; some losses of white on female figures and of red details painted on top of the white.

SOPHILOS, A SPIRITED EARLY ARCHAIC Attic vase-painter, was literate and liked to write, whether labeling characters in his innovative narrative depictions from myth and legend, giving a scene a title—as on the famous dinos fragment

with the funeral games for Patroklos—or proudly signing his name. One of his masterpieces, now known only from fragments, was a black-figured dinos—a round bowl for mixing wine with water—that the artist may himself have dedicated on the Athenian Akropolis. The importance of the signed fragment (fig. 40.1), discovered on the Akropolis in the late nineteenth century, was recognized immediately: Its fully preserved inscription, *Sophilos egraphsen* (*Sophilos painted me*), provides the earliest known name of an Attic vase-painter.

The subject on the main frieze of the fragmentary dinos—the procession of gods arriving to celebrate the wedding of Achilles' parents, Peleus and the sea-nymph Thetis—has been identified through comparable depictions on a well-preserved dinos and stand by Sophilos in London and on the François Vase of ca. 570 B.C. As the procession arrives, the bridegroom stands before the door of his house to greet the guests. Here only Peleus's foot and a bit of his white garment have been preserved (fig. 40.2). The house's closed red door with round black bosses, which is shown frontally (cf. cat. no. 48), was flanked by white columns and the porch's projecting *antae* (ends) (fig. 40.1). Thetis, unseen, must be inside. Sophilos's painter-signature, written with large retrograde red letters (fig. 40.1), is placed vertically between the door and the column on the right, which was originally adjacent to the end of the procession that, moving from left to right, encircled the vase.

In the wedding procession, as on the London dinos, all of the figures' names would have been inscribed. The gods' horse-drawn chariots (figs. 40.3–4) included those of Zeus and Hera (fig. 40.5) and Poseidon and Amphitrite (fig. 40.6). ΝΥΧΑΙ is written beside the heads of three female figures, the leftmost shown in frontal face playing the syrinx (fig. 40.7). The Nysai were nymphs who cared for the infant Dionysos in faraway Nysa, and Sophilos's Nysai on the Akropolis dinos surely belonged to the entourage of the now-missing wine god. This inscription was once wrongly held to be a mistake for *Musai*, because of these females' evident similarity to the Muses on the London dinos and the François Vase. Nysai and

Muses seem, in fact, to have been associated in the ancient Greek mind: Both appear on the Phiale Painter's white-ground calyx-krater of ca. 440–435 B.C. (cat. no. 67).

Two impressive pairs of overlapping female figures walk in step on the largest fragment (fig. 40.8). They are formally dressed with their red mantles worn over fine white dresses woven with rows of animals in so-called story friezes: Demeter, goddess of grain, and Hestia, goddess of the hearth, are followed by Leto, mother of Apollo and Artemis, and Chariklo, wife of the wise centaur Chiron. At the break on the right, the fragmentary female figure, shown with a wing protruding from her ankle, who wears a short tunic topped by a nebris, must be the messenger goddess Iris, leading the procession.

Other depictions include the lame god Hephaistos riding on a mule, and he may well have ended the procession here (fig. 40.1). A small fragment, with part of a fish-tailed being and a walking man (fig. 40.9), brings to mind the fish-tailed Okeanos on the London dinos. Yet another fragment preserves part of a heavy palmette-lotus chain (fig. 40.10), an ornament that, on several of the fragments (fig. 40.5–8), fills the frieze above the figures' heads. Scant remains of animals or monsters appear in the register below the figures (fig. 40.1–2, 4); animal friezes characterized a traditional Corinthianizing method of decorating vases that had not yet passed from fashion at this time.

Sophilos's early black-figure technique is special. His copious use of added red includes not only the heads and necks of male figures but also inscriptions, which normally are black. In addition, red has been employed to draw forms in outline. Here these outlined forms are filled in with white applied directly on top of the clay ground rather than over standard black silhouettes. At least one of the chariot horses (fig. 40.4), the porch's columns (fig. 40.1), and all of the female figures (figs. 40.5–8) are delineated in this fashion. Details on the white, rather than being incised, have been drawn in red, including facial features of female figures, their jewelry, the musicmaking Nysa's pipes, the walking women's cross-strapped sandals, and the elaborate decorative friezes woven on their white dresses. Perhaps such details

should be considered the first use of white as a ground in Attic vase-painting.

The painter's varied coloristic effects, marked by an idiosyncratic use of red outline and white, have long been associated with the influence of Corinthian art, and his free, bold writing is likewise Corinthianizing. Sophilos could readily have known Corinthian vases, which were exported widely. In addition, his familiarity with wall-paintings in Archaic Corinthian temples and/or with Corinthian painted wooden panels has also been suggested. Even a Corinthian origin for this master was once entertained. In any event, Sophilos worked and was surely trained in Athens, now the leading Greek artistic center.

For Sophilos's signed dinos fragment from Pharsalos with the funeral games, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 15499, see: *ABV* 39.16, 681; *Para* 18; *BAdd*² 10; *BAPD* Vase 305075. For Sophilos's dinos in London, British Museum GR 1971.11-1.1, see: *Para* 19.16 bis; *BAdd*² 10; *BAPD* Vase 350099; Williams 1983; Williams 1999, 51–53, figs. 38–39. For the François Vase, the Attic black-figured volute-krater signed by Kleitias as painter and Ergotimos as potter, see: *ABV* 76.1, 682; *Para* 29–30; *BAdd*² 21; *BAPD* Vase 300000. It has been suggested recently that Sophilos's partial signature on the fragmentary louterion from Menidi, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 15942, 15918, 2035.1–2 (*ABV* 40.21; *Para* 18; *BAdd*² 11; *BAPD* Vase 305080), which has been thought to be a potter-signature, might in fact be a painter-signature, see Kilmer and Develin 2001, 23, 39. See Pedley 2002, 241, fig. 7.38 for a color illustration of the Corinthian wooden panel with a procession, of ca. 530 B.C., from Pente Skouphia. On Sophilos's associations with Corinth, see, e.g., Williams 1983.

REFERENCES: *ABV* 39.15, 681; *BAdd*² 10; *BAPD* Vase 305074; Benndorf 1869, 23, pl. 11.5; *Wiener Vorlegeblätter für Archaeologische Übungen* 1889, pl. 2.3a–d; Winter 1889; Studniczka 1893; Buschor 1921, 95, fig. 86; Pfuhl 1923, i, 246–48, iii, fig. 202; Hoppin 1924, 336–37, no. 2 (reversed); Buschor 1925, 120, fig. 87, 122–23; Graef and Langlotz 1925, i, 64, no. 587a–i, pl. 26; Béquignon 1933, 55, fig. 10, 56–57; Papaspyridi-Karusu 1937, 112, 133, no. 23, pl. 51; Kraiker 1958, 41, 152–53, no.15.top, pl. 15.top; Beazley 1964, 17–18, 107nn.26–30; Buschor 1969, 108, fig. 117; Simon 1969, 269, 270, fig. 259; Charbonneaux, Martin, and Villard 1971, 56, 57, fig. 60, 401, no. 60; Boardman 1974, 19, fig. 25.1–2; Bianchi Bandinelli and Paribeni 1976, no. 269; Bakir 1981, esp. 1, 5–7, 12–13, 23, 33, 56, 62–63, 64–65, pls. 3–5, 89–90; *LIMC* i (1981) s.v. Amfitrite 728, no. 53, pl. 586 (S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou); Stewart 1983, 58–59, figs. 4.4a–j, 61, 62, table 4.1(1); Williams 1983, 22, 32; Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, 99–100, 105, fig. 36; *LIMC* ii (1984) s.v. Aphrodite 143, no. 1501 (A. Delivorrias with G. Berger-Doer and A. Kossatz-Deissmann); Haas 1985, 48, 85, 148, fig. 6; Beazley 1986, 16–17, 95nn.26–30; Carpenter 1986, 9, pl. 3.A; *LIMC* iii (1986) s.v. Chariklo i 190, no. 1, pl. 150 (U. Finster-Hotz); Brownlee 1988, 80, 84; Immerwahr 1990, 21, no. 61, 22; *LIMC* vii (1994) s.v. Poseidon 466, no. 182a, pl. 369 (E. Simon); Brownlee 1995, 363, 366; La Genière 1995, 39, 42; Valavanis and Kourmelis 1996, 68; *LIMC* viii (1997) s.v. Nymphai 894, no. 24b (M. Halm-Tisserant), and s.v. Nysa i, Nysai 903, no. 2, pl. 598 (U. W. Gottschall); Manakidou 1997, 299, fig. 3; Moraw 1998, 34–36, 67, 141, 147, 214, 273, no. 5, pl. 1, fig. 5; Baurain-Rebillard 1999, 156–57, 161, fig. 1; Massa-Pairault 1999, 117, pl. 4.3; Kilmer and Develin 2001, 12–19, 16, fig. 2, 22, 25, 28, 36, 37, no. B39/15, pl. 1.

BLACK-FIGURED LIP-CUP WITH OUTLINE DECORATION

Signature of Epitimos as potter, attributed
to the Epitimos Painter, ca. 550 B.C.

H 19.4 cm; Diam (bowl) 29.8 cm

Copenhagen, National Museum 13966

American art market; gift of the Ny
Carlsberg Foundation 1958

I, black-figure, *courting scene: man and boy,
between youths*

A, on the lip, semi-outline, *bust of Athena with
shield and spear*; on the handle zone, *between
horseman and mounted archer*, ΕΠΙΤΙΜΟΣ
ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ

B, on the lip, semi-outline, *bust of Enkelados with
shield and spear*; on the handle zone, *between
peltasts throwing javelins*, +ΑΙΠΕ ΚΑΙΠΙΕΙ Σ[V]

CONDITION: Assembled from fragments; with
plaster fill and inpainting at joins and for losses,
including, on tondo, center of male couple's bodies
and, on side A, breast and most of right horse's legs;
loss of added white on tunics of archer on A and
of right peltast on B; loss of added red on quiver of
left horseman and on tunic of right horseman on A;
general surface erosion on side A; surface scratches
around Athena's and Enkelados's faces; pale lines
on reserved surfaces probably from removal of root
marks; black gloss flaked on lower part of bowl on
side B, perhaps from the vase being stacked dur-
ing firing; black incrustation on side A of bowl and
underside of foot; end of A/B handle chipped.

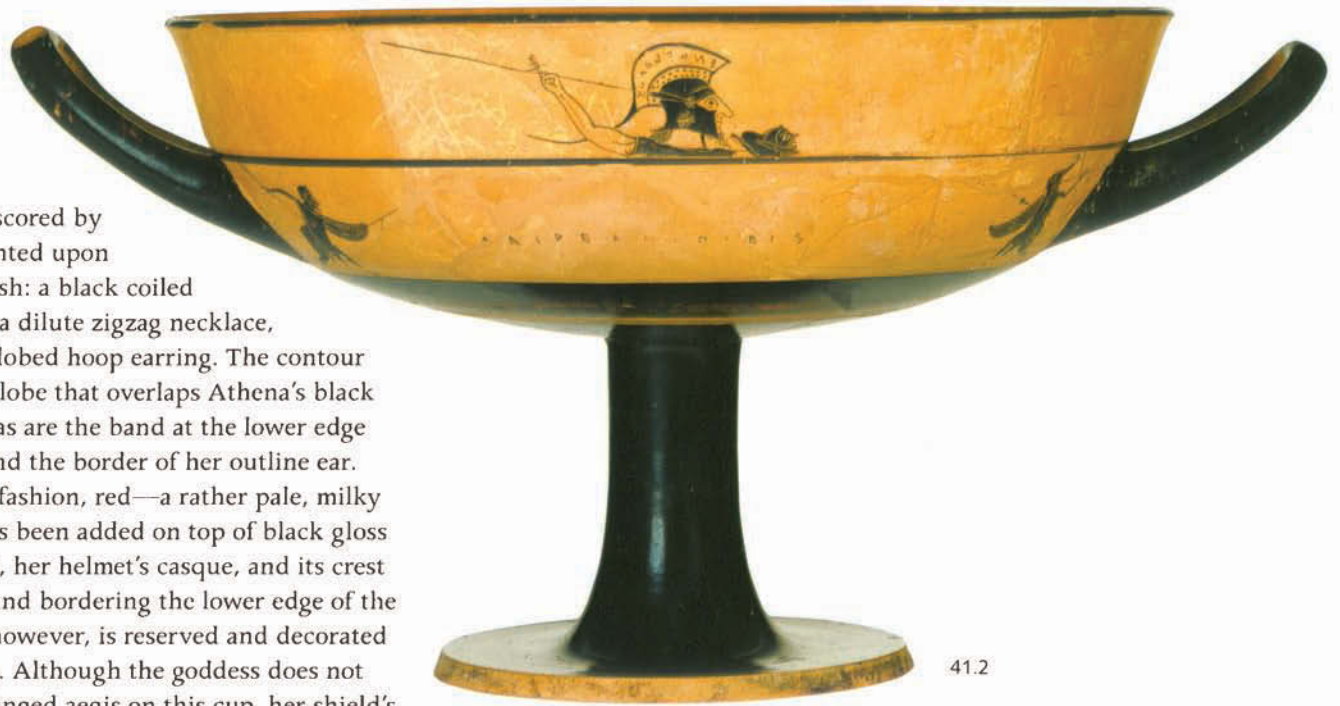
THE LIP-CUP, ONE TYPE OF Little-Master cup
popular in the mid-sixth century B.C., is named
for its reserved offset lip, which normally bears
black-figure miniatures. An important variant,
known as a head cup, substitutes for the pure
black-figure work a human bust in profile view
with its flesh parts drawn in outline (cf. cat. no.
42). The Copenhagen head cup, with a signature of
its potter, Epitimos, in the traditional location of
the handle zone, sports an exceptionally elaborate
pair of semi-outline busts that have been extended
anatomically to include arms. Here, in an excerpt
from the Gigantomachy, the goddess Athena fights
the giant Enkelados. These mythological figures
turn toward each other in an active narrative that
runs around the cup.

The armed goddess, placed above the potter's
signature on side A, is an impressive mélange
of outline and standard black-figure technique.
Facing left, she wields a spear in her outline
right hand and bears a black-figure shield on her
outline left arm. The visible sliver of her upper
torso should thus be seen from the back, but her
garment's rounded shoulder flaps seem to suggest
a front view; it has even been proposed that Athe-
na's right arm has been attached to her left shoul-
der. Her fingernails, however, have been rendered
quite carefully. Impressed preliminary sketch
lines nearly coincide with Athena's final profile,
but the sketches are higher than her large eye,
her brow, and scalloped forelocks. She wears her
characteristic caplike Attic helmet with an impos-
ing high crest, which is so tall that the lip's upper
edge cuts it off. This engaging war goddess's femi-



ninity is underscored by the jewelry painted upon her reserved flesh: a black coiled snake bracelet, a dilute zigzag necklace, and a black tri-lobed hoop earring. The contour of the earring's lobe that overlaps Athena's black hair is incised, as are the band at the lower edge of her helmet and the border of her outline ear. In black-figure fashion, red—a rather pale, milky shade here—has been added on top of black gloss for her garment, her helmet's casque, and its crest support. The band bordering the lower edge of the helmet's crest, however, is reserved and decorated with black dots. Although the goddess does not wear a snake-fringed aegis on this cup, her shield's device is a fearsome snake protome, with incised markings on its body and incised hairs in its beard, that seems to hiss at her opponent.

While Athena's armor alone identifies her definitively, a name tag identifying the armed male warrior who opposes her as the giant Enkelados has been inscribed retrograde on the reserved low crest of his Corinthian helmet. This concealing black casque, with an incised brow as well as ornamental palmettes, exposes only the eye, prominent nose, and mouth of the giant's outline face. Enkelados's profile head is contrasted with the miniature black-figure satyr's-head device of his shield. No added color embellishes his sinister armed form. The throwing loop of the javelin the giant is about to hurl is wound around two fingers of his raised right hand. This long-range weapon is normally wielded by light-armed warriors. On the handle zone, black-figure peltasts—substitutes for standard lip-cup palmettes—likewise hurl javelins. The right-hand peltast wears an exotic pointed cap, and, on the front, the black-figure horseman at the cup's right handle is an archer, who may likewise be a foreigner. Here the overarching Athenian themes of divine and human combat and the opposition of Greeks and barbarians appear to be contrasted, yet the inscription beneath Enkelados on the handle zone is inviting, "rejoice and drink well."

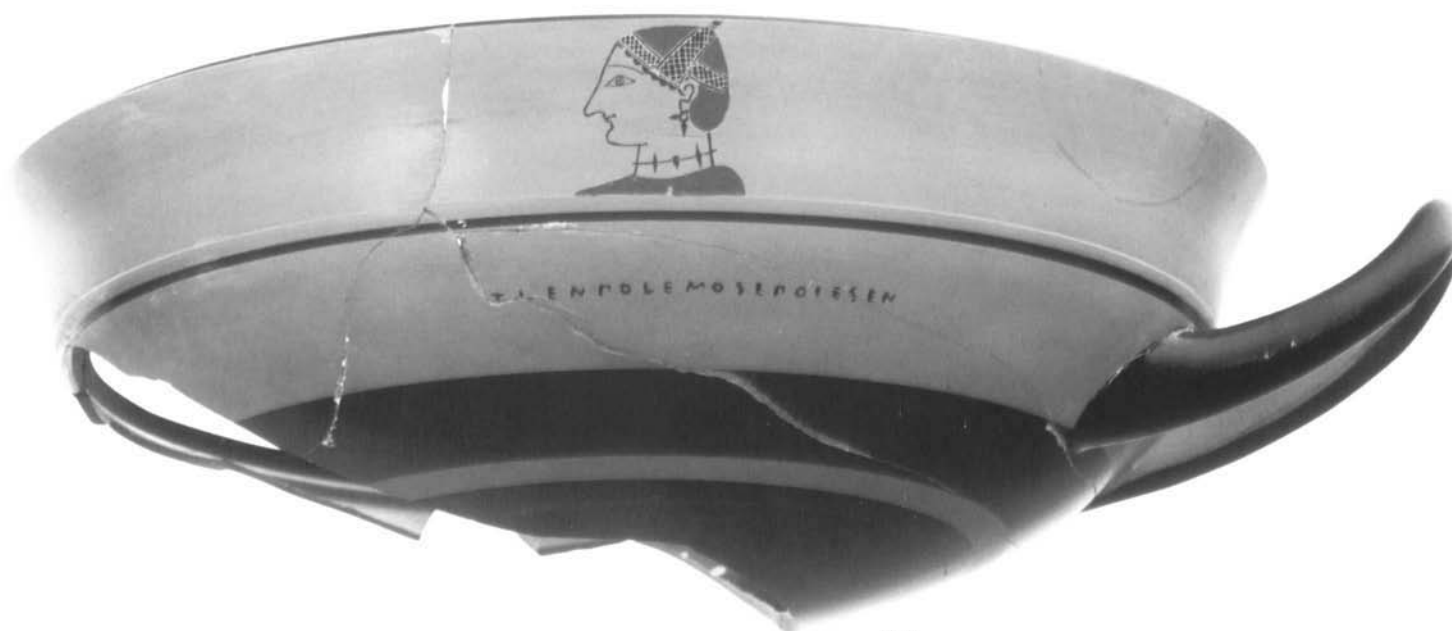


41.2

This lip-cup is generally attributed to an anonymous artist nicknamed the Epitimos Painter after the potter's signature. He is quite close to but not identical with the black-figure master Lydos, who dedicated a now-fragmentary dinos on the Athenian Akropolis decorated with a Gigantomachy that he may also have potted. Beazley called the Epitimos Painter's drawing "amusing," and this master himself was surely bemused by interpreting the lip-cup's limited decorative format afresh.

REFERENCES: *Para* 48; *BAdd*² 33; *BAPD* Vase 350369; *CVA* Copenhagen 8 [Denmark 8] 253–54, pls. 324.1a–b, 325.1a–f; Friis Johansen 1960; Vos 1963, 3–4, 61, 93, no. 11; Åkerström 1966, 154, 155, fig. 44.3; Snodgrass 1967, fig. 34, 80; Best 1969, 5–7, figs. 1a–c; Vacano 1973, 41, 65, 74–75, 97–99, 117, 229, no. a-128; Boardman 1974, 61, fig. 121.1–2; Tiverios 1976a, 68–71, figs. 62–63; Schefold 1978, 57, figs. 65–66; Gorbunova 1979, 215; Snodgrass 1980, 103, pl. 14; Haldenstein 1983, 81–83; *LIMC* II (1984) s.v. Athena, 982, no. 273, pl. 736 (P. Demargne); Burns 1988, 39; *LIMC* IV (1988) s.v. Gigantes 222, no. 207 (F. Vian and M. B. Moore); Blome 1990, 72, no. 114 (B. Müller-Huber); *CVA* Malibu 2 [USA 25] 48–49; Klinger 1993, 187, figs. 4–5, 189, 196, 199; Iozzo 1998, 256–57, 257n.28, pl. 71.1–2.

For the courting scene on this lip-cup's tondo, see, with references, *CVA* Copenhagen 8 [Denmark 8] 253–54, pl. 324.1b; *BAPD* Vase 350369. For Lydos's dinos, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis Collection 1.607, see *ABV* 107.1, 684; *BAdd*² 29; *BAPD* Vase 310147; and the reconstruction drawings by Mary B. Moore 1979, ill. 1–2.



42.1

42 BLACK-FIGURED LIP-CUP WITH OUTLINE DECORATION

Signatures of Tlenpolemos as potter and
Sakonides as painter, ca. 550–540 B.C.
Diam (bowl) 22.7 cm
Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen
zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz
V.I. 3152
From Vulci; purchased 1888; formerly
Fontana collection; Candelori collection

A, on the lip, *female head*; on the handle zone,
TLENΠΟΛΕΜΟΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ

B, on the lip, *female head*; on the handle zone,
ΣΑΚΟΝΙΔΕΣΕΛΡΑΦΣ[ΕΝ]

CONDITION: Assembled from fragments with stem,
foot, part of bowl, and B/A handle missing; excel-
lent preservation of extant portion; some chipping
along edge of lip; gash in surface on neck of head on
A; chip of added red missing from back of *sakkos*
on B; shadow around bottom of bowl from stacking
during firing, some loss of black gloss along staking
line; earlier restorations of this cup's lost elements
have been removed.

INSCRIPTIONS ARE A PROMINENT feature
in the decorative scheme of lip-cups. They are
always written in black gloss and centered, below
the figural images, on the reserved handle zone
on each side of the bowl. A potter's signature is
often repeated on both sides of the cup; it may
also be combined, for example, with an invitation
to drink (cf. cat. no. 41) or with a *kalos* name. On
the Berlin lip-cup, however, while the signature
of its potter, Tlenpolemos, appears on side A,
the inscription on side B is the signature of its
painter: *Sakonidesegraphs[en]*. Sakonides, in fact,
is the only painter known to have signed lip-cups
or the contemporary Little-Master band cups.
Thus, though it generally is not known whether
a Little-Master cup's potter and painter were the
same individual, in the case of the Berlin lip-cup
and others painted by Sakonides, they were not.

Sakonides' lip-cups, like the Copenhagen lip-
cup of the Epitimos Painter (cat. no. 41), are char-
acteristically head cups with semi-outline busts
on their lips rather than black-figure miniatures.
On head cups, as here, ornamental palmettes
at the handles are often suppressed. The Berlin
cup belongs to the popular genre that depicts a
woman wearing jewelry on each side. Those on
Sakonides' Berlin cup wear black trilobe earrings
and amulet necklaces. As is normal on head cups,
both women face left and do not look toward each
other around the cup. Significantly, each female
bust projects a different mood. The woman on

side A, with an upward-slanting mouth and delicate chin, seems both pleasant and pleased. The almost identical woman on side B has a downward-curving mouth and square chin that make her rather dour looking. Many fashionable women represented on drinking cups may represent hetairai; if so, subtle differences between the paired heads might have been the butt of ribald jokes at drinking parties.

Most of Sakonides' outline female heads have long black hair bound with an incised headband and either tied near the bottom end or caught up in the headband forming a *krobylos*. Both of the females on the Berlin cup, however, wear *sakkoi* that entirely cover their hair save for a row of black scalloped waves bordering the face. Their *sakkoi* are composed of red cloth matching their red dresses, and they are bound together with black strips of netting (cf. cat. no. 80) suggested by incised cross-hatching. The red part of the *sakkos* on A is bordered by incision at the lower back, and the entire upper border of the *sakkos* on B is incised. The black oculi of both women's large almond-shaped eyes have pupils with incised borders. This broad interplay of incision and outline gives the Berlin females a rather primitive appearance compared to other women by Sakonides and emphasizes their bond with the black-figure technique. The Berlin women's *sakkoi* with netting also emphasize the association between Sakonides and the Epitimos Painter, who painted a woman wearing a *sakkos* with outline netting on a slightly earlier head cup, the lip-cup in New York.

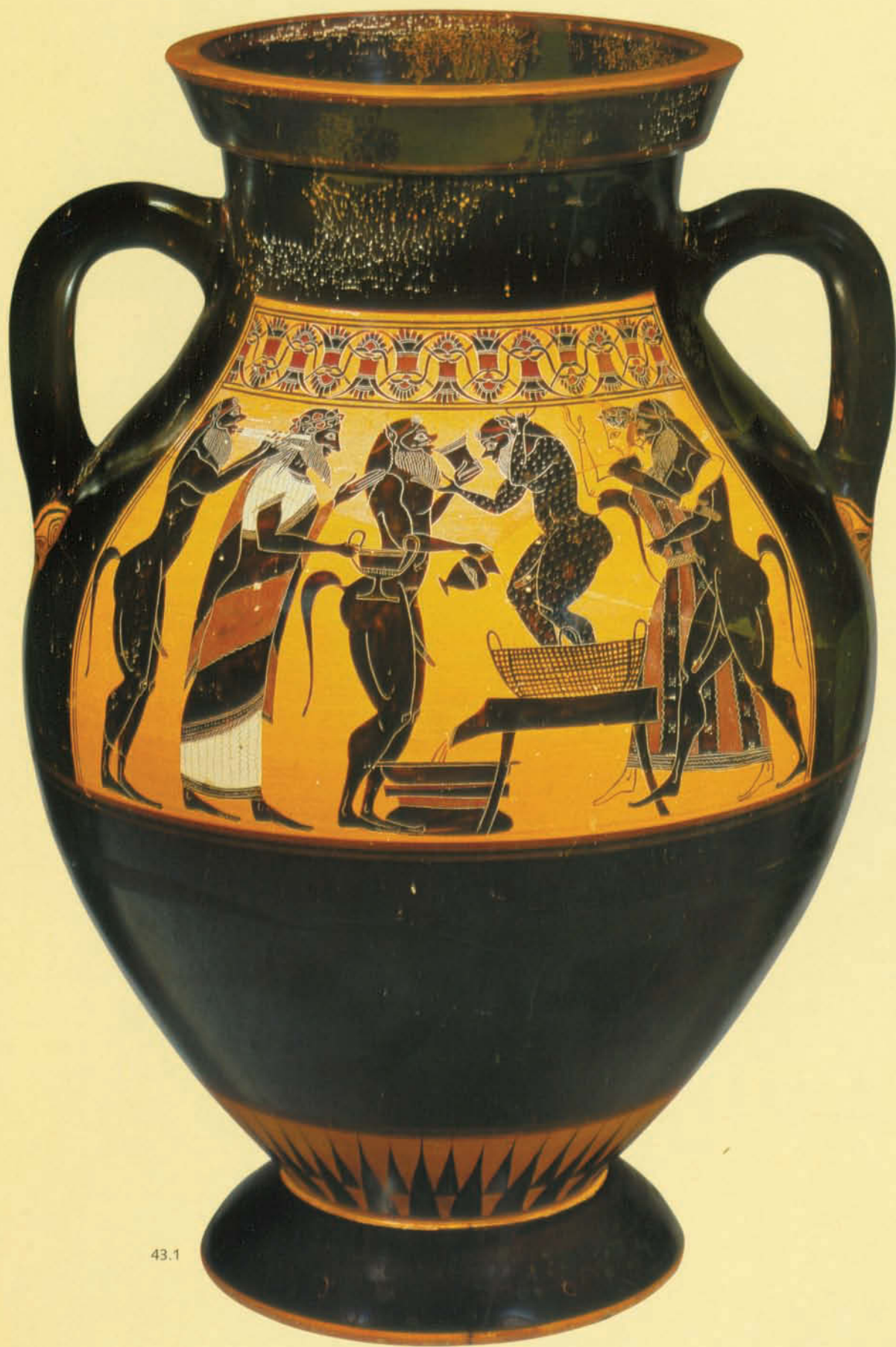
Sakonides employed detailed impressed preliminary sketches in his attentive work on the Berlin cup. On side A two different sketches are visible for the woman's profile as well as sketch lines for her eye and necklace; side B has a single sketch for the woman's profile as well as for her eye, ear, and necklace.

REFERENCES: *ABV* 171.13, 178.2; *BAdd*² 48; *BAPD* Vase 301100; Furtwängler 1889, 91, no. 2; Hoppin 1924, 320, no. 1; Beazley 1932, 174.201; Neugebauer 1932, 69; Rumpf 1937, 7–8, 17, 18, 21, 23, pl. 28e–f; *CVA* Metropolitan Museum of Art 2 [USA 11] 6; Gehrig, Greifenhagen, and Kunisch 1968, 188–89, V.I. 3152, pl. 56.top; Vacano 1973, 74–75, 231, no. A-147; Haldenstein 1983, 86–88, pl. 12b; Heilmeyer 1988, 66–67, no. 9; Vierneisel and Kaser 1990, 164, figs. 26.4a–b (B. Fellmann).

Immerwahr 1990, 47, with n.42, 50–52, discusses painter-signatures of Sakonides, but omits Berlin V.I. 3152. For other cups signed by Tlenpolemos as potter, see Berlin 1763: *ABV* 178.1; *BAPD* Vase 301353; formerly Basel, Borowski collection: *Para* 74.3; *BAPD* Vase 3505014. On Sakonides and his cups with outline female heads, see esp. Iozzo 2002, 142–44, no. 191, with references; also Iozzo 1998, 257, 259, pl. 72.1–4; *CVA* Munich 10 [Germany 56] 40–41, pls. 22.3, 5–6 and 23.1–2; Boardman 1974, 60, fig. 116; *EAA* VI (1965) s.v. Sakonides (E. Paribeni). For the lip-cup potted by Epitimos, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 25.78.4, see *ABV* 119.9; *Para* 48; *BAPD* Vase 310289.



42.2



BLACK-FIGURED AMPHORA OF TYPE B

Attributed to the Amasis Painter and to
Amasis as potter, ca. 540 B.C.

H 44 cm

Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung
Ludwig Kä 420

Gift of Dr. Robert Käppeli, 1966

*A, Dionysos with satyrs at the vintage and a
dancing satyr and maenad*

*B, Dionysos between two dancing female figures and
two dancing naked youths*

CONDITION: Reassembled from major fragments
with small losses restored, including the profile of
the right satyr on A and the lower rear of chiton
and right foot of Dionysos on B; black gloss and
added red pitted, chipped, and flaked; losses in
black outlines of reserved female flesh on B; two
patches of white incrustation on skirt of right
female on B.

THE AMASIS PAINTER was instrumental in
introducing the theme of the vintage to Attic
vase-painting. In his oeuvre, however, this autumnal
labor has been raised to the level of myth
by showing the workmen as satyrs and also, as
here, by including Dionysos and a maenad at the
very production of wine. A hairy satyr treads the
grapes in a handled basket set upon a trough, and
the wine, painted in red, spills from the trough's
spout into a large pithos, set deep into the ground
and topped by a strainer. Another satyr, stand-
ing before the trough, pours water from a hydria
to wet the remaining skins as he samples the new
wine from a kalathos. The wine god, standing
behind this satyr, extends his kantharos expect-
tantly. Another satyr at the far left plays white
pipes to set a rhythm for the stamping; and at the
right, a satyr and a maenad dance to the music
in joyous anticipation, each with an arm locked
around the other's shoulder.

Two details distinguish the Amasis Painter's
vintage scene from the realm of standard black-
figure vase-painting. Rather than being a solid

black form on which the pattern of woven con-
struction is incised, the porous rush or wicker
basket used for treading the grapes consists of
criss-crossed black lines painted directly on the
reserved ground. The open weave suggested by
this line drawing is not fully illusionistic, how-
ever, for no trace of the satyr's lower legs is visible
inside the basket. This painter most famously uses
outline and reserve for the flesh of female figures
rather than the black-figure norm of added white
on black. As in the case of the dancing maenad on
side A, facial features, jewelry, and other details
are drawn in black or dilute gloss directly upon
the reserved flesh. Wherever sections of reserved
female flesh overlap or abut black forms—such
as the arms and body of the satyr's dance partner
on side A—these outlined areas are bordered by
incised contours.

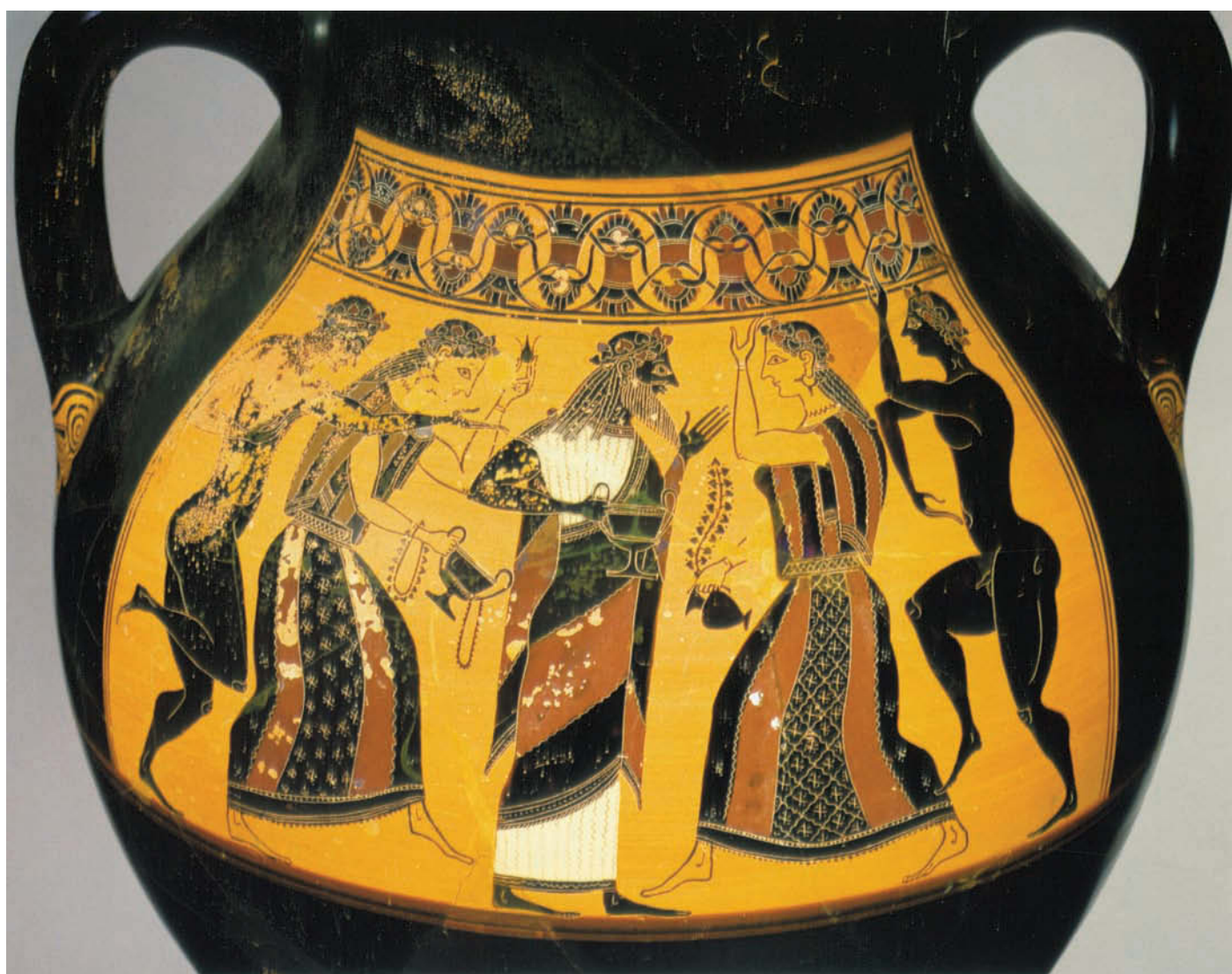
The Amasis Painter's enchanting rendition of
sinuous reserved female figures is further empha-
sized on side B, where two dancing females and
two dancing naked youths flank the wine god. On
both sides of this large Dionysiac amphora, which
must have been employed to hold wine, the use
of reserve rather than white for the flesh of the
females serves to focus attention on the vessel's
almost identical images of the stately god wearing
a long white chiton. Perhaps this vase's association
of music and dancing and wine ought to be asso-
ciated with early dramatic performances. Much
innovative Dionysiac imagery attributed to the
Amasis Painter stands apart from familiar conven-
tions. Here the identity of the dancing figures on
side B is not clear. If the females, who hold wine
vessels, ivy, wreaths, and a flower, are maenads,
why do they dance alongside naked youths rather
than satyrs? Could the naked youths be sons of
Dionysos? Are all of these figures instead worship-
pers at an Athenian festival, such as the Lenaia?
An inscription might have provided a key to the
iconography, but none appears on this vase.

The Amasis Painter is so named because other
vases he decorated bear the potter-signature of
Amasis, but no preserved inscriptions indicate
whether or not the painter was the same indi-
vidual as the potter. The ornament on the Basel
amphora, which consists of a festoon of palmettes
and lotuses above the two panels, outline black

palmettes springing from volutes on patches of reserve beneath the handles, and stacked rays above the foot, is as exquisite as any of the Amasis Painter's pictures.

REFERENCES: *Para* 65; *BAdd*² 43; *BAPD* Vase 350468; *CVA* Basel 1 [Switzerland 4] 86–87, pl. 29.1–4; Bothmer 1957b, 538–39; Bruckner 1958, 34–36, pls. 17–20; Bothmer 1960, 78–79; Scheffold 1960, 20–21, 154–55, no. 138; Lucerne 1963, no. D 2 (M. Schmidt); Boardman 1967, 146–47, fig. 90; Scheffold [1967a] 64–65, no. 103.1; Scheffold 1967b, 220, no. 192 (I. Scheibler); Metzger 1972, 122; *AntW* 5 (1974) color cover, 1; Boardman 1974, 55, fig. 89; M. Schmidt 1976, 439, pl. II, 440; Sparkes 1976, 49, 57, fig.

4; *CAH* plates to vol. III (1984) 274–75, fig. 360, 177–78, fig. 7.33; Bothmer 1985, 43, fig. 32, 47, figs. 40a–b; Hurwit 1985, 252–53, fig. 108; Carpenter 1986, 86, 88, pls. 20b, 24b; Hamdorf 1986, 59, fig. 12; *LIMC* III (1986) s.v. Dionysos 459, no. 408 (C. Gasparri), pl. 345; Isler-Kerényi 1990, 59–65, 71–72, pls. 1–2, figs. 1–2, 73, pl. 3, fig. 4; Perkins and Attolini 1992, 120–21, fig. 23; Lonsdale 1993, fig. 12a–b; Scheibler 1995, 28–29, fig. 22; Biers 1996, 182–83, 184, fig. 7.33; Boardman 1996, fig. 92, 106; Osborne 1996b, 230–31, fig. 54; Mommsen 1997, 23, 27, fig. 28; Blome 1999, 32–33; Noel 1999, 157, 158, pl. 2; Böhr 2000, 17, pl. 28.1–2; Noel 2000, 83, 85, pls. 3–4, 86; Boardman 2001, 61–62, fig. 79; Harris and Platzner 2001, 488, fig. 13–2; Isler-Kerényi 2001, 128–29, 157, figs. 67–68; Voelke 2001, 198, 465, fig. 18; Isler-Kerényi 2004a, 67, fig. 33, 68–69; Isler-Kerényi 2004b, 279–80, fig. 5; Loetscher 2004, 16, 17fig.; Steinhart 2004, 104–107, pl. 38.



43.2



44

44

RED-FIGURED CUP OF TYPE B

Attributed to the Ambrosios Painter,
ca. 510–500 B.C.

Diam (bowl) 27.7 cm

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8024,
Henry Lillie Pierce Fund

From Orvieto; purchased 1901; formerly
Alfred Bourguignon collection

I, *boy fishing*

A–B, *cavorting satyrs*

CONDITION: Assembled from fragments with lost areas restored in plaster, including the central portion of the cup foot's stem; overpainting at joins; losses at rim of bowl, lower part of boy's face and shoulder, and attachment of fishing line to pole; center of submerged basket restored.

A MOST UNUSUAL SUBJECT decorates the tondo within this red-figured cup: a lone boy fishing from a rocky outcropping beside the sea. Although he is often associated with depictions of workmen in rural settings, this nude boy wears a wreath around his head instead of a rustic workman's cap. Rather than lower-class labor, this charming genre scene may document a leisure-time activity of the upper classes, whose members attended symposia and drank from cups like this one. In black-figure tradition, the wine-filled bowl of a drinking cup had already been equated with the sea (cf. cat. no. 6; and Cohen, chap. 2, fig. 1).

The modifications of red-figure technique employed to portray this aquatic scene are as intriguing as its subject. The sea that fills the lower portion of the tondo is depicted as a reserved segment with a wavy upper edge. The water surface's upper border has been carefully

defined with a relief line and a black contour stripe. As if looking through the glass in a modern aquarium, the viewer is a privileged witness to the realm underwater. The slender boy, readying his net with one hand, has just gotten a bite on the line of his fishing rod. His catch and five other round-eyed fishes, who swim around warily, are drawn with relief lines in the reserved water. The large basketlike object that rests on the sea bottom has likewise been rendered with relief lines that suggest its translucent character. This object, which has generally been called a lobster trap, appears instead to be a device for keeping caught fish fresh while fishing (Gallant 1985).

Held up above the water, the boy's red-figure net is reserved against the black ground; yet its surface is likewise detailed by relief lines. A black relief line drawn directly upon the black ground for the boy's fishing line has required enhancement with a stroke of red. The painter has resorted to incision only to differentiate the upper contour of the boy's black hair from the black ground. The boy's body, which is reserved against the black, is compositionally balanced in the negative by an octopus painted in black silhouette against the lower part of the reserved rocky perch. The sea creature's tentacles, following the rock's curved surface at the left, bend illusionistically into pictorial space. Most descriptions of the octopus follow Emily Vermeule's assumption (1979) that it "is hiding under the rock . . . and circumvents" being trapped. However, as the underwater contraption is not a trap, and as this part of the rock does not appear to be under water, the unfortunate creature may already have been caught and would thus be

drying in the sun while the boy snags the rest of a seafood dinner.

This tondo's carefully observed genre scene, which has been neatly aligned with the cup's handles, is a rare treasure from the normally coarse hand of the Ambrosios Painter. This Late Archaic cup-painter, who, as on this cup's exterior, often represented satyrs, or komasts and other lusty Dionysiac imagery, was named after the *kalos* inscription on a cup in Orvieto. In antiquity, Orvieto was an important Etruscan center, and the Boston cup itself was found there. This provenance brings to mind that the most renowned Archaic depiction of fishing is Etruscan: the colorful wall-painting of ca. 520 B.C. from the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing at Tarquinia. The Ambrosios Painter's remarkable cup, therefore, also exemplifies the Athenian export ware with which Etruscan craftsmen would have been familiar in the latter part of the sixth century B.C.

REFERENCES: *ARV*² 173.9; *BAdd*² 184; *BAPD* Vase 201573; Hartwig 1893, 54–60, pl. 5; Picard 1930, pl. 6.2; Cloche 1931, 25, pl. 17.7; A. Klein 1932, 22, pl. 20f; Bonnard 1957, 10, pl. 20a; Wasowiczówna 1957, 189, no. 10, 195, pl. 6.1; *EAA* I (1958) s.v. Ambrosios, Pittore di, 316, 317, fig. 455 (E. Paribeni); Buchholz, Jöhrens, and Maull 1973, J 174 at n.662; Sakellarakis 1974, 385, fig. 25, 388; Beck 1975, 53, pl. 66.337; Boardman 1975, 62, fig. 119; E. Vermeule 1979, 180, fig. 1; Himmelmann 1980, 54, pl. 10; Gallant 1985, 14, 17, pl. 4; Cerchiai 1987, 122, fig. 16; Sweet 1987, 175, pl. 57; Bérard et al. 1989, 30, fig. 29; Buitron-Oliver 1991, frontispiece; Hurwit 1991, 50, fig. 19, 60n.80; Malagardis 1991, 114, 115, fig. 5a; Hölscher 1992, 211–13, pl. 43.1; Reinholdt 1994, 168, fig. 8, 169; Papadopoulos and Ruscillo 2002, 219; S. G. Miller 2004a, 166, 167, fig. 247.

See Hölscher 1992, pl. 44.1–2, for the Boston cup's exterior. For the Ambrosios Painter's name vase, Orvieto, Faina, 62, see *ARV*² 174.17; *BAPD* Vase 201580. See Cerchiai 1987 for the Boston cup in the context of the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing. On the setting of the tondo, see also Williams 1991d, 107–108.



45

RED-FIGURED CUP OF TYPE C

Attributed to Apollodoros, ca. 500 B.C.

H to rim 7.7 cm; restored Diam (bowl)

18.8 cm

Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 84.AE.38

New York art market; purchased 1984

I, city siege

CONDITION: Assembled from fragments, with missing sections, including one handle and part of foot, restored in plaster; extant handle broken off and reattached in antiquity; five drill holes for the ancient repair; fragments of tondo variously preserved, some with reddish discoloration; modern restoration of warrior and city wall at upper right; dilute gloss and added red flaked and faded; root marks and scratches on reserve of tondo.

THIS BLACK CUP'S PAINTED DECORATION is confined to the exceptionally large tondo, framed by a narrow reserved border, inside its bowl. Here two pairs of warriors respectively attack and defend a crenellated city wall. The city siege, common in the Ancient Near East, is rare in Greek art. Visualized primarily by means of outline drawing in relief line upon a reserved architectonic backdrop, this cup's remarkable battle scene seems to recall a lost mural, but it precedes the floruit of monumental painting, and the battle depicted cannot readily be identified. Settings are often minimized in Athenian vase-painting, yet this city wall looks like a stage set. Both its gate and component masonry have been omitted. Delimited at either end by the tondo's black ground, this wall is only three crenellations wide, and its low rise enables the left attacking warrior's spear to extend clear up to the battlement. At the same time, the wall's corners extend beyond the tondo's reserved perimeter—a sign that here space has been telescoped.

The exceptional use of outline drawing enhances this siege vignette's subtle spatial dimension. The armed attackers on the ground are larger than the partly preserved left defender atop the wall. The attackers' shields overlap those of the defenders, while both defenders' spears overlap the shield of the right attacker. This right attacker is about to hurl a stone; thus his body is twisted, with his upper torso in back view, his helmeted head turned up and around, and his rear leg overlapping his comrade. The Corinthian-helmeted left attacker, who is nude save for a folded chlamys belted at the waist, bears a shield drawn in three-quarter view and the above-mentioned long spear.

As the four shields are foreshortened at different angles, the receding black devices, which wrap illusionistically around their curved surfaces, appear to be three dotted circles, a bucranium, perhaps dotted circles again, and an octopus. The helmets of all three preserved warriors are worn down over their faces, an archaic motif that underscores this battle scene's anonym-

ity. Although these helmets have, heretofore, all been called Corinthian, only the one on the lower left displays the characteristic closed form with long pointed cheekpieces. The other two helmets, at lower right and upper left, have cut-off rounded cheekpieces and ear openings, features closer to the so-called Chalcidian helmet. The one well-preserved defender, depicted at the upper left with a scaled cuirass, overlaps the wall as he bends forward; his helmeted head and shield are, thereby, drawn in outline, while his back and raised spear arm are contrasted against the black ground in standard red-figure fashion. Patches of ground between him and the wall, which should have been black, have accidentally been left in reserve.

Here the relief line drawing of the figures has been enhanced with anatomical markings and shaded details in a dilute gloss that has fired a charcoal gray; a nearly colorless dilute has been employed for a detailed preliminary sketch. The black dot on the battlement at the upper left recalls the stray drips of gloss that often appear in vase-paintings, but its round form seems too regular to be accidental. An inscription, divided between left and right, *Kleome[los] kalos*, is written in red on the black ground, the only added red on the tondo. The *kalos* name associates this cup with Beazley's so-called Kleomelos Painter, who, along with the Epidromos and Elpinikos Painters, should probably be considered an early stage of the cup-painter named Apollodoros.

REFERENCES: *BAPD* Vase 16319; "Acquisitions/1984," *GettyMusJ* 13 (1985) 168, no. 18; Childs 1991; Hurwit 1991, 54, fig. 25, 56; Robertson 1992, 135, fig. 137; *CVA British Museum* 9 [Great Britain 17] 25; Erath 1997, 112–13, 295–96, cat. no. G 7, pl. 5.9; *JPGM Antiquities Handbook* 2002, 67.

On helmet forms, see Bottini et al. 1988, Corinthian: 65–106, esp. fig. 32 (H. Pflug), Chalcidian: 137–50, esp. fig. 2, type II (H. Pflug). For Beazley's Kleomelos Painter, see *ARV*² 118–19, 1598; *Para* 332; *BAdd*² 174–75; *BAPD* s.v. Kleomelos P; for the Epidromos Painter: *ARV*² 117–18, 1627; *BAdd*² 174; *BAPD* s.v. Epidromos P; for the Elpinikos Painter: *ARV*² 119, 1627; *Para* 332; *BAdd*² 175; *BAPD* s.v. Elpinikos P; for Apollodoros: *ARV*² 119–21; *Para* 332–33; *BAdd*² 175; *BAPD* s.v. Apollodoros. For the potting of cups associated with Apollodoros, see Bloesch 1940, 127–28. On the setting, see Williams 1991d, 107–108.



46

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RED-FIGURED CUP OF TYPE B

Attributed to Onesimos, ca. 500–490 B.C.

Diam (bowl) 23.5 cm

Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.607

European art market; purchased 1986

*I, satyr advancing upon a sleeping female figure
(maenad or hetaira)*

A–B, each side, cavorting satyr

CONDITION: Assembled from fragments with missing parts restored in plaster, including cup's foot, A/B handle, parts of rim, sections of tondo's reserved double border; drill hole for ancient repair on side A; black gloss cracked on beard of satyr in tondo and flaked on B/A handle; satyr's right foot and top of rock on tondo, and upper body of the satyr on B missing.

THE TOPSY-TURVY COMPOSITION of this large tondo is oriented to be read perfectly with the wine cup's handles aligned horizontally. At the bottom, a blonde young woman sleeps peacefully on a striped mattress placed on the ground beneath a rocky ledge; she is unaware of the ugly, snub-nosed satyr stealthily crawling down the

rock, about to plant a kiss upon her lips. An early work by Onesimos, a first-rate cup-painter whose career began in the workshop of Euphronios (cat. nos. 10, 29, 30), this erotic design is a clever variation on the popular vase-painting theme of satyrs attacking unsuspecting maenads. The occasional inclusion of a couch cushion in these outdoor encounters and the omission of a *thyrsos*, the Dionysiac attribute maenads often wield against lusty satyrs, has suggested that the desirable females shown in ambiguous scenes like this one might rather be hetairai transplanted from the realm of the symposium.

Onesimos's unconventional massing of the crucial reserved forms toward the right in this composition favors a reliance upon outline and shading, while the standard red-figure contrast with the black ground found on the cup's exterior, for satyrs cavorting on short groundlines, is employed only for the wineskin on the left side of the tondo. Black relief lines on reserve describe major contours here, such as the satyr's limbs outlined on the rock or his bestial profile outlined on the female figure's arm. The female's own profile is similarly outlined, and her body, clad in a translucent linen chiton, with a cascade of folds, serves as a foil for the rock. The composition's outlined forms are fleshed out by the masterful application

of dilute, which is brushed on in a streaky wash for the curving surface of the rock, the curly locks of the maenad and her pubic hair, or in fine lines for inner anatomical markings and delicate folds in the linen cloth.

In mature red-figure fashion, here the use of added-red color has been limited to the wreath in the satyr's black hair, his anklet, and an inscription, declaring "the girl is beautiful" (*hemais kale*), on the black ground at the left. The word *kalos* written in black letters on the reserved wineskin underscores the tondo's emphasis on outline. Finally, minor mishaps—a smudge of black gloss on the wineskin and a stray dab near the top of the rock—betray this momentary scene's rapid execution.

REFERENCES: "Acquisitions/1986," *GettyMusJ* 15 (1987), 162, no. 11 (mispoised); Williams 1991c, 41, 43, figs. 2a–b; Dierichs 1993, 37, fig. 47 (mispoised); JFGM *Handbook* 2001, 48; JFGM *Antiquities Handbook* 2002, 68.

For Onesimos, see ARV² 318–30, 1645–46, 1701, 1706; *Para* 358–61; *BAdd*² 214–17; *BAPD* s.v. Onesimos; Williams 1991a, 291, 295; Williams 1991b; Williams 1991c, with references 61–62, n. 5; Robertson 1992, 44–51, 55–56; *CVA British Museum* 9 [Great Britain 17] 15, with references (D. Williams); Moore 1997, 97–98; Williams 1999, 76–77. On associations between maenads and hetairai, see Neils 2000, with 203n.5 for the Malibu cup. For the satyrs on this cup's exterior, see Østergaard 1991, 11, fig. 5; Williams 1991c, 43, fig. 2b.



47

RED-FIGURED CUP OF TYPE B

Attributed to the Brygos Painter, ca.
490–485 B.C.

H (to top of handles) 13.3–13.7 cm;

Diam (bowl) 32 cm

Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen
zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz F 2293
From Vulci, found in 1833 at Camposcala by
Campanari (findspot also recorded as “Ponte
dell’Abbadia”); purchased through Bunsen

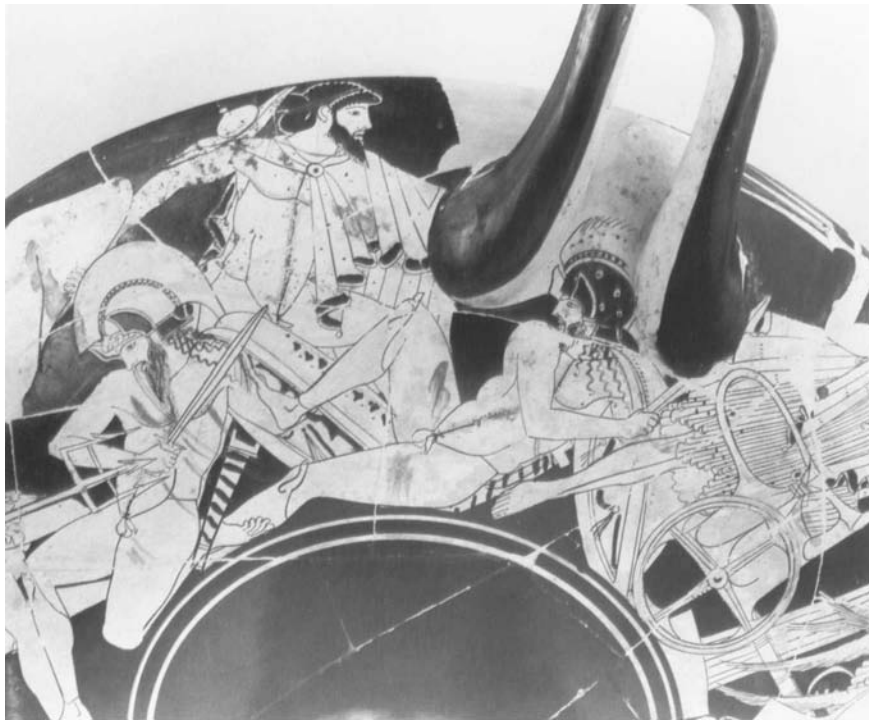
I, *Selene in her chariot*

A–B, *Gigantomachy*

CONDITION: Good; assembled from fragments;
small losses filled in with plaster and toned, some
in-painting; crack across tondo’s center through
horses’ heads and upper wings of left horse; part of
right horse’s front wing covert lost; crack through
its leg; grayish misfired spots toward upper right
of bowl’s interior; on exterior, esp. side A, blotches
of dark brownish-orange discoloration on reserved
forms; misfired iridescent stacking circle visible,
esp. beneath bodies of chariot horses on A extend-
ing through Hephaistos’s left greaved calf on B;
on A, patches of greenish misfiring near Herakles

and Athena; surface worn and abraded on column,
Herakles’ raised right arm, and his lion skin; on B,
part of standing giant’s round shield missing; brown
incrustation on Hermes; traces of root marks on
black ground; reserved resting surface of cup’s foot
abraded.

ON THE BERLIN CUP’S EXTERIOR, the
gods defeat the giants in a masterfully drawn,
spatially complex and powerful panorama that
epitomizes the work of the superb Late Archaic
cup-painter known as the Brygos Painter after the
potter-signature found on a few of his works. In a
composition entirely encircling the cup’s elegant
spreading bowl, most of side A is filled by Zeus’s
speeding quadriga. Having alighted the vehicle at
the gate of Olympos, indicated by a fluted Doric
column with spreading capital, the king of the
gods wields a flame-spewing thunderbolt, which
partially overlaps his blond-bearded face. His
mortal son Herakles, who lends a necessary hand
in the gods’ battle against the Earth Ge’s sons, can
be made out on the far side of the chariot’s horses.
Drawing an unseen bow, with his arm overlapping
his face, the hero is distinctively outfitted with his
characteristic lion skin and short chiton worn over
an exotic long-sleeved and trousered garment,



47.2

like those worn by Scythian archers. At the head of the horses, Zeus's daughter, Athena, advancing with her aegis covering her extended arm like a shield, mortally wounds the giant Enkelados with her spear (fig. 47.1, far left; cf. cat. no. 41).

Enkelados has fallen under the cup's A/B handle: In fact, three of the cup's four giants have already fallen and are bleeding profusely from their wounds. The only giant still standing, at the left on side B (fig. 47.1), turns in mid-flight, attempting to ward off Hephaistos, who rushes leftward with a red-hot metal ingot in his pincers, while two other flaming ingots already fly through the air toward the giant. His round shield emblazoned with a black serpent, which has compass-drawn incised borders, contrasts with the foreshortened round shields that prop up the fallen giants. At the center of side B, the battle's direction shifts toward the right. Poseidon, wielding his long trident, deploys the entire island of Nisyros, while a fox painted in dilute-gloss silhouette runs across the island's shaded surface. Finally, at the far right, the bearded messenger god, Hermes, nude save for a chlamys and a petasos hanging at his back, advances toward an unseen opponent; he is partly obscured by the cup's B/A handle (fig. 47.2). On his torso, as on those of the fallen giants, dark brown dilute gloss describes body hair.

The giant in the B/A handle zone leverages his

foot against the shield arm of a fallen comrade. The fallen warriors beneath the cup's handles, passing from life into death, embody the liminality of those subsidiary spaces. The Brygos Painter characteristically puts to clever use the spaces beneath the handles. This cup's black ground gives way to the standard plain reserved patches between the handle-roots, which here extend up to the lip. At the A/B handle, the tail of Enkelados's helmet crest flicks up onto the reserve, and its end is thus transformed from red-figure into outline drawing (fig. 47.1, far left). At the B/A handle, the top of the fallen giant's helmet extends up onto the reserved patch (fig. 47.2). While his black casque cleverly contrasts with the reserved ground, its flipped-up reserved cheekpiece and reserved horsehair crest have likewise been transformed into outline drawing.

In the Brygos Painter's daring composition on the cup's tondo, the moon goddess, Selene, descends into the sea, her chariot drawn by two winged horses toward the viewer (fig. 47.3). The moon's descent places the gods' victory in the Gigantomachy at the dawn of a new day. A similar cosmological framework recurs in the iconographic program of the Parthenon. This is the earliest preserved Greek depiction of Selene in her chariot, and the tondo's black ground, limited to its upper segment, is transformed into the night sky. Stars twinkle on both sides of Selene's *sakkos*-covered head. Their tiny reserved elements are edged by black contour stripes and relief lines. The shaded moon disk, floating directly above Selene's profile head, overlaps the tondo's ornamental border. It is intersected by the black lines forming the inner contours of the tondo and its meander border, which were laid down before the vase-painting. On the left side the disk's relief-line contour was drawn well outside of an incised compass-drawn sketch.

Most of the Selene composition consists of intricately overlapped reserved forms described by outline drawing with relief line. The goddess's arms and hands, holding a goad and the horses' red reins, overlap her chest. The chariot's horses overlap its car, which is decorated with spirals. The horses' heads, one in profile, the other frontal, overlap, as does one leg of each animal. Their spread wings extend beyond the tondo's circumference. The sea's wavy surface is indicated by arcs drawn with black relief lines that overlap



47.3

the descending horses along the lower edge of the tondo. As in earlier Archaic red-figure (cf. cat. no. 44) the reserved water itself is transparent.

REFERENCES: *ARV*² 370.10; *Para* 365, 367; *BAdd*² 224; *BAPD* Vase 203909; *CVA* Berlin 2 [Germany 21] 22–23, pls. 67, 68, 70.3, 71.8; *CVA* Berlin 3 [Germany 22] pls. 126.1, 126.3, 134.7; Gerhard 1843, 14–16, 20–22, pls. 8.top, 10–11; Lenormant and de Witte 1857, 388–89, pl. 117; Furtwängler 1885, II, 589–93; Swindler 1929, xxx, 168, fig. 289; FR III, 257–28, pl. 160 (R. Zahn); Neugebauer 1932, 89, pl. 50; Bloesch 1940, 82, no. 8, 83, pl. 22.3a, facing page fig. 3b; Diepolder 1947, 36–37, figs. 23–24; Schnitzler 1948, 46–47, 67, no. 59, pl. 43; Vian 1951, 73, no. 334, pl. 35; Greifenhagen 1966, 50, pls. 68.bottom–70; Boardman 1967, 135, 136, fig. 82; Cambitoglou 1968, 23–26, 34, 36, 37, pl. 10.1; Gehrig, Greifenhagen, and Kunisch 1968, 139, pls. 73.top, 76.right; Greifenhagen 1968, 9, 25, 29, 31, 33nn.32, 35, 34n.45, figs. 3–4, 32, 35, 45; Simon 1969, 89, fig. 86; Richter [1970a] 25–26, fig. 106; Charbonneaux, Martin, and Villard 1971, 348, fig. 399, 349, 413, no. 399; Maffre 1972, 225–32, 227, figs. 3–4; Henle 1973, 47–48, fig. 28; Wegner 1973, 7–8, 77–81, 190, 192, 195, pl. 21; Lacroix 1974, 98–99, 145, pl. 26; Brommer 1978, 19, 32, 150, 207, pl. 14.2;

Schefold 1981, 93–95, 94, figs. 121–22; *LIMC* II (1984) s.v. Astra, B. Selene 912, no. 39, pl. 675 (S. Karusu), and s.v. Athena 990, no. 387, pl. 748 (P. Demargne); Seki 1985, 11, 14, 15, figs. 1–2, 46, no. 179, 107–109, 123, 135, pls. 18.1–3, 53.6; Seki 1987, 332n.13, 334, pl. 57; Brandt 1988, 31–32, 35, pl. 9; Heilmeyer 1988, 122.2, 123, no. 2; *LIMC* IV (1988) s.v. Gigantes 228, no. 303, pl. 139 (F. Vian with M. B. Moore), and s.v. Hephaistos 647, no. 207, pl. 403 (A. Hermay and A. Jacquemin); Francis 1990, 40–41, fig. 15–17; Kunze et al. 1992, 273–75, no. 148; Robertson 1992, 96, 154, fig. 159; Brinkmann 1994, 59; Cohen 1994, 703, 704, fig. 14; Dobrowolski 1994, 180, pl. 5, fig. 13; Geroulanos and Bridler 1994, 50, fig. 44; *LIMC* VII (1994) s.v. Poseidon 465, no. 181 (E. Simon), and s.v. Selene, Luna 710, no. 47 (F. Gury); Barbanera 1995, 51, fig. 26; Fehr 1996, 788, 789, fig. 4; Tiverios 1996, 149, fig. 125, 151, fig. 127, 304; Knittlmayer and Heilmeyer 1998, 66–68, no. 31 (L. Giuliani); Ehrhardt 2004, 23, 24, fig. 17, 29.

For the Brygos Painter, see *ARV*² 368–85, 1649, 1701; *Para* 365–68; *BAdd*² 224–29; *BAPD* s.v. Brygos P; see also Cohen, chap. 4, fig. 2 and, for this painter's use of outline drawing on white ground, cat. no. 60 and Mertens, chap. 6, fig. 4. For side A, see *CVA* Berlin 2 [Germany 21] pl. 67.1. Adolf Furtwängler (1885) was the first correctly to identify the picture on the tondo as Selene's descent. Karl Schefold (e.g., 1981) believed that the tondo represents Night (Nyx).



48

RED-FIGURED PYXIS OF TYPE A AND LID WITH KNOB IN THE FORM OF AN EXALEIPTRON

Attributed to a follower of Douris, ca. 475–470 B.C.

H (with lid) 17.75 cm

London, The British Museum

GR 1873.1-11.7, *BM Cat Vases* E 773

From Athens; purchased 1873

Women at home: Cassandra, Iphigeneia, Danae, Helen, and Klytaimestra

CONDITION: About half of body intact, rest reassembled from fragments; small losses filled in with plaster and toned, esp. part of doorway, areas around Danae, part of left leg of her chest (restored), area above Klytaimestra's head; chips and gashes in surface on lower flaring edge of pyxis wall to left of doorway, on door at lower left of Iphigeneia's head, in skirt of Danae's chiton, near Helen's knees; erosion of black gloss above Danae; losses of added white for inscriptions, Danae's hair ribbons, Helen's wool; edge of foot's resting surface abraded; traces of root marks on surface; black gloss eroded around edge of lid, knob mended, and tip chipped.

A CLAY CONTAINER often used to hold cosmetics or jewelry, the Attic pyxis is frequently decorated with wedding imagery (cf. cat. no. 32) or depictions of women's daily lives. This pyxis's intimate view of the gynaeceum, replete with a bevy of beautiful potential brides, is elevated above the everyday by inscribed name tags that identify most of these females as Argive heroines. The rather ominous female iconography is underscored by deviations from ordinary red-figure.

Architectural features indicate the boundaries of the women's quarters. A lone Doric column with a spreading capital denotes the house's porch. A woman wearing a himation over her chiton and shoes has just arrived. She extends a basket filled with white objects, perhaps fruit, to the barefoot woman standing before the house's door, who holds a corner of her chiton before her face in a bridal gesture. The name Cassandra, the ill-fated daughter of King Priam of Troy, which

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is written in white up above, probably belongs to her. Ultimately taken to Mycenae by Agamemnon as a concubine, Cassandra was killed by his adulterous and murderous wife, Klytaimestra.

The house's double doorway, with the left half closed and the right open, marks the transition between exterior and interior space. Shown in front view and drawn in outline on reserved ground, this doorway is given special technical emphasis. Details added in relief with a pale yellowish clay enhance the closed door: rows of bosses across the top, bottom, and center of the doorframe as well as a keyhole in the upper panel and a round knocker below. Traces of red, which might be from a base coat for or discoloration from now-lost gilding, are preserved around the bosses' edges. The hinges or metal fittings of the open door as well as the bottoms of the triglyphs from the house's entablature above are painted in black silhouette on reserved ground. The young woman tying a fillet around her head—a dressing motif often associated with a bride—who stands, partly visible, in the liminal space of the half-open doorway, is drawn in outline with relief lines on the reserved ground. She wears a chiton, not topped by a himation, which hangs vertically in exceptionally straight architectonic folds. The outline of one ample breast is shown through the cloth. This young woman's fillet is red, and the name above her head is written in red letters. She is Iphigeneia (ΙΦΙΓΕΝΕΙΑ), the daughter of Agamemnon and Klytaimestra whose sacrifice was demanded by Artemis. On this pyxis, added red and added clay are employed only in the reserved realm of the doorway; analogous details in the standard red-figure portions of the figural frieze are white or simply reserved.

Beyond the doorway, the interior of the women's quarters is described in standard red-figure. Here Danae, who was raped by Zeus in the form of a shower of gold and then set adrift in a chest with their son, Perseus, examines a necklace from a carefully delineated open jewelry chest. Helen, Menelaos's wife, whose abduction by Paris led to the Trojan War, is seated beside her wool basket facing her sister Klytaimestra, who holds out an alabastron. The mirror, hanging on the wall between these two less-than-ideal wives, is ren-

dered in red-figure rather than the gilded relief common for mirrors elsewhere in red-figure vase-painting (cf. cat. nos. 34, 36).

The plastic knob on the vessel's lid is encircled by dotted black tongues and red-figure circumscribed palmettes that recall the work of Douris (cf. cat. no. 83). It assumes the form of an exaleiptron (cf. cat. no. 20), an unguent vessel associated with women in depictions of weddings and funerals. Given its unusual iconography, this pyxis, rather than being a wedding gift for a new bride, may have been purchased for the grave of a young woman who suffered an untimely death.

REFERENCES: *ARV*² 805.89, 1670; *Para* 420; *BAdd*² 291; *BAPD* Vase 209970; Heydemann 1877, 170; C. H. Smith 1892–1893, 115; C. H. Smith 1896, 365–66; *FR* I, 287–88, 291, pl. 57.1; Hoppin 1919, II, 176, no. 3; CB II, 79; Richter 1966, 75, fig. 395; Roberts 1978, 95–96, no. 2, 186–87, pls. 62, 103.1 and fig. 10d; Brümmer 1985, 34n.186, 35, fig. 5c; *LIMC* IV (1988) s.v. Helene 554, no. 380, pl. 358 (L. Kahil and N. Icard); *LIMC* V (1990) s.v. Iphigeneia 716, no. 32, pl. 472 (L. Kahil); Lissarrague 1992, 195–96, fig. 35; Lissarrague 1995b, 97, 98, figs. 9–12; G. Hoffmann 1996, 263, fig. 100; Lyons 1997, 41, fig. 3; Sabetai 1997, 329, fig. 12; Ferrari 2002, 7, 18, fig. 2.

The door's clay relief elements were described as gilded by Karl Reichhold in 1904 (*FR* I, 291), but not by Cecil H. Smith in 1896. On the palmette ornament of the lid, see Dinsmoor 1946, 105, fig. 12.2, 110. For the venerable Greek tradition of knobs in the form of vases, cf. Muskalla 2002.



RED-FIGURED PELIKE WITH WHITE OUTLINE DRAWING AND SUPERPOSED COLORS

Related to the Kensington Class and the
Workshop of the Niobid Painter, ca. 460 B.C.
H 44 cm
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 63.2663,
Arthur Tracy Cabot Fund
European art market; purchased 1963

A, Andromeda between two Black servants or slaves
B, Kepheus and a Black servant or slave

CONDITION: Reassembled from a few large fragments; small segment of lip on side B restored; black gloss on lip, handles, and foot chipped; scratches and root marks on surface; chip in surface on Andromeda's breast; white, pinkish cream, and pale red added colors chipped, faded, and lost.

IN THE RED-FIGURE TECHNIQUE Black people are normally shown unnaturalistically with their flesh reserved in the orange color of the clay. This pelike's unidentified painter, however, has made a unique departure from the red-figure norm in order to represent Black slaves (or servants) with black flesh. Their bodies have been drawn in outline with white paint on the pelike's black ground, which thereby provides the black color for the slaves' flesh.

The Black slaves on side A are shown preparing the Ethiopian princess Andromeda for her exposure to a sea monster sent by Poseidon on account of her mother, Kassiopeia's, hubristic boasts about her own beauty. Here, according to the hierarchy of class in Greek art, Andromeda, who must also have been dark-skinned, is rendered with standard red-figure reserved flesh. Her foreign race and ethnicity are suggested solely by her exotic dress of the type usually worn by Amazons and Persians in Classical Greek art—a soft cap and a short tunic worn over a long-sleeved and trousered garment patterned with zigzags. The princess stands frontally with her right wrist already bound to a stake and her left arm held by the shorter Black slave at the right. Another slave,

at the left, brings up a folding stool with hoof-shaped feet, topped by a cushion and a chest—all of which is carefully balanced on his head. These objects are rendered in red-figure; interestingly, the hands of the Black slave have been painted in black gloss on the stool's reserved legs. Standard red-figure reserve has been avoided entirely in the depiction of the slaves themselves. Their short, curly hair and remarkable costumes—calf-length fringed tunics—have been painted onto the black surface of the vase in an unusual pinkish cream color. This Classical pot's reliance on superposed color recalls Six's technique.

The Andromeda composition continues on the pelike's back. At the left, another Black slave supports a red-figure chest on his head with one hand and holds a reserved alabastron suspended from painted thongs in the other. The precious objects carried by the slaves must form a funereal wedding dowry for Andromeda's presumed afterlife as a bride of Hades. The flesh of the Black slave on B, like that of the slaves on A, was once outlined in white, but here the white has mostly flaked and faded, leaving a dark black line on the pot's ground where this added white once protected the thinly applied black gloss, which elsewhere has misfired slightly orange. This misfiring has also increased the visibility of the impressed preliminary sketch lines employed for this figure. The slave on side B wears a short kilt painted upon the black ground in pale red; it is striped and fringed in pinkish cream. White lines also delineate curls in his short, pinkish-cream hair. All three slaves are drawn with Negroid facial features: snub noses, thick lips, and rounded cheeks.

At the right on side B, Andromeda's father, Kepheus, is shown leaving the scene. His feet point to the right, but he turns back to the left in order to give final instructions to the chest-bearing slave and, presumably, to take a final look at his daughter. His vertical scepter at the center of the composition on side B balances Andromeda's stake on side A. The old, white-haired Kepheus has a snub nose and thick lips that suggest his foreign race, but like his noble daughter, the Ethiopian king is rendered with standard red-figure reserved flesh.



49.2

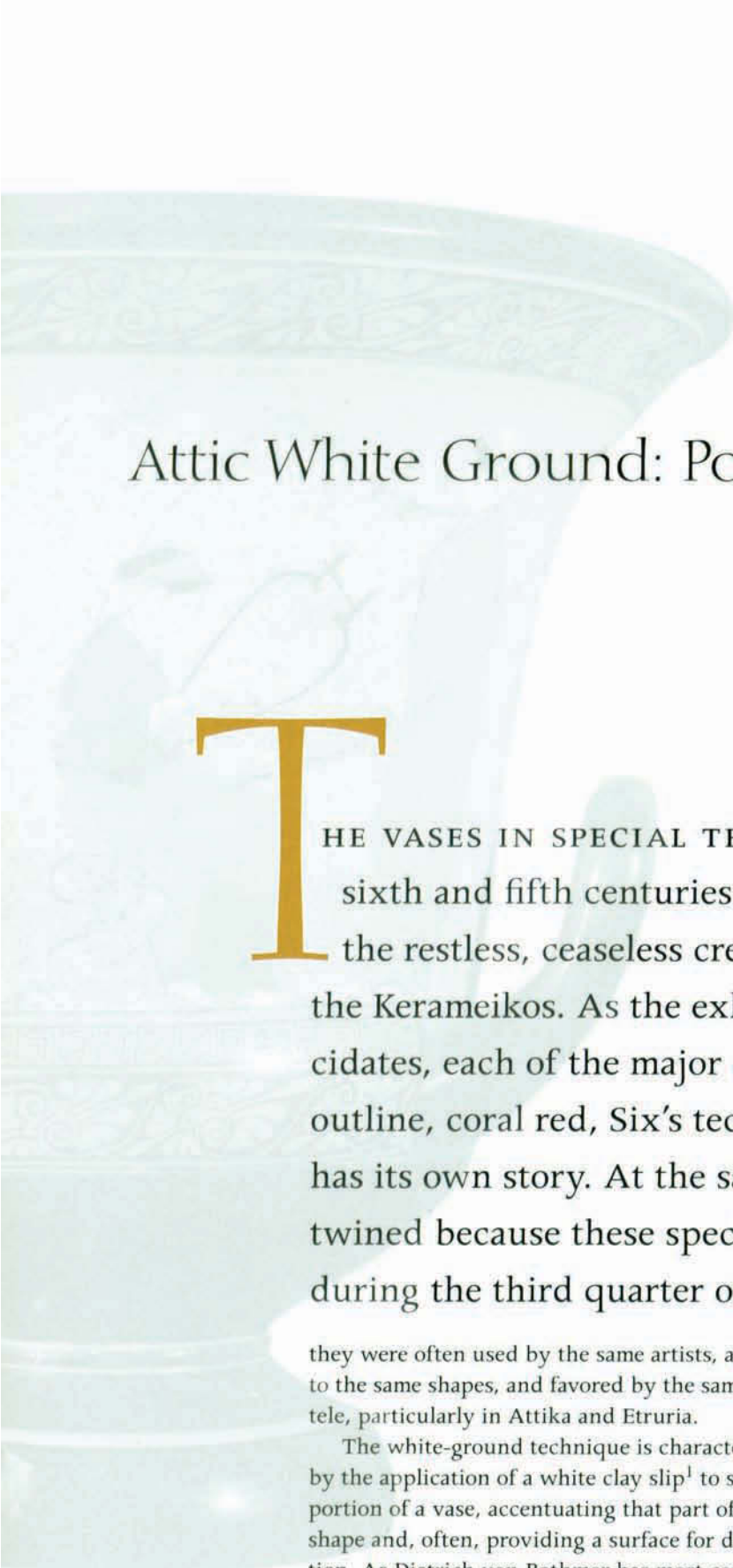
This famous story had a happy ending: The exposed Andromeda was rescued by the hero Perseus, who happened to fly by after killing the Gorgon Medusa (cf. cat. nos. 7, 56). In a lost play by Sophokles, which may have inspired this vase-painting, Andromeda was evidently likewise exposed tied to stakes, rather than chained to rocks as in the later fifth-century play by Euripides. Finally, the Boston pelike's colorful and unconventional rendition of Black slaves suggests that a lost free painting of the Early Classical period may have been another source beyond the realm of vase-painting for this friezelike Andromeda composition.

REFERENCES: *Para* 448; *BAdd*² 325; *BAPD* Vase 41895; Hoffmann 1963; Schauenburg 1967, 1–7, figs. 1–2; Phillips 1968, 7, pl. 7, fig. 13; Snowden 1970, 158, 231, fig. 90; Trendall and Webster 1971, 5, 63–65, 64, fig. III.2.2; Snowden 1976, 154–55, figs. 175–75; *LIMC* I (1981) s.v. Aithiopes 416, no. 19 (F. M. Snowden, Jr.), and s.v. Andromeda I 776, no. 2, pl. 622 (K. Schauenburg); Snowden 1983, 14, 95, 144n.172, figs. 17, 59; Bérard 1985–1986, 16–17, 16, figs. 10, 11; Boardman 1989, 63, fig. 169; Stucchi 1990, 67–69, 68, fig. 4, 74; Bérard 2000, 402, 405, 403, fig. 15.9, 404, fig. 15.10; Small 2003, 40, 41, fig. 20.

For black gloss used in the differentiation of race and ethnicity, cf. cat. no. 79. On the Boston pelike's association with Six's technique, see Cohen, chap. 3.

White Ground





Attic White Ground: Potter and Painter

Joan R. Mertens

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THE VASES IN SPECIAL TECHNIQUES PRODUCED during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. in Athens are manifestations of the restless, ceaseless creativity among potters and painters of the Kerameikos. As the exhibition shows and the catalogue elucidates, each of the major categories—white ground, bilingual, outline, coral red, Six’s technique, plastic shapes and adjuncts—has its own story. At the same time, all of their stories are intertwined because these special effects began to emerge in Athens during the third quarter of the sixth century B.C. Moreover,

they were often used by the same artists, applied to the same shapes, and favored by the same clientele, particularly in Attika and Etruria.

The white-ground technique is characterized by the application of a white clay slip¹ to some portion of a vase, accentuating that part of the shape and, often, providing a surface for decoration. As Dietrich von Bothmer has most convincingly maintained,² it was the potter who not only fashioned the vase but also allocated the ornament and decoration, executed the ornament in many

cases, and, where needed, applied a specially prepared surface. White ground receives the largest representation in the exhibition. The reason is twofold: Its duration was the longest—from the second quarter of the sixth century through the end of the fifth—and its application was the most varied.³ A commonplace of vase studies is that the period of ca. 540–500 B.C. was a time of exceptional artistic ferment and creativity.⁴ The potential for the black-figure technique had been exhausted, as Exekias, the potter and painter, had

pushed its possibilities to the limit. The Amasis Painter's use of outline⁵ had prepared the way for a drawing style to replace black silhouettes articulated with incision and added color. The cup by the potter Epitimos (cat. no. 41) illustrates the predilection for outline heads on the exterior of lip-cups.⁶ The innovation of red-figure, in which the figurework was left in reserve against a black background, is thought to have emerged in the workshop of the potter Andokides⁷ sometime around 530 B.C. (cat. no. 51).

The other techniques featured in the exhibition appeared at roughly the same time. Based on the objects preserved, the first occurrence of coral red is associated with Exekias;⁸ of white ground and of relief or plastic embellishments,⁹ with Andokides (cat. no. 27), Nikosthenes (cat. no. 70), and Psiax (True, chap. 7. fig. 1); of Six's technique¹⁰ with Psiax (fig. 1) and Nikosthenes (cat. no. 15). Inscriptions allow for the possibility that all of these artists were potters.¹¹ Exekias and Psiax are known to have been painters also. For Andokides and Nikosthenes we lack the evidence. The introduction of the new techniques provided the opportunity of changing the appearance of a vase's surface for the first time since the Geometric period. While the Black-and-White style of Protoattic pottery¹² used a light slip, a clay-colored ground predominated on the great majority of Attic vases from the eighth to the mid-sixth century. By the 520s B.C. the available surfaces consisted of black gloss (cat. no. 15 and fig. 1), coral red (cat. no. 7), white (cat. no. 50), and reserve (cat. no. 53), either singly or in combination. Moreover, each entailed a different manner of decoration.

The ramifications for the vase shapes and their embellishment were far-reaching. Discussion of Greek, especially Attic, vases rarely emphasizes their three-dimensionality and the interrelation of the volumes of which they consist. But vases are fully as complex as works of sculpture and architecture. The earliest preserved incidence of white ground occurs on a fragmentary kantharos datable ca. 570 B.C., signed by the potter-painter Nearchos and found on the Athenian Akropolis.¹³ A band of slip circles the lip and underlies alternating black and red tongues. Nearchos was



Figure 1. Youth; inscriptions; rearing horse. White-ground and Six's-technique alabastron, attributed to Psiax, ca. 520–515 B.C. London, The British Museum GR 1900.6-11.1.

an inspired colorist. On his aryballos in New York¹⁴ (fig. 2), the body is enfolded by crescents in four colors: reserve, black gloss, added red over gloss, and added white over gloss; the whirligig on the bottom swirls in the opposite direction, with crescents in black and added red and white over black. Nearchos has been associated also with three fragmentary skyphoi of fine quality discovered in the Sanctuary of the Nymphs in Athens and similarly decorated with polychrome crescents.¹⁵

Nearchos introduced color as much to articulate the shape as the figural representations. This dual role of color, often appearing on the same object, is a significant feature throughout the history of Attic vase-painting. The innovative use of color in relation to shape seems to occur at times when new types of vases were being introduced

Figure 2. Battle of pygmies and cranes; Hermes. Black-figured aryballos signed by Nearchos as potter, ca. 570 B.C. H 7.8 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, The Cesnola Collection, by exchange, 1926, 26.49. Photograph © 1986 The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Photographer: Schecter Lee.



or existing ones reinterpreted. Thus, after white ground appeared during the second quarter of the sixth century, it seems to have lost favor for about a generation. When it became established in the Kerameikos, probably through the particular

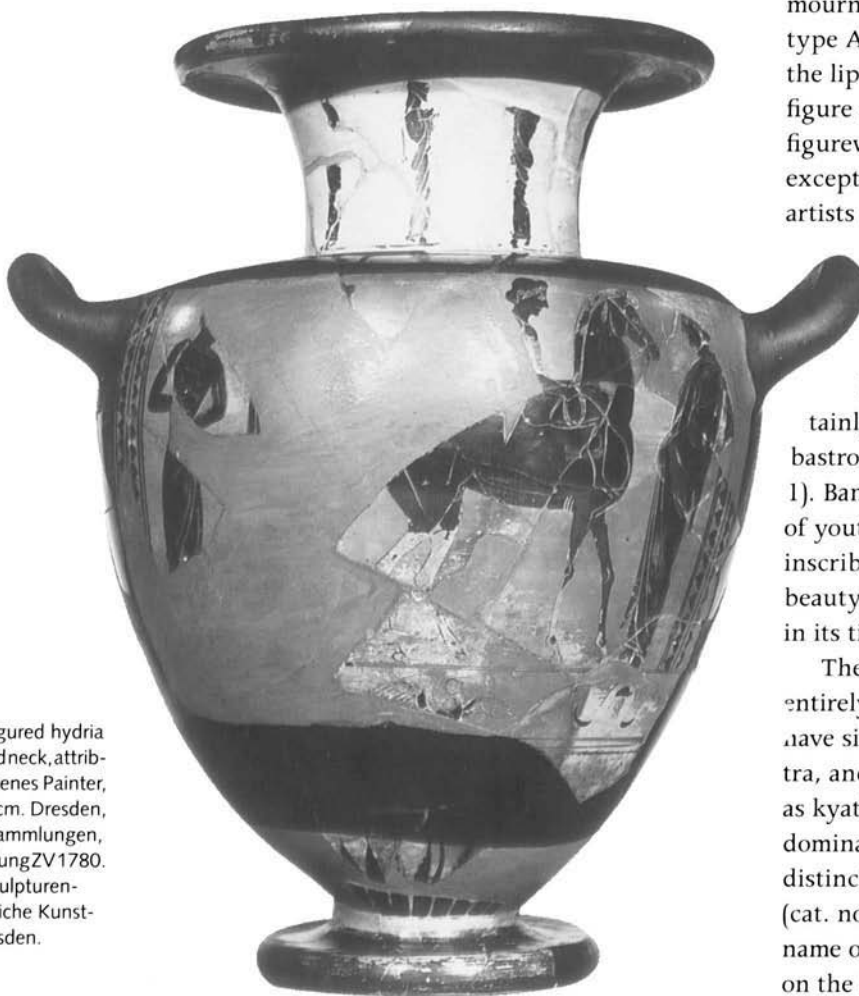
agency of Andokides, Nikosthenes, and Psiax, it was used in two major ways. Until about 490/480 B.C., it was either applied to specific parts of a vase, or it covered the entire surface available for pictorial decoration.

The first, selective, approach is informative because it shows us the artist singling out part of a vase for special treatment. We see the potter highlighting one of the volumes of a shape—occasionally several—before it was embellished further by the painter; initially, the decoration was in black-figure. Certain shapes—hydriai, neck-amphorae, kylikes—seem to have been favored. The hydria Louvre CA 4716, attributed to the Leagros Group (cat. no. 53), provides a dramatic example, with the mouth and neck slipped and ornamented with palmettes, birds, and apparently meaningless inscriptions. A pair of hydriai by the Antimenes Painter, in Dresden,¹⁶ have slip and mourners on the neck (fig. 3). On the amphora type A in New York signed by Andokides,¹⁷ only the lip is white ground. On kylikes with black-figure decoration, slip usually underlies the figurework on the exterior. By contrast, though exceptions occur, cups decorated by red-figure artists are generally slipped on the interior.¹⁸

Moreover, some exceptional cups attributed to Onesimos, the Colmar Painter, and the Brygos Painter show plain zones of slip on the interior (fig. 4).¹⁹ These are but a few examples of many variations. Certainly one the most original appears on the alabastron by Psiax in the British Museum (see fig. 1). Bands of ornament on white slip frame a scene of youths and horses in Six's technique. The three inscribed names, two of them praised for their beauty, suggest that the piece was already special in its time.

The Late Archaic vases whose shape is almost entirely covered with slip and decorated tend to have simpler profiles. Oinochoai, lekythoi, alabastra, and containers with a deep open bowl such as kyathoi, kalathoi, mastoi, and skyphoi predominate. Exceptional for its quality and artistic distinctness is a small hydria in the Petit Palais (cat. no. 71). Though unattributed, it bears the name of Karystios, one of the youths celebrated on the Psiax alabastron in London (see fig. 1). In

Figure 3. Black-figured hydria with white-ground neck, attributed to the Antimenes Painter, ca. 520 B.C. H 42 cm. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung ZV1780. Photograph © Skulpturensammlung, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden.





addition to slip, the hydria is embellished with a plastic lion's head and palmette at the top and bottom of the vertical handle. Every aspect of the execution, including the painted decoration, is exquisitely precise. Plastic adjuncts were favored by both Psiax and Nikosthenes.²⁰ To cite only some slipped vases, they appear on the kyathos in Würzburg by Psiax²¹ and on a variety of oinochoai more and less closely connected with Nikosthenes;²² a pair in Paris²³ show a salient protome of a man and a woman, respectively, below the trefoil lip. Psiax has also left a very different kind of work in which the potter's role is evident. Among the plates ascribed to him, the example in Basel (cat. no. 52) is entirely slipped on the obverse and on the rim of the reverse. The resting surface is articulated with beautifully executed concentric rills.

The preserved white-ground vases of the late sixth and early fifth centuries decorated by black-figure and early red-figure artists include many—lekythoi especially—that offer no clues as to why slip was used. Nonetheless, the small selection of pieces mentioned above illustrates a significant aspect of the early development of white ground. It was a potter's innovation, more closely tied, initially, to the shape than to the

decoration of a vase. In this respect it resembled coral red. Until the Pioneer Group of red-figure

painters demonstrated the potential of the new means of drawing, the direction of vase-painting between ca. 520 and 500 B.C. was probably unclear to many artists in the Kerameikos. Black-figure flourished through the end of the sixth century and beyond for specific shapes and functions. White ground became significant for the decorative aspects of Attic vase-painting and the painter's art only after red-figure had become established.

From about 470 to 400 B.C., white ground never challenged the primacy of red-figure, but it flourished in its own right due to the convergence of several factors. The combination of outline drawing—established by red-figure—and a white rather than orange clay surface helped to link vase-painting with wall-painting, a significant medium after the Persian Wars. While this is too large a subject for discussion here,²⁴ one point bears making. Rather than attribute the popularity of white-ground vases in the fifth century to wall-painting, it is more accurate—and more interesting—to posit that the evolution of both media from the sixth to the fifth century brought them closer together. During the Classical period,

Figure 4. Maenad. White-ground interior of a cup, attributed to the Brygos Painter, ca. 490 B.C. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2645.

white ground flourished on three main shapes: lekythoi (cat. nos. 33, 59, 62–66, 68–69), cups (cat. nos. 31, 90–95), and kraters (cat. no. 67). It was used elsewhere as well, but more rarely.

The major change from the previous Late Archaic phase is that, though still applied by the potter, slip now serves the pictorial and coloristic ambitions of the painter. And here begins the demise of Attic vase-painting. In black-figure and early red-figure, reality in space belonged to the shape; the decoration was subordinate. With the emergence of more realistic means of representation, including figures in motion and foreshortening, an irreconcilable conflict developed between the vase and the picture on its surface. As the latter gained in three-dimensional verisimilitude, an artistic unity that had existed since the Geometric period disintegrated. Moreover, through the Classical period, the lekythos became an object of display. This function constitutes a radical departure, for Attic vases had not hitherto been produced to be looked at; in large part, their purpose was connected with an activity—fetching water, pouring wine, etc.

During the fifth century, the lekythos was both the white-ground vase and the funerary vase *par excellence*. It is difficult today to reconstruct how these elements came together. Yet again, the earliest known white lekythos is attributed to Psiax;²⁵ once in the Jameson collection in Paris, it is now lost. The combination of shape and technique took hold immediately and proliferated among the specialized workshops of the Kerameikos.²⁶ Considerations of production quickly raise those of distribution, another subject too large to pursue here. Although recent scholarship is producing a more complex picture of Attic vases in Etruria, white lekythoi of the fifth century are still seen as a predominantly Greek, specifically Attic, phenomenon.²⁷ During the second half of the sixth century, however, other slipped vases, particularly oinochoai and kyathoi, had frequently reached Etruria. The possibility that various shapes were grouped into sets for burial has been gaining attention.²⁸ Thus, one wonders whether, in the west, there was a funerary role for slipped oinochoai and kyathoi, and for certain special shapes, notably the Nicosthenic slipped

phiale (cat. no. 50). The Jameson lekythos, found in Greece, revives the problem of how early white lekythoi were considered funerary in Athens. Since black-figured lekythoi were characteristic tomb offerings, their slipped counterparts could have performed the same function from their first appearance. Slipped lekythoi from the Workshop of the Beldam Painter are the earliest preserved with funerary iconography. The Antimenean hydriai in Dresden (see fig. 3), also from Greece, suggest the complexity of the situation, however. Their decoration consists of the traditional funerary combination of mourners—here, in white ground, on the necks—with a chariot and horsemen. They represent a definite confluence of technique, iconography, and purpose.

Based on the preserved evidence, Psiax's white-ground lekythos appears to have had no lineal descendants—and it is noteworthy that none can be surely attributed to Nikosthenes. From ca. 510 to ca. 470/460 B.C., white lekythoi were produced by an array of specialized workshops whose painters used the black-figure technique. Since no potters' names are known, the workshops have been identified by painter.²⁹ Their products, however, show consistency, not only in stylistic features, but also in shape and ornament. Clearly, each establishment employed not only painters but also potters. The question is how frequently one individual fulfilled both roles; and a further consideration is how specialized these artists were. The exhibition includes lekythoi by the Sappho and Diosphos Painters in white-ground and Six's technique (cat. nos. 24–25, 55–56) as well as the Sappho Painter's white-ground column-krater (cat. no. 54). The pieces on view also illustrate that the iconography of slipped lekythoi at this time is not specifically funerary—nor is it among the red-figure painters of white lekythoi until about 470 B.C. Examples by Douris (cat. no. 58) and the Pan Painter (cat. no. 59) have subjects that are indistinguishable from those of contemporary red-figured pieces.

The evolution of Classical funerary iconography during the 470s and 460s has recently been reconsidered by John Oakley, who charts a gradual progression from domestic and mythological subjects to depictions of the grave.³⁰ The

works of the Vouni Painter (cat. no. 62) and the Sabouroff Painter (cat. no. 66) are representative of the second quarter of the fifth century. The most celebrated Classical slipped lekythoi are those attributed to the Achilles Painter (cat. nos. 63–66), whose career spans the third quarter of the century. His subjects include women in an interior setting with no specific funerary reference (cat. nos. 63–64). Any such interpretation, therefore, derives entirely from the shape and the presence of a white ground, a most noteworthy situation in which noniconographical factors determine the meaning of the representation. The Achilles Painter's lekythoi mark one of the last high points of Attic vase-painting. The spare, direct images are perfectly disposed on the cylinders. The white surface provides a cool, clear background—painted stillness—against which the resonant colors, when preserved, infuse the scenes with immediacy. The representations from the end of the century continue established themes, but in the hands of artists of the Group of the Huge Lekythoi (cat. nos. 68–69), for instance, they generate a different energy owing to great changes in technique.

All scholarly discussions of Classical white lekythoi stress the technical developments that occur in the ground, the line, and the colors as the fifth century progresses.³¹ Until about 470 B.C., the slip and decoration were executed in the traditional ceramic materials that were fired in a kiln with the vase itself. The ground, a variety of kaolin, was dense and buff colored. The gloss line and dilute articulation were comparable to those of red-figure. The early fifth century saw two major innovations. The first was the short-lived introduction of a so-called second white used especially, but not exclusively, to distinguish the fair skin of women from the slipped background (cat. nos. 59, 62–63, 67). The second innovation marked the beginning of the progressive replacement of ceramic colors by those applied after firing. Earth colors such as ocher and iron oxide were being supplemented, for instance, by cinnabar and Egyptian blue. By the middle of the century, second white had lost favor entirely, the ground had become lighter and more porous, and matt colors applied after firing (black, green,

and blue in addition to red) became more prominent. By ca. 430 B.C. all of the decoration was executed after firing. It included pinks and tender blues never before seen on Attic vases. Moreover, the funerary scenes were unprecedented in their depiction of action and emotion. The much-discussed influence of wall-painting on slipped lekythoi has to do primarily with technical features and their profound ramifications. As suggested above, the result created a degree of pictorial illusion that was incompatible with the underlying shapes and volumes of the vases and their traditional functions.

The emergence of pictorial—not to say painterly—decoration is evident also in kylikes and kraters, two shapes offering expansive surfaces. Since the tondo was long familiar from black-figure and red-figure cups and plates, as well as other media such as coins and gems, Classical artists used this format easily; the bobbin by the Penthesilea Painter (cat. no. 61) presents a compositional variant. Where Euphronios's rendering (cat. no. 30) features the gloss line and dilute articulation, the Pistoxenos Painter handles line almost as pigment (Cohen, Introduction, fig. 5). Because white-ground cups survive in some number and because of their consistently high quality, they complement contemporary lekythoi in documenting the accommodation of line to color. In addition to their iconography and execution, the findspots of many of these works suggest that they were bespoken, a supposition that is not advanced for white lekythoi of comparable refinement. The production of white-ground cups ends ca. 430 B.C., as does that of the more rarely preserved slipped kraters. The Phiale Painter's calyx-krater (cat. no. 67), with second white and the atmospheric effect produced by the ample space, shows a "painterly" approach on a large scale, probably reflecting the influence of wall-painting.

Although artistic diversity in the Kerameikos of the mid-fifth century may not have been as great as in the sixth, the workshop of the potter Sotades harks back to the inventive interconnections among Andokides, Psiach, and Nikosthenes. The Sotadean tomb group reassembled here (cat. nos. 90–99) once again associates the presence of slip with creative potting. The rilled phialai and

mastoi present a use of color as sensitive as it is elegant. They also feature plastic embellishment—the cicada—and Sotades’ precisely incised signature. These four pieces continue the tradition of special techniques in the service of the shape. To a lesser degree, so do three of the six merrythought cups (cat. nos. 91, 94–95), one associated with Hegesiboulos. By contrast, the three merrythought cups decorated by the Sotades Painter (cat. nos. 90, 92–93) illustrate the Classical painterly role of white slip. We cannot know why this selection of Sotades’ works was deposited in an Athenian tomb, but, for our purposes, it provides a distillate of the history of white ground applied at the highest level.

The technical mastery and artistic creativity manifested in Athenian artists’ use of special techniques should inspire investigators today to direct their technical and scholarly research more probingly to the succession of stages, or processes, in the creation of these works of art. It is particularly important to be aware of the processes in other media. In *Bunte Götter*,³² the publication accompanying his exhibition on the polychromy of Greek sculpture, Vinzenz Brinkmann describes his discoveries regarding the application of painted geometric and figural patterns to the oriental archer in the west pediment of the Temple of Aphaia from Aigina. Dated ca. 490–480 B.C. and created in immediate proximity to Athens, the work belongs

Figure 5. Modern reconstruction of an archer from the west pediment of the Temple of Aphaia, Aigina, ca. 490–480 B.C. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek.



to the same cultural environment as the vases that we have been considering (fig. 5). It is enlightening to think about the cylinder of a lekythos and the irregular cylinders of the Aigina archer's body in terms of the disposition of the decoration as well as the aesthetic and significative implications of the color used. The early decades of the fifth century saw the emergence of bronze sculpture, with its own range of polychrome and three-dimensional embellishments, as well as of wall-painting on a large scale.

This exhibition on Attic vase-painting has gone beyond the traditional subjects of style, shape, and iconography to highlight special chromatic and tactile effects. The extraordinary objects gathered here testify to the attainments of a specific medium but, even more, they offer fabulous opportunities to elucidate the cross-fertilization among all arts in Archaic and Classical Athens.

NOTES

- 1 Scientific investigation of the clay is only just beginning. See Koch-Brinkmann 1999, 15; Oakley 2004a, 8.
- 2 These ideas were articulated and elaborated most fully in the seminars that Dietrich von Bothmer gave for many years at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. They evolved in the course of his work on Amasis and the Amasis Painter, Andokides and the Andokides Painter, and the amphora type A. They received further impetus from his attention to the Pioneer Group, precipitated by the Metropolitan Museum's purchase of a calyx-krater by Euphronios in 1972.
- 3 The bibl. on Attic white-ground vases is extensive. The fundamental works are J. D. Beazley's with the addition of Philippart 1936. Within the last generation, surveys of the subject, with different points of focus, include Kurtz 1975a, Mertens 1977, Wehgartner 1983, Koch-Brinkmann 1999, and Oakley 2004a.
- 4 Moore 1997, 79–81. See also here Cohen, introduction.
- 5 Mertens 1987, 168–83; Mommsen 1997, 17–34.
- 6 See cat. nos. 41–42.
- 7 Within the extensive literature, Bothmer 1965–1966 remains basic. See also Cohen 1978.
- 8 See Cohen, chap. 2, fig. 1.
- 9 See cat. nos. 71–73.
- 10 See cat. nos. 16–17.
- 11 Although no complete potter-signature of Psiax survives, his name occurs on two eye-cups, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 14.146.2, and Munich, Antikensammlung 2603 (ARV² 9.1–2), of distinctive shape. Pertinent in this context also is that the artist seems to have been a pupil of the Amasis Painter/Amasis and a teacher of Euphronios. Since both of these masters were potter-painters, continuity would not be unexpected.
- 12 See, e.g., Morris 1984; and Walter-Karydi 1997.
- 13 Athens, Akropolis 611: ABV 82.1.below; BAPD Vase 300767.
- 14 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.49: ABV 83.4; BAPD Vase 300770.
- 15 Malagardis 2003.
- 16 Dresden, Albertinum ZV.1779–80: ABV 268.21–22; BAPD Vases 320031–32. I wish to thank Dr. Kordelia Knoll for so generously providing a photograph.
- 17 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 63.11.6: ARV² 3.2 bis (1617); Para 320; BAPD Vase 275000.
- 18 Mertens 1974.
- 19 See, e.g., Paris, Cab. Méd. 604+L155+L40+no no. (ARV² 321.15); Florence, Museo Archeologico PD 265 (ARV² 322.29); Paris, Cab. Méd. 607.2 (ARV² 356.55); Munich, Antikensammlungen 2645 (ARV² 371.15).
- 20 See True, chap. 7.
- 21 Würzburg, Martin von Wagner-Museum 436: ABV 294.16; BAPD Vase 320362.
- 22 See Clark 1992, esp. 566–71.
- 23 Paris, Musée du Louvre F 117, 116: ABV 230.1–2.above; BAPD Vase 301231–32. See also Tosto 1999, 118–24.
- 24 For a useful recent overview, see Tiverios and Tsiafakis 2002.
- 25 ABV 293.11; BAPD Vase 320357.
- 26 Oakley 2004a provides an excellent account.
- 27 Ibid., 9–11.
- 28 See, e.g., Reusser 2002, 133–39.
- 29 Chaps. 33–39 in ABV and all of Haspels 1936 remain the best accounts of the black-figure lekythos workshops. The discussion of the shapes of black-figured white-ground lekythoi in Kurtz 1975a, 77–90, clearly shows the quandary of discussing shape in terms of painters' workshops.
- 30 Oakley 2004a.
- 31 The technical criteria were central to Furtwängler (see, e.g., Furtwängler 1880, 77–80) and to Fairbanks 1907 and 1914. More recently, see esp. Koch-Brinkmann 1999, and Tiverios and Tsiafakis 2002.
- 32 Brinkmann and Wünsche 2004, 88–98.



50

50 BLACK-FIGURED WHITE-GROUND PHIALE MESOMPHALOS

Associated with the workshop of
Nikosthenes, ca. 520 B.C.
Diam 21.6 cm
London, The British Museum
GR 1873.8-20.388, *BM Cat Vases* B 678
Said to be from Capua; purchased 1873;
formerly collection of Alessandro Castellani

I, Around the omphalos, on white ground, *spirals with crosses at their interstices*; in the zone, black-figure, *hare-hunt frieze*; *animal frieze with foxes, birds, snakes, and a scorpion*

CONDITION: Reassembled from many fragments; losses filled in with plaster; recent restoration reveals small losses, including, in inner frieze, upper right arm of hunter, shoulder of hare, ears of second hound, and, in outer frieze, head of bird with wings spread, head and shoulder of bird facing she-fox, snout of she-fox; added red in black-figure decoration and on black rim flaked and faded; much of added white on rim lost.

THE SHALLOW BOWL known as a phiale originated as a metal vessel in the Ancient Near East. During the Archaic period, models in clay as well as metal were produced throughout the Greek world and used primarily for pouring libations. The British Museum's clay phiale is the sole preserved white-ground example with figural decoration made in Athens and one of the earliest Attic white-ground vases. It has long been associated

with the workshop of the potter Nikosthenes, whose signature appears on several black-gloss phialai mesomphaloi. Nikosthenes is well known for catering to the Etruscan market (cf. cat. nos. 15, 17). In the case of this phiale, however, the source of inspiration, not only for the shape, but also for ornament and black-figure-on-white-ground decoration appears to have been East Greek pottery.

This phiale's exterior has been left the color of the clay, save for a black band with a white line around the rim, and thus the energy of its unknown painter has been focused entirely on the interior. A painted pattern of white angles and red dots adorns the black band inside the rim: This recalls Athenian phialai decorated entirely in superposed color, a form of Six's technique (cf. cat. nos. 18–19), some of which may likewise have been Nikosthenic products. The white-ground zone around the central raised boss, or omphalos (decorated with black and reserved circles), was carefully applied on the wheel. It is divided into three friezes by lines of gloss that vary in intensity from dilute orange to black. Ornamental spirals and little crosses painted in slightly diluted black gloss fill the innermost frieze. This pattern is surrounded by two black-figure-on-white-ground animal friezes, whose small size denotes their early and experimental nature. As seen here, early black-figure-on-white-ground technique characteristically employs added red for details, but not redundant added white.

The central frieze depicts a hunt, which in Athenian art normally symbolizes a young man's bravery: Here four hounds, each shown in a flying gallop, chase a hare toward a netlike trap that is drawn in outline. The hunter lurking behind the trap—a naked youth, with a *lagobolon* (a stick to throw at the hare) in one hand and drapery shielding the other—is oddly dwarfed by the animals. In the outer animal frieze, foxes confront large birds, another bird spreads its wings, and a pair of snakes flank a scorpion. The scorpion plays a tune on the double pipes: another inversion of the normal order of things. If the phiale is oriented with the scorpion at the bottom, then the human figure and the net in the hunt frieze are upright. However, if the phiale is suspended

from the pair of holes drilled in its rim, the hare would be upright. The decorated rim is bordered by a reserved stripe and then by the black line that serves as a groundline for the animals in the outermost frieze.

The incised inner detail on the black-figure animals is especially broad and penetrates only as far as the white-ground surface, thereby mimicking inner detail reserved on the engobe that characterizes East Greek Fikellura pottery. However, this seemingly exotic phiale betrays its Athenian fabric with copious nonsense inscriptions in dilute gloss sprinkled over its white ground and with the figural friezes themselves, which recall decorated zones popular inside Late Archaic Attic cups (cf. cat. nos. 6, 74). This libation vessel must have been considered very special indeed in Magna Graecia, to which it was exported in antiquity.

REFERENCES: *BAPD* Vase 3566; Lösckcke 1881, cols. 34–39, pl. 5.1; Walters 1893, 298; Hoppin 1924, 295–96, no. 96; CB 1, 55; Cloché 1931, 24, pl. 17.2; Luschey 1939, 148, no. VII.2, 151; Schauenburg 1970, 37, pl. 19.2; Jackson 1976, 43, 44, fig. 21; Mertens 1977, 103, no. 4, 104, 116, nn.92–96, pl. 15.3; Cardon 1978–1979, 133n.2; Wehgartner 1983, 7 at nn.47–49, 176nn.47–49; Williams 1985, 36, fig. 41; Schnapp 1989, 72, 73, fig. 99; Kerényi 1994, 42, fig. 18, 308, no. 18; Schnapp 1997, 213–14, fig. 76, 485, no. 76; Grabow 1998, 39, 298, no. 18, pl. 5.K 18; Tosto 1999, 132 (not believed to be Attic); Williams 1999, 66, fig. 49.

For Nikosthenes' signed phialai: London, British Museum B 368; Würzburg, Universität, Martin-von-Wagner Museum, 429; and Paris, Cab. Méd. 334, see *ABV* 234.1–3; *BAPD* Vases 301263–265; Hoppin 1924, 208, 288, 219; Tosto 1999, 129, 152, 180, pl. 35.72–74, pl. 136no.140. For East Greek pottery, see Cook and Dupont 1998, esp. 84, figs. 10.6–7, for Fikellura, and also Boardman 1998, 147–48, figs. 331–39. Early black-figure-on-white-ground vases, with plastic additions, may also be associated with Nikosthenes, see, in this exhibition, cat. nos. 70, 71.

Cf., for the piping scorpion, the crabs with double pipes employed as shield devices on two Late Archaic red-figure vases: the calyx-krater by Euphronios, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1972.11.10 (*BAdd*² 404; *BAPD* Vase 187) and the volute-krater attributed to the Karkinos Painter, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 59.11.20 (*ARV*² 224.1, 1636; *BAPD* Vase 202091).



WHITE-FIGURED AMPHORA OF TYPE A

Signature of Andokides as potter, attributed to the Andokides Painter, ca. 520 B.C.

H 40.5 cm

Paris, Musée du Louvre F 203

From Etruria; purchased 1863; formerly

Campana collection

A, Amazons preparing to depart for battle

B, women (Amazons?) bathing

CONDITION: Poor; reassembled from fragments; chips missing along edge of mouth, and on B/A handle; losses, filled in with plaster, on lower vase body, on legs and buttocks of female diver, and on woman at column on side B; surface of panels generally spoiled; black gloss applied over white ground flaked or worn, esp. around figures; pocked brownish discoloration on left and central female figures on side B; surface misfired orange at right hand and lower arm of left female figure on side B; black gloss misfired greenish below B/A handle; cleaned and restored 1988–1989.

THE SINGULAR VASE-PAINTING TECHNIQUE employed on this small amphora of type A cleverly combines white ground with the red-figure effect of pale forms set off against a black ground. Here, at the level of the panels, a broad band all the way around the pot was covered with a white ground over which black gloss has been painted. Within the panels themselves black gloss was meticulously painted around the figural forms as in contemporaneous red-figure. Here, however, these forms are reserved, so to speak, in the white of the applied ground rather than in the red color of clay. The black gloss around the periphery of these white figures has not adhered properly, thereby fortuitously revealing the outline drawing of their forms. These outlines as well as anatomical markings and patterns on cloth and on inanimate objects have been drawn with black gloss or brown dilute rather than with the relief lines of standard red-figure or later Archaic white ground (cf. cat. nos. 2, 30). The vase's ornamental horizontal borders, containing black-figure palmette-

lotus chains, have been safely separated from the unusual panels by narrow strips of black gloss. Alongside the panels and in the zones below the handles, the black-gloss topcoat has been brushed on vertically freehand rather than applied on the wheel.

This technically extraordinary amphora, with a characteristic incised potter-signature of Andokides on side A of its foot: $\text{AN}\Delta\text{OKI}\Delta\text{E}\varsigma\text{-E}\Gamma\text{OE}\varsigma\text{EN}$, is attributed to the so-called Andokides Painter (cat. nos. 2, 27), who on earlier vases by the same potter may have invented red-figure itself. His special white-figure technique here is eminently appropriate for the carefully selected subject matter depicted in the Louvre amphora's panels. Most of the individual forms, particularly female figures, but also armor, clothing, horses, and columns, had all been shown as white in earlier black-figure vase-painting. Thus here the avant-garde has been cloaked in tradition.

Side A is devoted to the exotic mythical female warriors known as Amazons (fig. 51.1). At the left, one Amazon has set aside her shield and scabbard as she fastens the red ties of her intricately patterned linen corslet, which is worn over a short red chiton. A red wreath encircles her hair. The purplish red here and elsewhere is the sole added color employed on the vase. At the center of the composition, a mounted Amazon archer, wearing a short chiton and a red pointed Scythian cap, keeps her fiery white horse with a red mane in check. This horsetail is an early instance of masterful drawing with long, wavy lines of brown dilute. An impressive Corinthian helmet, with a crest support in the form of a bull's horns and ears, rests on the ground beneath the horse. At the far right, a bejeweled, spear-bearing Amazon, wearing a matching cloak and skirt, with a *sakkos* and a red wreath on her head, walks to the right, but turns back to look and gesture toward her comrades.

An intimate female genre scene fills the panel on the reverse (fig. 51.2). Here three naked women are shown swimming, diving, and pouring body oil from an aryballos—a vessel normally used by male athletes. At the right, their now poorly preserved companion enters a Doric portico, turning back like the Amazon on side A. Two *sakkoi*,



51.2

set aside by the women, hang in the field. The swimming female and the fish swimming beside her turn the background into water. In addition, brownish dilute gloss has been sketchily brushed over the lower part of the swimmer's nude body, suggesting its submersion. Naked women bathing out-of-doors is a rare theme in Archaic Greek art, and these females have thus been called Amazons or their human counterparts, athletic Spartan girls. Opinion is divided on whether they are bathing in a pool—because of the diving platform and column—or in open water—because of the fish.

REFERENCES: *ABV* 253.middle.3; *ARV*² 1, 4–5.13; *BAdd*² 150; *BAPD Vase* 200013; Norton 1896, 2–3, figs. 1–2, 7, 22; Pottier 1901, 115, pl. 78, F 203; Sudhoff 1910, 67, fig. 54, 68; Hoppin 1919, 38, no. 4; Mehl 1927, 57, 58, figs. 3–3a, 59; Seltman 1933, 29–30, pl. 9b; Neutsch 1949a, 36, 48, fig. 44; Paoli 1953, 61, fig. 15, 62; Bothmer 1957a, 149, no. 34, 153–54; Ginouvès 1962, 25–26, 113, 221; Charbonneaux, Martin, and Villard 1971, 298–99, fig. 343; Boardman 1975, 17, fig. 4; Yalouris 1976, 261, fig. 151; Mertens 1977, 33, no. 2, 34–35, pl. 2.3–4; Cohen 1978, 153–57, no. E 1, pl. 29.1–3; Schefold 1978, 108–109, figs. 135–36; *LIMC* 1 (1981) s.v. Amazones 630, no. 710, pl. 516 (P. Devambez and A. Kauffmann-Samaras); Arrigoni 1985, pl. 21, 172–73; Bérard 1986, 198, fig. 60.1; Sweet 1987, 163, 164, pl. 49; Cohen 1991, 60, 62, fig. 20; Villanueva-Puig 1992, 94–95; Kilmer 1993, 89–90, 238, no. R8, pl. R8; Denoyelle 1994, 94–95, no. 42; Geroulanos and Bridler 1994, 38, 63, fig. 95; Angiolillo 1997, 121–23, 122 fig. 67; Steiner 1997, 163–64, figs. 9–10; Stewart 1997, 117, figs. 68–69, 118–20; Bol 1998, 127, pl. 150a–b; Schefold 1998, 221–22, fig. 62; D'Agostino 1999, 114, fig. 3, 115; Denoyelle and Bothmer 2001, 49, 50, fig. 13; S. G. Miller 2004a, 151, fig. 234.

On the amphora's shape, see Bloesch 1951, 30.



52

BLACK-FIGURED WHITE-GROUND PLATE

Attributed to Psiax, ca. 520–510 B.C.

H 2.6 cm; Diam 21.4 cm

Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung
Ludwig Kä 421

Probably from Vulci; gift of Dr. Robert
Käppeli, 1966; formerly André Jameson
collection

*Woman playing pipes and man in Anacreontic dress
dancing*

CONDITION: Upper part assembled from large frag-
ments and reattached to lower section; surface
worn; many losses of white ground; black and
brown incrustations; restoration at cracks through
right arm, chiton sleeve, and himation of woman,
and through dancer's raised arm and head; small
restoration in his beard; abrasion along edge of foot
ring on underside.

ALTHOUGH CLOSE IN SIZE to other plates by
Psiax that spotlight a single black figure on the
recessed medallion while leaving the rim without
ornament, this white-ground masterpiece exhibits
an elaborate composition executed in a detailed,
precious black-figure style. Here white ground
covers both the upper surface and the rim's

underside, and the potting of this deep plate is as exquisite as the painting. Its bottom is articulated with concentric reserved ridges and black gloss. The broad, projecting reserved resting surface, which is also ridged, is circumscribed by a black line, and its vertical inner surface is also black.

In the vase-painting Psiax has suppressed redundant use of added white for female flesh and other details, a common practice in black-figure on white ground, while copiously applying a brilliant added red. Left of center, a buxom female musician stands tall, with her feet planted on the groundline, as she plays an aulos held in her long, nervous fingers. The himation worn over her chiton is dotted with red; alternate folds of the cloth turban, or *mitra*, wrapped around her hair are also red. Her aulos case hangs at the far left; a delicate campstool with an animal-paw foot that is topped by a red cushion, stands behind her. These compositional horizontals and verticals contrast markedly with the twisted pose of the male figure dancing on his toes at the right. In wine-induced abandon, he balances a drinking cup over his head as his front foot overlaps the plate's curved rim. This inebriated dancer clutches a barbiton, a form of lyre invented in East Greece, by one of its long sinuous arms, which terminate in swan's heads. The male figure's dress consists of a red-dotted chiton, hiked up to aid his movement, a red-striped mantle tossed backward over his shoulders, boots with red upper borders, and, on his head, a *mitra* crowned with a red ivy wreath. His lips, too, are red—an unusual detail that recurs elsewhere in Psiax's black-figure oeuvre (cf. cat. no. 1).

The depiction of men in fancy dress on Athenian vases has long been associated with the influence of the Ionian poet Anakreon's late sixth-century-B.C. sojourn in Athens under the auspices of the Peisistratid tyrants. Rather than a form of transvestism, for which it has sometimes been mistaken, this feminine-looking attire has been convincingly demonstrated to be foreign male

costume from Lydia and East Greece (Kurtz and Boardman 1986). While Athenian men are often represented on Attic vases cavorting at symposia and *komoï* in such foreign dress, very early lone barbiton players like this one might have been intended to depict Anakreon himself.

The bilingual vase-painter Psiax pioneered in the composition of tondo designs as well as in the use of an exergue on the interior of entirely red-figured cups (cat. no. 28). This ambitious black-figure-on-white-ground tondo composition, therefore, should be viewed as influential (cf. cat. no. 30) rather than as derivative of red-figure works by others, such as the plates by Paseas. In terms of its Anacreontic subject matter alone, the Basel white-ground plate stands at the beginning of an important Athenian tradition.

REFERENCES: *ABV* 294.21; *ARV*² 11.30; *Para* 128; *BAdd*² 77; *BAPD* Vase 320367; *CVA* Basel 1 [Switzerland 4] 107–108, pl. 43.5; Chabouillet 1861, no. 1395, pl. 17; CB II, 58, no. 1; Levi and Stenico 1956, [39], fig. 42, 40; Schefold 1960, 156, 158, no. 147; Lucerne 1963, D3; Rácz 1965, pl. 50; Schefold 1965, 5, pl. 1b; Cahn 1966, 13; Schefold [1967a] 73, no. 112.1; Schefold 1967b, 93, pl. 202a, 222, no. 202a (I. Scheibler); Franzius 1973, 33–34, 43, 124, no. B 57; *AntW* 5 (1974) cover and title page; Callipolitis-Feytmans 1974, 226–29, 377, no. 5, pl. 73, 460, fig. 60.5; Schefold 1974, 17, fig. 20; Richter 1975, 47, fig. 36; M. Schmidt 1976, 439, pl. II, 440; Mertens 1977, 36, no. 6, 38, pl. 4.1; Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague 1983, 23, fig. 8.1; Paquette 1984, 178–79, B5; Kurtz and Boardman 1986, 45 fig. 9, 46, 47, no. 3, 54; Maas and Snyder 1989, 124, 126, fig. 21; Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague 1990, 222–23, 226n.84, 244, fig. 7.20; Tiverios 1996, 92, color fig. 55, 268–69; Schäfer 1997, 53, pl. 21.1; Blome 1999, 81–83, fig. 111.

Black-figured plates with single-figure designs attributed to Psiax, include London, British Museum GR 1867.5-8.941, *BM Cat Vases* B 591, archer blowing trumpet: *ABV* 294.20; *BAdd*² 76; *BAPD* Vase 320366; Robertson 1992, 34, fig. 26, and Berlin, Antikensammlung F 2099, warrior: *ABV* 294.18; *BAdd*² 76; *BAPD* Vase 320364. On Anacreontic imagery, see, recently, Schäfer, in Berlin 2002, 285–95, and Schäfer 1997, who associates this fancy dress with followers of Dionysos. For multi-figured tondo compositions on red-figured plates attributed to Paseas, see esp. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery 1913.170, Dionysos and a satyr: *ARV*² 163.3, *BAdd*² 182; *BAPD* Vase 201521, and 1913.169, the rape of Cassandra by Ajax at the statue of Athena: *ARV*² 163.4; *BAdd*² 182; *BAPD* Vase 201522; Matheson Burke and Pollitt 1975, 47–50, nos. 43 and 44. A negative assessment of Psiax's black-figured plates in light of contemporaneous red-figure is given by Robertson 1992, 34.



53

53
BLACK-FIGURED HYDRIA
WITH WHITE-GROUND NECK
AND MOUTH

Attributed to the Leagros Group,
 ca. 510–500 B.C.

H 48.2 cm

Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 4716

From Vulci, found in the Canino excavations;

Swiss art market; purchased 1969; formerly

Bernus collection

On the body, *hunters on horseback and hounds*
 On the shoulder, *chariots, seated men, and hounds*
 On the neck and mouth, *white ground, birds and*
palmettes

CONDITION: Excellent; intact; added colors well
 preserved; traces of brown deposit on white
 ground; chips and cracks in black gloss on rim of
 mouth, on side handles, on back of rear handle
 (along central rib and around base), and on lower
 vase body; orange misfiring on foot and on back of
 body where black gloss applied thinly.

THIS SUBSTANTIAL HYDRIA captivates the viewer with a remarkable contrast in the techniques and subjects of the vase-paintings on its tall body and on the curved neck. The bold, masculine body presents standard late black-figure scenes of departure. On the main panel, which is tightly packed with overlapping black figures characteristic of the Leagros Group, a red-bearded man and two youths, each wearing cloaks and petasoi, and carrying two spears, set out for the hunt on horseback accompanied by their trusty hounds. A second bearded man with paired spears, wearing boots as well as a cloak and petasos, follows on foot. Nonsense inscriptions fill the field, and the panel itself can barely contain this lively and robust hunting party, which overlaps the ornamental vertical ivy borders, while its horsemen's hats and spears extend upward onto the hydria's shoulder. There, in a taut friezelike composition, two chariots, advancing toward the right like the hunters below, take leave of a man and a youth seated on campstools, and perhaps also of two hounds with upward-curling tails.

The white ground that graces the exterior and interior of the hydria's neck and the top of its mouth is delightfully unexpected. Here, circumscribed black palmettes with open fronds, which recall the black palmettes in the panel's reserved lower border, have been transformed by a flock of black birds from mere ornament into foliage growing in the countryside. The birds on the exterior of the neck are rendered in true black-figure, with incised feathers at the edges of their wings or tails, or tiny round eyes. However, the black birds (accompanied by nonsense inscriptions) amid the palmettes that spring from spiraling tendrils on the top of the mouth are simply painted in silhouette. As in nature, each of these cheerful birds does its own thing, from wing flapping to strutting or chirping. Some perch on the lower edge of the neck, others on palmette tendrils, and

yet others on thin air. The *peopled scroll* embellished with reverse palmette fronds and teardrops on the creamy engobe of this hydria's neck and mouth has long been associated with the influence of East Greek pottery (cf. cat. no. 50). At the same time, the circumscribed, downward-facing black palmette on a patch of reserve at the front end of the high, arched rear handle caps this water jar's composition with a purely Athenian note.

Judicious placement of the standard red and white added colors of Attic black-figure further enhances this vessel's unique design. Red, which effectively contrasts with the white ground, colors the sides of the vertical handle's rotellae, alternate tongues at the base of the white neck, and the fillet between the hydria's body and foot, as well as delicate details in the body's vase-paintings themselves. At the same time, the added-white features of the black-figured shoulder and panel, including lower legs of horses, the riders' short chitons decorated with little crosses, their petasoi, and the long robes of the charioteers, eloquently resonate with the white-ground neck and mouth. Opinions have been divided about whether the body and neck of this hydria were decorated by the same hand. This vase's seemingly dissonant elements, however, form a subtle iconographic and decorative unity: The rustic white-ground neck suggests the landscape that the men will enter as they leave the city.

REFERENCES: *BAPD* Vase 3018; *Muséum étrusque* 1829, no. 1707; Zahn 1893, 192–93; Biosse Duplan 1972; Kurtz 1975a, 10, 13, 20, 94–95, 226–27, pls. 56.4, 57.3; Jackson 1976, 77; Mertens 1977, 49, no. 13, 51–53, pl. 6.2–3; Johnston 1979, 116, Type 3D, no. 21 (graffito under foot); Burow 1989, 40n.255; Hurwit 1992, 67, 70, fig. 9; Schnapp 1997, 244, fig. 169, 495; Lissarrague 2001, 92, fig. 73, 93.

On the black-figure Leagros Group, named after a *kalos* name on some of the attributed hydriai, see *ABV* 355–91, 695–96, 715, 716; *BAPD* s.v. Leagros Group. For other rare hydriai with white-ground necks, mouths, or shoulders, see Biosse Duplan 1972, 132–34; Mertens 1977, 48–49; and Mertens, chap. 6, fig. 3.



54

BLACK-FIGURED WHITE-GROUND COLUMN-KRATER

Attributed to the Sappho Painter,
ca. 510–500 B.C.

H 34 cm

Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B 32

From Locri 1834; part of the founding
purchase of the Antikensammlung 1837;
arrived in Karlsruhe 1839

CONDITION: Drill holes from repair of chipped surface near A root of B/A handle; otherwise intact; black gloss flaked on interior and exterior of neck and handles, and chipped and cracked on rays at bottom of body, on fillet and foot; white ground well preserved save for a few beige and brown discolorations, orange discoloration around handle-roots from slip used for handle attachment; surface losses and scratches near handles and beneath Odysseus; gloss chipped and flaked from black-figure forms, esp. at Odysseus's profile and knees; horn, neck, and tail of ram; on Amazons overlapped by chariot horses; and on palmettes' fronds.

A, *Odysseus under the ram escaping from the cave of Polyphemus*

B, *Amazons setting out with a chariot*

THE SAPPHO PAINTER, the anonymous master of this pot, was a close colleague of the Diosphos Painter (cat. nos. 24, 25, 56) in a workshop that generally produced lekythoi in black-figure, white ground (cat. nos. 55, 56), or Six's technique



(cat. nos. 24–25). His modern name was derived from an inscribed depiction of the Greek poetess rendered in Six's technique on a hydria in Warsaw. On Karlsruhe's black-figure white-ground column-krater, the Sappho Painter has likewise applied a special technique normally employed on small vases to a pot, thereby creating an impressive display piece.

The obverse presents an excerpt from the Homeric story about the escape of Odysseus from the cave of Polyphemos (fig. 54.1). This theme, appropriate for a vessel normally employed as a mixing bowl for wine and water, would have reminded symposiasts of the consequences of excessive drinking: When trapped in the cave of the cannibalistic Cyclops, Odysseus and his men plied him with wine. They were then able to gouge out the drunken giant's sole eye with a burning stake and escape, hidden beneath the

bellies of the blind Polyphemos's flock of sheep. The lone, bearded male figure shown tied beneath a ram here must be the hero Odysseus himself. The daring, big black-figure forms of man and beast fill the front of the krater. Here an age-old motif has been altered significantly by the hero's brandishing a sword and turning his head in the direction the ram is walking. The painter has left an eloquent sliver of white-ground space between the belly of the ram and the body of the hero. The black figures themselves are enlivened by careful, descriptive incision, which does not penetrate the white ground, especially for the ram's curled horn and woolly neck, and for Odysseus's short chiton with three-dimensional folds and his striped baldric. The only added color, red, is employed for Odysseus's beard and the three pairs of bonds securing him to the ram, the last of which is tied in a neat bow at the top.

In contrast, a lively multi-figured scene fills the krater's reverse (fig. 54.2): Here six Amazons, including an archer and a charioteer in a speeding quadriga, depart for battle. Once again, red is the only added color employed, describing details of hats and helmets, patterns on shield rims, baldric straps, stripes on horses' manes, and the breast band of a trace horse. Significantly, as is characteristic of early white ground, a second white, which was probably considered redundant, has not been employed to describe these female warriors' flesh (cf. cat. nos. 52, 55). On both sides of the pot, copious black nonsense inscriptions are sprinkled over the picture fields.

Although bordered above by a tongue pattern, these black-figure scenes are not confined to panels: A broad white-ground band runs clear around the pot. Striking, nonsymmetrical configurations of circumscribed black palmettes with red hearts fill the spaces beneath the handles and spill onto the side with Odysseus (figs. 54.1 and 3). These impressive palmettes bring to mind side-palmette lekythoi (cf. cat. no. 56) that were also produced by the Workshop of the Sappho and Diosphos Painters. Yet the Pioneer Euphronios's red-figure work (cf. cat. nos. 10, 29), which includes similar palmettes—as on a calyx-krater in Berlin—may well have inspired this monumental effort by the Sappho Painter. Here a contrasting reserved orange stripe beneath the column-krater's figural frieze, along with standard black ivy-and-lotus-bud patterns on the reserved lip and mouth and black rays at the reserved bottom of the body underscore the visual effect of white ground on an Athenian clay pot.

REFERENCES: *ABV* 507, Haspels no. 57, 702; *BAdd*² 126; *BAPD* Vase 305504; *CVA* Karlsruhe 1 [Germany 7] 18, pl. 9.1–3; G[erhard] 1834, 165–66; Urlichs 1843, 61; Overbeck 1853, 764, no. 16; Heydemann 1876, 352, g; Karlsruhe 1881, pl. 14.right; J. E. Harrison 1883, 248–50, 249, fig. 1, 251, fig. 2, chart facing 259, no. 7, 259; Winnefeld 1887, 35–36, no. 167; Müller 1913, 27n.2, c; Welter 1920, 5–6, no. 24, pl. 7; Jacobsthal 1927, 76, 88, pl. 50a–b; Scheurleer 1936, 61; Haspels 1936, 113, 115, 228, no. 57; Rumpf 1953, 62, pl. 16.3; Bothmer 1957a, 107, no. 185, 108–109, pl. 64.5; Schnellbach 1960, figs. 15–16; Touchefeu-Meynier 1968, 45–46, no. 109, pl. 8.4; Petrasch and Thimme 1969, figs. 21–22; Charbonneaux, Martin, and Villard 1971, 309–10, fig. 354, 411, no. 354; Fellmann 1972, 88, no. FL 18, fig. 18; Brommer 1973, 439, no. A 32; Stanford and Luce 1974, 38, ill. 23; Kurtz 1975a, 149, pl. 55.1; Thimme 1975, 20, figs. 31–32; Petrasch 1976, 24, fig. 54; Mertens 1977, 80–81, no. 1, pl. 11.1; Schefold 1978, 266, fig. 358; Ebertshäuser and Waltz 1981, 98, 99, fig. 116; Brussels 1982, 162–63, no. 94; Van de Wijer 1982, 85, no. 130, fig. 130; Maaß 1985, 83, fig. 11, 120; Karlsruhe 1988, fig. 28; Buitron[Oliver] and Cohen 1992, 35, fig. 18, 68–69; *LIMC* vi (1992) s.v. Odysseus 958, no. 105, pl. 628 (O. Touchefeu-Meynier); Grimm 1993, 38, fig. 23; Andreae 1999, 128, fig. 42; Prestel-Museumsführer 2000, 77–78 (M. Maaß).

For the Sappho Painter's name vase, Warsaw, National Museum 142333, see: Haspels 1936, 228, no. 56; Boardman 1974, fig. 311. Another depiction of Odysseus's escape attributed to the Sappho Painter appears on a black-figured column-krater in Atlanta, Michael C. Carlos Museum. For Euphronios's calyx-krater, Berlin, Antikenmuseum F 2180, see *ARV*² 13–14.1, 1619; *Para* 321; *BAdd*² 152; *BAPD* Vase 200063; Jacobsthal 1927, pl. 56; Berlin 1991, 61–69, no. 1 (D. von Bothmer). On the association between Euphronios and the Sappho and Diosphos Painters' workshop, see, recently, Jubier 1999, 182–83. I have not been able to consult the two recent European dissertations by Cécile Jubier and Sabine Weber that deal with this pottery workshop.



54.3



55.1

55

BLACK-FIGURED WHITE-GROUND LEKYTHOS

Attributed to the Sappho Painter,
ca. 500–490 B.C.

H 17.3 cm

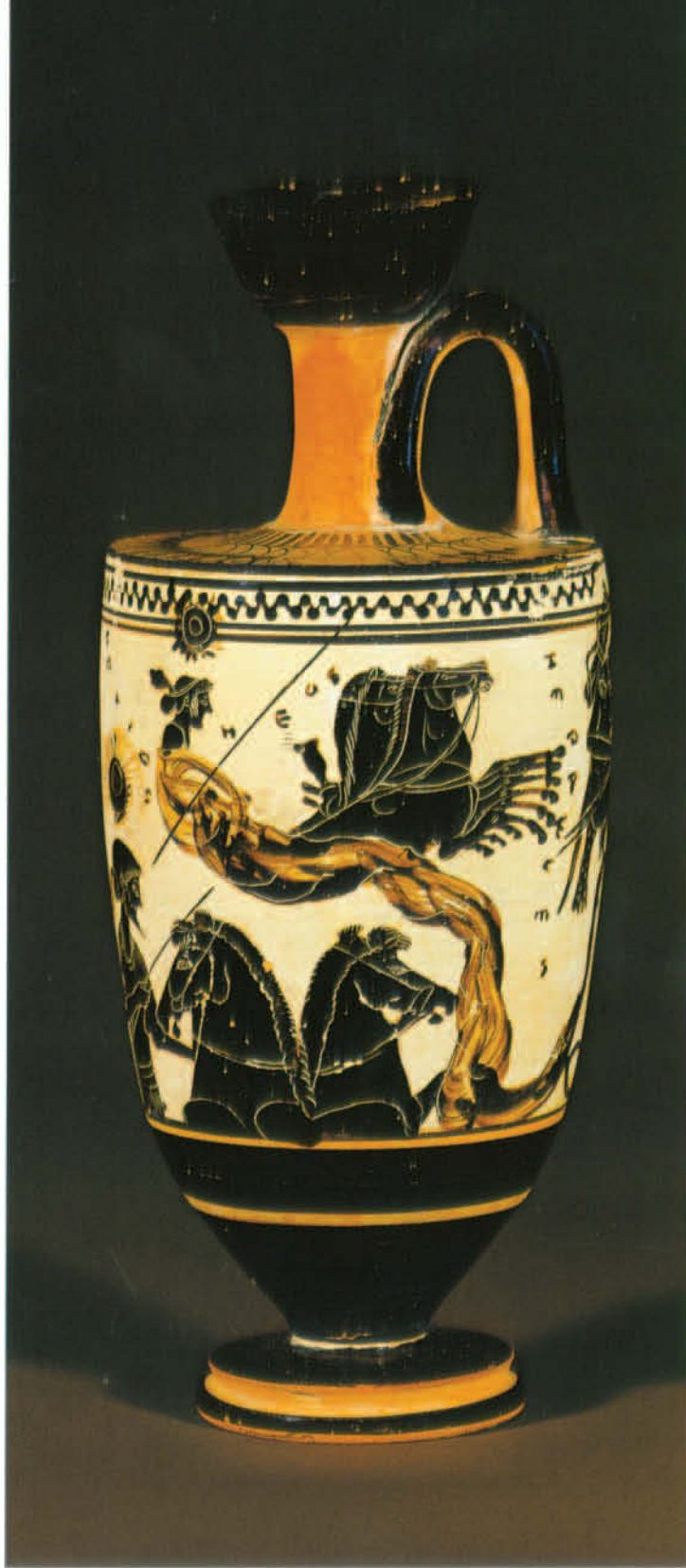
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art
41.162.29, Rogers Fund, 1941

From Attika; purchased in 1941 as part of a
group of objects from the Gallatin collection

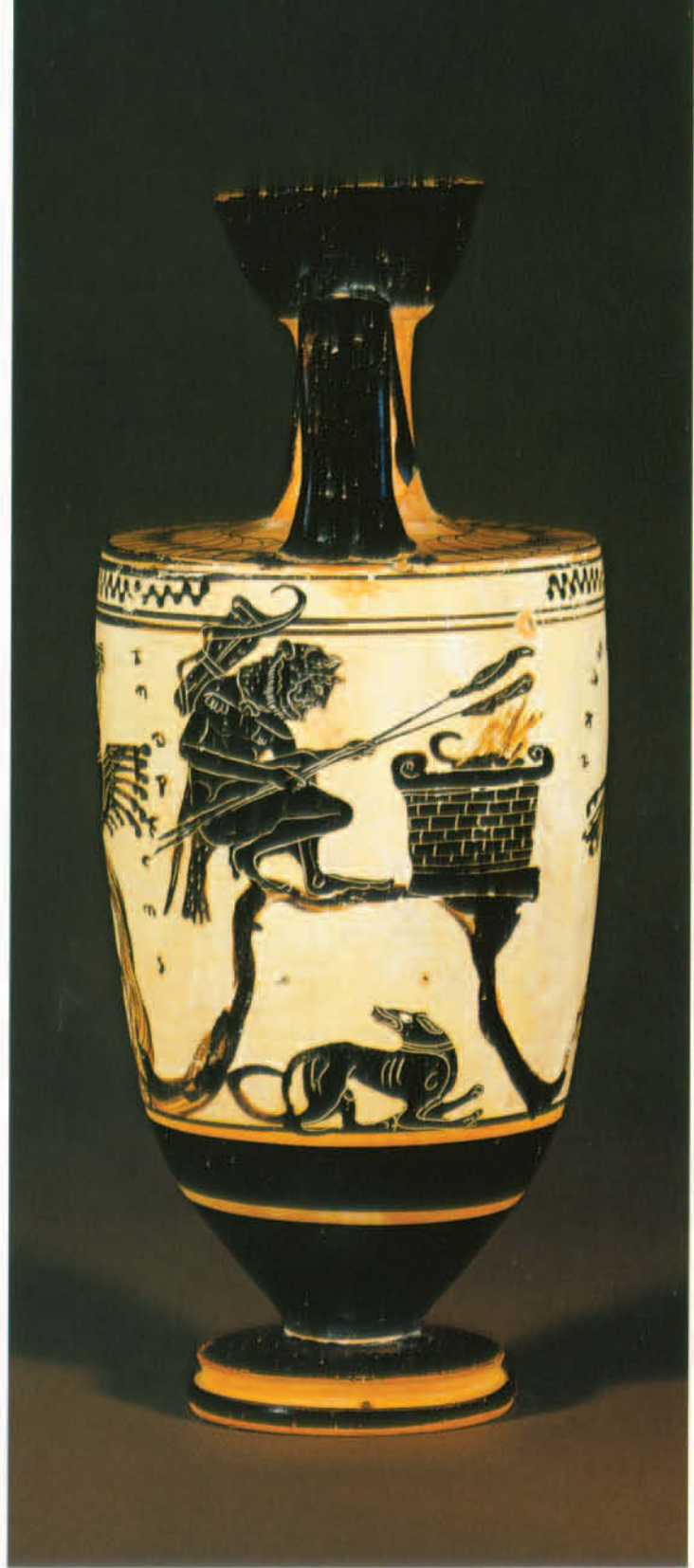
*Chariot of Helios rising, chariots of Nyx and Eos
departing, Herakles sacrificing at an altar*

CONDITION: Excellent; body intact; neck and handle broken and reattached; black gloss chipped at edge and top of mouth; abrasion and loss of black gloss in net pattern at top center of front; some erosion of white-ground surface around forelegs of Nyx's chariot horses; original indented gash in surface at Herakles' face; chip missing on back in horizontal lines above Herakles' spits; added red flaked and faded on Helios's beard and fillet, on manes of horses and on three lines around lekythos's lower body; white incrustation inside mouth and under foot.

A SPATIALLY AND TECHNICALLY complex late black-figure scene of cosmic significance fills the white-ground zone that encircles the body of this little lekythos. Here, under the influence of early Greek philosophy, astral features have been represented innovatively in anthropomorphic form. At the center of the composition, Helios, the Sun, driving his quadriga, rises from the bottom of the white-ground zone as from the sea (fig. 55.1). He holds a goad and wears the finely pleated long linen tunic of a charioteer, but here, as is typical of black-figure on a white ground (cf. cat. nos. 50, 52, 54), this garment's characteristic white color (cf. cat. no. 39) has been suppressed. Helios is shown as a mature bearded male with his long hair bound up in a *krobylos*. For the last detail, and throughout this vase-painting, dilute black gloss, which is not a central feature of traditional black-figure, has been employed with eye-catching results. The radiant disk of the sun, surrounded by an aureole of golden-brown lines



55.2



55.3

of dilute, floats above Helios's head. The sun's hot center is itself further enhanced by golden dilute applied on top of the black gloss.

In the upper part of the composition, smaller, and hence further away from the viewer, the chariots of Nyx (Night) and Eos (Dawn) depart toward the left and right, respectively. Celestial disks, glowing with golden dilute applied over black gloss, float above their heads, overlapping the ornamental net pattern at the top of the lekythos's body (fig. 55.2). The flesh of these black-figure female astral personifications is not colored with a redundant added white, and, remarkably, Nyx, Eos, and their chariot horses are shown as protomes whose bodies disappear behind swirling streams of brown dilute gloss articulated with incision that extend down to the bottom of the composition. Identified variously as the ocean's waves, as clouds, or as the morning mist in this vast panorama of sky, sea, and earth, the Sappho Painter's extraordinary streams must visualize an atmospheric effect associated with the sun's rise.

This early morning vista continues with a landscape on the vessel's back (fig. 55.3). Underneath the handle, where the decorative net pattern at the top of the lekythos's body stops, Herakles, wearing only his lion skin, crouches on a mountaintop with his quiver and bow suspended behind him and his back to the sunrise. In a genrelike vignette, the hero, shown as a *splanchnopt*, holds two spits over a burning altar. The offering on its surface curls upward auspiciously in the painterly brown dilute flames rising from the altar. Below, a churlish dog crouches, attracted by the smell of cooking. Herakles may be sacrificing to Helios; in one interpretation, the hero is here seeking help from the Sun in order to reach the three-bodied warrior Geryon beyond the ocean in the far West. In any event, this image

captures a human moment during the hero's labors on his arduous path toward immortality.

Rather than the nonsense inscriptions common elsewhere in the work of the Sappho Painter (cf. cat. no. 54), here the figures' names have all been inscribed. This special lekythos was found in a grave in Attika along with four other white-ground lekythoi attributed to the same painter, one of whose specialties was funerary products. Its impressive wraparound schema (cf. cat. no. 58) does not continue as a preeminent fashion on standard fifth-century white lekythoi where figural decoration is generally limited to the side opposite the handle (cf. cat. nos. 62, 64).

REFERENCES: *ABV* 507.6, 702; *BAdd*² 126; *BAPD* Vase 305499; *CVA* Fogg Museum and Gallatin Collections [USA 8] 93–94, pl. 44.1a–d; Haspels 1936, 96, 98–99, 113, 120, no. 3, 226, no. 6, pl. 32.1a–d; Salis 1940, 113n.1; Richter 1942, 56, 57, 59, fig. 7; Richter 1952, 10–11; Richter 1953, 74, pl. 57c; Rizza 1959–1960, 331–32, 334, fig. 16, 340; Schauenburg 1962, 51 at n. 11, 54n.40; Brommer 1963, 156n.56; CB III, 8; Kron 1971, 139, fig. 9, 141; Boardman 1974, 148–49, fig. 260.1–3; Lacroix 1974, 93n.2, 94, pl. 12.2; Folsom 1975, pl. 13b, 136; Allentown 1979, 66–67, no. 30 (G. F. Pinney and B. S. Ridgway); E. Vermeule 1979, 134, 135, fig. 6B; Brize 1980, 145, no. 3; Yalouris 1980, 317, no. B; Pinney and Ridgway 1981; *LIMC* II (1984) s.v. Astra, A. Nyx 906, no. 3, pl. 670.Astra 3 (S. Karusu); Durand 1986, 166, 168, fig. 79; *LIMC* III (1986) s.v. Eos 750, no. 1 (C. Weiss); *LIMC* IV (1988) s.v. Herakles 799, no. 1341 (J. Boardman and O. Palagia); Van Straten 1988, 62, no. 5; Immerwahr 1990, 156, no. 1082; *LIMC* V (1990) s.v. Helios 1016, no. 105, 1033, pl. 638 (N. Yalouris), and s.v. Herakles 92, no. 2623 (J. Boardman), and s.v. Herakles 81, no. 2547, 85 (P. Brize); Hurwit 1991, 49–50, fig. 18; Williams 1991d, 109, fig. 44, 110–11; *LIMC* VI (1992) s.v. Kerberos A. One head, uncertain 25, no. 6 (S. Woodford and J. Spier); Peirce 1993, 233, 240, fig. 8; Van Straten 1995, 136, 263–64, no. V380, fig. 135; Aktseli 1996, 9, 10, 28, 105, no. Vd3, fig. 10; Lissarrague 2001, 168, fig. 129, 169, fig. 128; Gebauer 2002, 364–66, no. B9, 758, fig. 234; Ehrhardt 2004, 21, fig. 14.

Pinney and Ridgway (in Allentown 1979) and (1981) unconvincingly suggest that the dog is Kerberos and that here Herakles is about to descend to the Underworld. See *CVA* Fogg Museum and Gallatin Collections [USA 8] pls. 44.2a–c, 45.1a–c, and 2a–b, for the Sappho Painter's other lekythoi found in the same tomb. On his funerary products, see Oakley 2003, 165, fig. 3 (plaque) and 166, cat. 112a–b (bail-handled oinochoe).

SEMI-OUTLINE WHITE-GROUND
LEKYTHOS

Attributed to the Diosphos Painter,
ca. 500–490 B.C.

H 24.45 cm

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art
06.1070, Rogers Fund, 1906

Purchased 1906

*Perseus flies away with the head of Medusa while
Pegasus springs from the decapitated Gorgon's neck*

CONDITION: Handle and foot broken off and reattached; abrasion and chips on mouth's outer edge; beige incrustation on mouth's interior; scratches on reserved neck and shoulder; some loss of black gloss on mouth, handle, lower body and foot, and in black-figure decoration; chips and gashes in surface of white ground: on left uppermost palmette, front wing of Medusa, below body of Pegasus, and at center back; crack in vase surface through Medusa's lower legs; much of added red lost; gray incrustation at center of underside.

A TRANSITIONAL WHITE-GROUND technique, influenced by contemporary red-figure, in which outline drawing is combined with traditional black-figure, has been employed on this famous Late Archaic lekythos attributed to the Diosphos Painter. Called semi-outline by C. H. Emilie Haspels, this dual handling brilliantly supports the vase-painting's iconography, which reinvents the depiction of the popular myth of the flight of Perseus after he beheaded the Gorgon Medusa (cf. cat. no. 7). Here the headless body of Medusa fills the center front of the composition. The mortal Gorgon has been drawn in outline so that the white of the ground serves as the white of her female flesh, and her short chiton's delicate folds and pale golden color have been rendered in dilute gloss. Her feminine characterization is moving rather than monstrous: With fading strength, her decapitated slender body supports itself on its arms, a motif that has been compared to dying warriors in the pedimental sculpture from the Temple of Aphaia on Aigina. At this very moment, however, the Gorgon gives birth:



56.1



56.2

Pegasos, one of Medusa's children engendered by Poseidon, springs from her bleeding neck. The winged horse, replete with male genitals, is rendered in full black-figure with incision and now-faded added-red details. The male hero, at the left, is likewise depicted in full black-figure, and,

originally, added red described his boots, cap, and the edges of his mantle. Shown smaller than the Gorgon, he flies rapidly away holding the *harpe* (curved knife) in his left hand, with Medusa's snake-haired head in his *kibisis*. The *kibisis* is rendered in outline and was once covered with red applied directly on the white ground. Early descriptions of the lekythos describe Medusa as wearing "vermillion" boots with double tongues or wings; now this red has also disappeared almost entirely. Black nonsense inscriptions are written on the white ground around the figures.

This vessel is known as a side-palmette lekythos: Here decorative clusters of large, black circumscribed palmettes, originally embellished with red hearts, delimit the movement of the vase-painting's flying figures. In addition to the combination of black-figure and outline on the white-ground frieze, there is a careful disposition of white-ground, black-gloss, and reserved areas on the vase as a whole. The leftward key pattern that runs around the top of the lekythos's body, just above the white-ground frieze at the juncture of the reserved shoulder decorated with a black lotus-bud pattern, is itself painted on reserve. A reserved stripe runs around the black lower body, and a white-ground band runs around the vertical element of the black foot.

REFERENCES: *ABV* 702; *ARV*² 301.3, 303.bottom.2, 1643; *BAdd*² 212; *BAPD* Vase 203101; Fairbanks 1907, 65–67, no. 4a, pl. 4; Richter 1907, 82–83; Richter 1917, 108–109, fig. 67; Jacobsthal 1927, 78–79, pl. 53b–c; Richter 1927, fig. 85; Beazley 1928, 79; Hampe 1935–1936, 297, no. 34; Haspels 1936, 111, 235, no. 71; Scheurleer 1936, 108; Besig 1937, 84, no. 98; Woodward 1937, 64–65, fig. 19; Richter 1953, 74, pl. 56e; Schauenburg 1960, 35 at n.231, 44; Sparkes 1968, 10n.52, 13n.76; Haspels 1969, 27, fig. 4, 28; Folsom 1975, 136–37, pl. 13c; Kurtz 1975a, pl. 59, fig. 2; Richter 1975, 75, fig. 71; Mertens 1977, 200, pl. 36.3; Yalouris 1977, no. 27; Halm-Tisserant 1986, 278–79, pl. 4, fig. 7; *LIMC* IV (1988) s.v. Gorgo, Gorgones 313, no. 309 (I. Krauskopf, S.-C. Dahlinger), pl. 184; Schefold and Jung 1988, 102, fig. 123, 103; Immerwahr 1990, 91, no. 573, pl. 25, fig. 108; Robertson 1992, 130–31, fig. 134; Woodford 2003, 41, fig. 25, 42; Oakley 2004a, 101, no. 15.

For dying warriors from the west and east pediments of the Temple of Aphaia on Aigina of ca. 490–475 B.C., see Stewart 1990, figs. 245–46. On aesthetic associations between decorated white-ground vases and the painted Aigina marble sculptures, see Mertens, chap. 6. The Diosphos Painter also worked in Six's technique; see Cohen, chap. 3, fig. 3; and cat. nos. 24, 25. He was named by Andreas Rumpf after an inscription on a black-figured neck-amphora in Paris, Cab. Méd. 219: *ABV* 509, Haspels, no. 120; *BAdd*² 127; *BAPD* Vase 305526.

57
 OUTLINE WHITE-GROUND
 ALABASTRON

Signature of Pasiades as potter, attributed to the Pasiades Painter and the Group of the Paidikos Alabastra, ca. 510–500 B.C.

H 14.6 cm

London, The British Museum

GR 1887.7-801.61, *BM Cat Vases* B 668

From Marion, Cyprus, 1887; purchased 1887

Above the picture, ΠΑΣΙΑΔΕΣ : ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ
Woman with phiale, dancing or running woman (maenad), and heron

CONDITION: Good; reassembled from fragments; losses in letters of potter-signature; lower portion of left woman missing; vase surface to her lower right restored in plaster; loss of relief lines on her phiale; losses at back of head and body of right woman; gray discolorations on lower vase body.

THE TALL, SLENDER ALABASTRON was generally employed by women as a container for precious perfume or oil. Ancient examples made from white alabaster may have given the shape its name. Appropriately, soon after the invention of a white ground, it was applied to clay alabastra in Athens (cf. Mertens, chap. 6, fig. 1). Many of the earliest belong to a group associated with the potter Pasiades, who may have borne the nickname Paidikos. While several examples are simply decorated with black palmettes, this lovely alabastron displays both a new technique for painting on white ground and an iconography reflecting the realm of women. Its painter, called the Pasiades Painter by Beazley, appears to be close to the Euergides Painter, who has been associated with a unique pair of technically experimental pottery stands (cat. nos. 72, 73).

Two female figures and a heron—a pet that commonly belonged to women—fill the figural frieze encircling this alabastron. The female in a headdress on the right, who wears a speckled nebris in addition to a long-sleeved chiton and chlamys, appears to be a maenad. This female follower of the god Dionysos moves rapidly,



57.1



dancing or running with her legs and arms outstretched, while carrying branches in both hands. The left female, dressed in a chiton and himation, stands quietly, extending the phiale in her left hand toward the lively maenad. The quiet female's hair is caught up at the back in an elaborate *krobylos*. She has been variously identified as either a respectable Athenian wife or a prostitute (hetaira). A white-ground alabastron from Delphi, also bearing a signature of Pasiades, depicts a maenad, with a snake coiling about her right arm, holding out a hare in her left hand opposite an Amazon armed with a bow and arrow and an ax; a heron stands between them. Clearly sisters in their design, both white-ground vessels present pointed contrasts of female identity.

The painting technique employed on the London alabastron has moved beyond by now traditional black-figure on white ground. Under red-figure influence, its vibrant female figures have been drawn in outline with black relief lines; thus the white ground itself serves as their flesh as well as the color of their mantles. Both women's chitons are a brilliant, eye-catching

yellow. This early white-ground polychromy has been achieved with a wash of very dilute black gloss. Touches of this yellow dilute also describe the maenad's branches, a fold in her headdress, and feathery locks atop the left woman's *krobylos*. Golden plumage issues from the head and breast of the black heron at the center of the composition painted in silhouette without incision.

Orange lines of dilute gloss border the figural frieze, and above it, Pasiades' potter-signature, written in black gloss, encircles the vase. Tongue patterns painted in black on the white ground surround the vessel's neck and its rounded bottom. In fact, this vase's own orange clay surface has

been almost entirely transformed save for several significant details. The reserved top of the alabastron's flat disk-shaped mouth bears the inscription *hopais kalos* (the boy is beautiful) in black letters. Two reserved clay lugs affixed to the alabastron at center front and back are aligned with the upper edge of the figural frieze; the back lug preserves traces of ancient fingerprints, probably the potter's. Finally, an alabastron, like an aryballos, was designed to be worn around the wrist or neck suspended from thongs (cf. cat. no. 78); thus its rounded bottom would have been visible. Here an open, ribbed red-figure palmette against a black ground completes this charming white-ground vessel's decoration.

REFERENCES: ARV² 98.1, 102.top.2, 1626; *Para* 330; *BAdd*² 172; *BAPD* Vase 200859; W. Klein 1887, 222–23 (misread signature); Murray 1887, 317–19, pl. 82 (cited incorrectly as pl. 81 in the list of plates); C. H. Smith 1887, 25–26; Dumont and Chaplain 1888, 371n.6; Walters 1893, 296; Murray and Smith 1896, 28, pl. 18; Perrot 1914, 697–98, pl. 19; Hoppin 1919, II, 330–32, no. 2; Ducati 1922, 304, fig. 234, 305; Heuzey 1922, 220 and pl. opposite; Demangel 1923, 67–70, 78, 80, 85, 86, fig. 9, 87, 90, 93–94; Pfuhl 1923, I, 460, III, fig. 355; Pfuhl 1924, 23–24, pl. 21, fig. 35; Beazley 1925, 36, no. 1, 467–68; Pfuhl 1926, 36–37, pl. 21, fig. 35; Swindler 1929, 182, pl. 13a; Angermeier 1936, 17–20, 24–25; Haspels 1936, 101–104; Philippart 1936, 26–27, no. 1; Lane 1948, 53, pl. 89C; Rumpf 1953, 79, pl. 22.4; *EAA* II (1959) s.v. *Ceramica* 497, fig. 687 (A. Stenico); Schoder [1961] pl. 35; Picard 1962, 109, fig. 4, 110; *EAA* V (1963) s.v. *Pasiades* 983, fig. 1198 (E. Paribeni); Richter 1970b, 63, fig. 294; Thimme 1970, 15, figs. 11–12; Boardman 1975, 61, fig. 107; B. F. Cook 1976, 54, 55, fig. 45; Gjerstad 1977, 58, no. 558, pl. 76, figs. 2a–c; Mertens 1977, 128–29, no. 1, 131–32, pl. 18.3; Cook and Charleston 1979, pl. 65, 293, no. 65; Boardman 1985b, 216 (R. M. Cook); Lissarrague 1990b, 185, 186, fig. 108; Robertson 1992, 52, 53, figs. 39–40; Moore 1997, 49, esp. n.5; Neils 2000, 221, fig. 8.9, 222; Clark, Elston, and Hart 2002, 65, fig. 57.

See Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, 334, no. 352, for an alabastron, and 372–73, nos. 415–16, for entirely white clay alabastra that imitate stone ones. On the variety of materials in which alabastra were produced, see Williams 2002, 341n.2. For a white-ground alabastron with a signature of Pasiades and black palmettes, see Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 1920: ARV² 99.3, 102.top.4; *BAdd*² 172; *BAPD* Vase 200861. The alabastron from Delphi is in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 15002: ARV² 98.2, 102.top.3, 1626; *BAdd*² 172; *BAPD* Vase 200860.

OUTLINE WHITE-GROUND LEKYTHOS

Attributed to Douris, ca. 500–490 B.C.

H 33.4 cm

Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 84.AE.770

European art market; purchased 1984;

formerly Swiss private collection

On the shoulder, *maenad between palmettes*

On the body, *warriors arming*

CONDITION: Poor; assembled from fragments; surface damaged from modern cleaning with acid; brown incrustations on maenad; taupe incrustations, esp. around youth greaving and woman; brown discolorations around boy; losses of relief lines and black-gloss details, esp. on maenad, greaving youth, and woman with shield; loss of right hand of warrior with shield, parts of his helmet, and most of boy's right foot; losses of dilute-gloss anatomical inner markings and fold lines on garments; white incrustations on inside of lekythos's neck, on handle, and on foot's underside.

THE CREAMY WHITE GROUND on this large cylindrical lekythos provided the young Douris with an extensive surface for outline drawing. This vase, in fact, is one of his three contemporaneous white-ground lekthoi with splendid outline friezes running clear around their bodies. These unusual lekythoi were probably produced in the same potter's workshop, and the Malibu example, by virtue of its straightforward composition consisting of two pairs of quiet, widely spaced, facing figures that do not overlap, may well be the earliest among them. At the far left, a young warrior, beside a household altar, places a greave on his left calf, while balancing on his right leg (fig. 58.1). His short, translucent chiton reveals the firm curve of his buttocks. *Kalos* inscriptions are sprinkled over the vase's ground: Nilodromos, Panaitios, and others are praised. A woman, standing at the center front, holds the greaving warrior's spear and his round shield (*hoplon*) with a spoked-wheel device; the last, shown parallel to the picture plane, has been drawn with the aid of a compass.



58.1



58.2

At the right, a handsome young warrior turns toward a nude boy, who serves as his squire, holding the warrior's sheathed sword and tall spear, which is angled to fill the space under the lekythos's handle (fig. 58.3). This young warrior extends his left arm so that the interior of his round, compass-drawn shield is exposed. The (now-fragmentary) magnificent helmet, inverted with its crest down, must have been held by its noseguard in his lost right hand (fig. 58.2).

Here Douris's technique combines the use of black relief lines for contours and other major details, and thicker lines of black gloss, especially for edges of drapery, with entirely black forms such as the helmet's casque, the shield band, the camp stool, and the hair of the boy and greaving youth. In addition, dilute gloss applied in various intensities describes the blond warrior's hair and sideburn, the horsehair helmet crest, fine drapery folds, inner markings, and other details. Added red is used quite sparingly, such as for hair fillets.

The richly decorated white shoulder likewise explores the range of effects that may be achieved with different applications of black gloss. At the center front, a maenad with streaming hair, who carries a *thyrsos* and a flaming torch, runs toward the right, looking back. She is flanked by circumscribed outline palmettes with alternate dilute-colored fronds and fronds containing black tongues; both outline and black lotus buds issue from their spiraling tendrils. Black tongues border the base of the neck. A black net above and black dot pattern below border the lekythos's body frieze.

This white-ground lekythos presages the eloquent draftsmanship of Douris's mature red-figure vase-painting and also illuminates his penchant for organizing red-figure pictures to emphasize outline drawing against reserve (Cohen, chap. 5, fig. 5; cf. cat. no. 48). The continuous body frieze and figural shoulder decoration, features not adopted on standard funerary white lekythoi of the Classical period, are common on Late Archaic black-figured white-ground lekythoi (cf. cat. no. 55). At the same time, Douris's sophisticated handling of black line and dilute along with his penchant for fancy details, such as the blond warrior whose eye is rimmed by lashes, is indebted

to the later white-ground work of Euphronios, which develops beyond semi-outline (cf. cat. no. 30), such as on at least one of the fine fragmentary cups in Eleusis. While Douris's own early cups also employ white ground, he matured into a cup-painter, who worked for potters of red-figured ware and, thereby, left behind this impressive, albeit short-lived, venture into a special technique.

REFERENCES: *BAdd*² 398; *BAPD* Vase 16229; Dörig 1975, no. 205 (G. Ortiz and J.-L. Zimmermann); Buitron 1976, 48, no. 36, pl. 12, no. 36; "Aquisitions/1984," *GettyMusJ* 13 (1985) 168–69, no. 19; Kurtz 1989b, 113–25, figs. 1a–e and front cover; Lissarrague 1990b, 48, fig. 19, 49; *JPGM Handbook* 1991, 48; Buitron-Oliver 1995, 18, 44, 51–53, 64–65, 75, cat. no. 45, 95, fig. 6e, pls. 28–29; *JPGM Antiquities Masterpieces* 1997, 37; *JPGM Handbook* 1997, 47; *JPGM Handbook* 2001, 47; *JPGM Antiquities Masterpieces* 2002, 70; Spivey and Squire 2004, 202, figs. 319–20.

Douris's two other outline white-ground lekythoi are Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale NI 1886, sacrifice of Iphigeneia: *ARV*² 446.266, 425; *Para* 373; *BAdd*² 241; *BAPD* Vase 205315; Buitron-Oliver 1995, 75, no. 46, pl. 30; Oakley 2004a, 109, no. 12, and Cleveland Museum of Art 66.114, Atalanta and Eros: *Para* 376.266 bis; *BAdd*² 241; Buitron-Oliver 1995, 75, no. 47, pl. 31; Oakley 2004a, 100, no. 4, 102–103, color pl. 4A. For the fine white-ground Gigantomachy cup, Eleusis, Archaeological Museum 619, see: *ARV*² 315.4 (attributed to the Eleusis Painter), 1592, 1645; *BAdd*² 213; *BAPD* Vase 203232, and, on the attribution to Euphronios, Buitron-Oliver 1995, 59n.396. See esp. Eleusis, Archaeological Museum 618, which depicts a Triton with separate wavy locks of hair and eyelashes: *ARV*² 314.3 (attributed to the Eleusis Painter); *Para* 358; *BAdd*² 213; *BAPD* Vase 203231. For Douris's white-ground work on cups, see: Paris, Musée du Louvre G 276 (plus CP 973 and New York 1973.175.1): *ARV*² 428.11; *BAdd*² 235; Buitron-Oliver 1995, 74–75, no. 23, pl. 14, and London, British Museum GR 1888.6-1.757–58, *BM Cat Vases D* 1: *ARV*² 429.20, 1652; *BAdd*² 236; *BAPD* Vase 205064; Buitron-Oliver 1995, 74, no. 33, pl. 22, no. 33.



58.3

59

WHITE-GROUND LEKYTHOS WITH SECOND WHITE

Attributed to the Pan Painter, ca. 490 B.C.

H 38 cm

St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum
B 2363

Acquired 1901; formerly collection of
A. A. Abasa

Artemis and a swan

CONDITION: Body intact; mouth with top of neck reattached; outer edge of mouth chipped; taupe and brown discolorations of white-ground surface; deep chip in surface about 3.5 cm to right of Artemis's head; some loss of white ground around body of swan; loss of dilute fold lines on Artemis's chiton sleeve; gashes in the sleeve, in lower part of her nebris, and in her chiton's skirt at lower front; discolorations of pitted second white on Artemis's face and arms; second white on swan chipped and cracked; chips and gashes in reserved vertical edge of vase's foot.



THE PAN PAINTER APPEARS to have been especially fond of Artemis, virgin goddess of the hunt. On the obverse of his name vase—a red-figured bell-krater in Boston of ca. 470 B.C. with Pan pursuing a goatherd on the reverse—Artemis elegantly orchestrates the death of the hunter Aktaion. On his early St. Petersburg lekythos, the goddess is shown in a quiet, seemingly intimate moment: standing regally with her right hand extended toward the beak of a swan, while she balances a metal phiale on her outstretched left hand, ready to make a libation. This scene is painted with a breathtaking tenderness that here underlies the Pan Painter's often facile stylization. The outline technique of early fifth-century white ground has been enriched by a complex interweaving of relief lines, drawing lines of dilute gloss, and nuanced coloring with washes of dilute, with black gloss and the addition of a whiter second white upon the cream-colored ground. This second white has been applied thickly for Artemis's flesh and the bird's body, and these features are outlined with dilute lines ranging from brown to orange.

In this intricate image, Artemis is formally dressed in a long orange chiton with a full, buttoned sleeve and a himation with a black border that hangs in archaistic stacked folds. These cloth garments are topped by a dappled fawn-skin cloak (nebris) worn with the animal's little head and long ears flopping upside down at her back. A cylindrical quiver decorated with spirals, characteristic of this painter's work, also hangs at her back. Artemis's facial features, jewelry, and ankle bones have been drawn on her flat white flesh with dilute lines of varying intensity. The goddess's head, with its rounded chin and classic profile, is crowned by a leaf-trimmed diadem that is colored by the white of the ground itself and drawn with relief lines amid her long black hair. Her hair is caught in an oblong clasp rendered in outline (cf. cat. no. 60). The statuesque goddess looks down at the swan before her, which balances on one leg, birdlike, and is about to nuzzle her hand.

The detailed surface-handling of the swan exhibits a surprising naturalism. Not only are its long flight feathers and small, scalelike feathers on

the wing coverts outlined in dilute, but dashes or dots of dilute also suggest the feathered surface of the bird's body and long neck. The bottom of the swan's head is delineated by an arc of orange dilute on its neck. Its beak is a bright yellowish orange, a color probably achieved by a wash of dilute over the second white. The swan's convincingly drawn legs and feet, rendered with orange and brown outlines on the white ground, are a creamier color than its pure white body. Delicate dilute lines indicate the tufts of feathers from which the legs project. The goddess and bird stand upon a black line bounding the vase's lower white-ground border of a meander interrupted by saltire squares. A configuration of red-figure palmettes and lotuses graces this lekythos's black shoulder.

In early Greek art, Artemis was shown hieratically as *potnia theron* (mistress of animals), winged herself and carrying a beast or a bird in each hand; the contrasting genrelike image of this Late Archaic lekythos effectively captures the goddess's traditional nature. In contemporary life, Artemis protected unmarried girls, especially the so-called little bears who served in her sanctuary at Brauron in Attika. Perhaps a maiden's wedding or her untimely death inspired Artemis's unusual appearance on this Archaic white-ground lekythos.

REFERENCES: ARV² 557.121, 1659; Para 513; BAdd² 259; BAPD Vase 206365; Waldhauer 1906, 58, fig. 3, pl. 1; Waldhauer 1913; Rumpf 1953, 83, pl. 24.8; Levi and Stenico 1956, 99, fig. 94, 103; Gorbunova and Peredolskaya 1961, 58, fig. 29, 59–60; Peredolskaya 1967, 86–87, no. 85, pls. 62–63.1; Follmann 1968, 36–37, 45, 53, 55–56, 76, 85, 112, no. 121; Beazley 1974, 7, 14, no. 70, pl. 14.1; Gorbunova and Saverkina 1975, no. 33; Kurtz 1975a, 27, 206, pl. 24.2; Richter 1975, 95, fig. 66; Mertens 1977, 207–208, pl. 40.1; Wehgartner 1983, 20–21; LIMC II (1984) s.v. Artemis 695, no. 969, pl. 517 (L. Kahil); Robertson 1992, 146; Zurich 1993, 192–93, no. 99; Suslov 1994, 238–39, no. 209 (L. Utkina); Benson 1995, 791, pl. 6; Reeder 1995, 308–309, no. 90; Oakley 2004a, 89, no. 17, 93; Piotrovsky 2004, [58–59] figs., 71.

For the Pan Painter's name vase, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 10.185, see: ARV² 550.1, 1658; Para 386; BAdd² 256–57; and BAPD Vase 206276. On Artemis as *potnia theron*, see LIMC II (1984) s.v. Artemis 626–28, pls. 443–47; esp. 626, no. 23 (Corinthian alabastron, Paris, Musée du Louvre A 468) and 626, no. 29 (Corinthian aryballos, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1896.42), pl. 444 (L. Kahil, catalogue with N. Icard).



60.1

60

OUTLINE WHITE-GROUND OINOCHOE

Attributed to the Brygos Painter, ca.
490–480 B.C.

H 21.6 cm

London, The British Museum

GR 1873.8-20.34, *BM Cat Vases* D 13

Said to be from Locri; purchased from
Alessandro Castellani 1893

Woman spinning

CONDITION: Excellent; intact; a few missing chips at outer edge of mouth and on handle; cleaned: incrustations and discolorations removed from the white ground.

THIS RARE EXAMPLE OF A WHITE-GROUND oinochoe decorated in outline preserves one of the most famous ancient depictions of a woman spinning yarn that has come down to us. Here a lone female figure stands with her head slightly bent, paying close attention to the flow of yarn between her fingers. She has massed the fiber for her work on a long, turned wooden distaff, as the spindle, twirling below, produces the yarn. Dressed in a fine chiton with crinkly dilute folds and a heavy himation, this elegant woman is drawn with black relief lines. Relief lines outline the bands that secure her round bun, while the engobe itself provides their white color. Her fiber, yarn, and spindle are painted on the engobe in a bright contrasting brownish red, used also for the woman's bracelets, hair ties, and sandal straps. She stands on a dilute orange groundline that encircles the vessel.

Another well-known depiction of spinning occurs on a mid-sixth-century black-figured lekythos attributed to the Amasis Painter on which a frieze shows eleven women making cloth. In the black-figure technique, fiber and yarn are readily painted in black gloss upon the reserved ground. The equivalent red-figure use of reserved form is awkward for representing thin pliant yarn, and painting the yarn in red upon a black ground does not afford optimum visibility. Thus spin-

ning is a subject perfectly suited to Late Archaic white ground: Here the long strand of red yarn becomes the very subject of the white-ground vase-painting. Instead of a detailed scene showing different phases of woolworking, the anonymous vase-painter has spotlighted a single figure in accordance with a popular fashion on contemporaneous red-figured pots (cf. Cohen, Introduction, figs. 1–2). This oinochoe has been convincingly associated with the Brygos Painter, who painted sturdy cups bearing the potter-signature of Brygos, and who appears to have been the chief hand in that potter's workshop. The Brygos Painter practices an observant, strong, and expressive red-figure style (cat. no. 47); another white-ground masterpiece—the maenad within a cup in Munich (Mertens, chap. 6, fig. 4)—is likewise attributed to him. While the Munich maenad exudes the wild abandon of Dionysiac frenzy, the London spinner displays focused self-control.

This oinochoe's majestic female figure has been viewed as a respectable woman rather than one of the hetairai who are sometimes shown spinning in Attic vase-paintings. Dyfri Williams has suggested further that she may be the goddess Clotho, whose spinning determines human fate. Yet the inscription written in dilute at the upper right, *he pais kale*, simply declares, "the girl is beautiful," leaving the woman's identity to the viewer's imagination. This oinochoe's nearly perfect condition suggests not only that it must have been found in a tomb—probably in the Western Greek colony of Locri—but also that it might have been purchased as a grave gift. Its quiet genre depiction presages the female iconography of the white-ground funerary lekythoi fashionable in Athens a bit later in the fifth century (cf. cat. nos. 63, 64).

In daily life, oinochoai were used as wine pitchers, either at male drinking parties or by women in ritual libations. Of course, such jugs were also made in expensive materials, and this model's distinctive shape, including its broad-shouldered body, offset neck, trefoil mouth, and high handle flanked by rotellae, may have been derived from metal versions. The palmette on the back at the root of the vase's slightly askew handle surely evokes ornament on metal vases (cf. cat. no. 71). At the same time, this reserved red-figure



60.2

palmette on a patch of black ground, along with the reserved and black tongue pattern around the top of the oinochoe's body; the reserve and black of its foot; and its glossy black neck, mouth, and handle, stunningly contrast the standard color vocabulary of red-figured pottery with this clay vessel's unusual white body.

REFERENCES: ARV² 403.38 (attributed to the Foundry Painter), 405; BAdd² 231; BAPD Vase 204379; Newton and Thompson 1874, 4, pl. 13; C. H. Smith 1896, 394 (attributed to Brygos); Tonks 1904, 114, no. 54 (attributed to Brygos); Wiegand 1913, 6, fig. 4; Beazley 1918, 94 (attributed to the Foundry Painter); Hopkin 1919, 1, 457, no. 12 (Foundry Painter); Bieber 1928, 2, fig. 4, 6; London 1929, 133, fig. 147; Cloché 1931, 70, pl. 29.3; Corbett 1965, 18n.13; Bieber 1967, 12, 13, pl. 1.2; Zinserling 1973, 26; Mertens 1977, 126, no. 2, 127, pl. 18.1; Williams 1982, figs. 1–3, 8–10 (attributed to the Brygos Painter); Williams 1983b, 94–95, fig. 7.3; Alfaro Giner 1984, 76, fig. 38; Williams 1985, 44, 50, back cover; Alfaro 1986, 176, 177, fig. 66; Robertson 1992, 98, fig. 93, 109; Barber 1994, 37, 38, fig. 1.3; Di Vita 1998, 174, fig. 6; Williams 1999, 82, back cover; Ferrari 2002, 26–27, 31, 215, fig. 14; Pedley 2002, 279, 280, fig. 8.49.

For the Amasis Painter's lekythos depicting the production of cloth, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 31.11.10, see ABV 154.57, 688; Para 64; BAdd² 45; BAPD Vase 310485; and see Ferrari 2002, figs. 104–105, and, for women spinning on red-figured vases, figs. 107 and 113.

WHITE-GROUND DOUBLE-DISK

Attributed to the Penthesilea Painter,
ca. 460–450 B.C.

Diam, A: 12.8 cm restored; B: 12.5 cm

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art
28.167, Fletcher Fund, 1928

From near Athens; purchased 1928

A, *winged male figure (Eros?) and a youth with a lyre*

B, *winged goddess (Nike?) and a boy with a sprig of ivy*

CONDITION: Disk A: left side and lower portion missing, chip at right edge, otherwise intact; brown line at edge flaked; surface loss at upper right; loss in inscription (*h[opais] kalos*); outline of iris in youth's eye lost; chips in youth's diadem and on winged male's thigh, buttocks, and genitals; wings



61.1

mostly missing; disk B: intact; losses in pattern on goddess's *sakkos*; outline of her lips lost; chip in ground before her forehead, gash before her left hand; chip reattached on her left thigh; cylinder joining disks restored; pairs of ancient drill holes: 1.9 cm apart on A, and 2.5 cm on B.

THE PENTHESILEA PAINTER'S magnificent, subtle work on this white-ground double-disk, like that on his red-figured name vase (Cohen, chap. 4, fig. 4), surely reflects contemporary monumental painting. A handsome pair of human figures—a youth or boy approached by a winged being—graces each face, whose surface is toned with a pale yellow wash. On side A, both figures are nude males, drawn in sensitive dilute-gloss lines with their perfect bodies turned in nearly profile or front views, respectively. (The curved line at the break may have belonged to an altar's volute.) Preliminary sketch lines in nearly colorless dilute gloss are still visible. The youth at the right grasps a lyre with a shaded sound box and arms in added-white clay. His milky-brown mantle with reddish-brown borders and folds serves as a backdrop for his body. Thin white lines describe folds in the reddish-brown cloth on both disks. The long curly hair of the youth on A, painted with black gloss and dilute, is bound by an elaborate diadem the same color as his mantle. There are shadows of lost added-clay projections at the upper front edges of the diadems on both disks. The nude winged male, wearing a similar diadem, has contrasting long straight hair. A dark brown fillet adorns his upper right arm, and a bracelet in raised white clay encircles his right wrist. This double-disk's white-clay details may originally have been gilded. The winged male grabs the youth by the arm, propositioning him with parted lips. As the youth looks back, their matching pale eyes with black pupils lock.

Both sides of this double-disk are inscribed *hopais kalos* (the boy is beautiful). The beautiful nude boy on side B is being awarded a brown sash with white fringes by a gracefully draped winged goddess. These two figures' pale eyes do not meet; instead the youth's left foot, sporting an added-clay anklet, overlaps the

female's right, forming a V-shaped composition. He holds open his milky-brown cloak with dark borders with his right hand and grasps a sprig of black ivy in his left. A nonsense inscription enlivens his elaborate reddish-brown diadem. The winged female's peplos is pale orange; its folds and the visible contours of her breasts and right leg are a darker orange dilute. The reddish-brown borders of her garment's overfall and skirt are delicately embellished with yellowish white, while a milky-brown *sakkos* with a reddish-brown band and a yellowish-white pattern covers her hair. A white-clay bracelet graces her left wrist; beneath her ear is the shadow of a lost added-clay earring. The contours of her arms and feathered wings have been reinforced with relief lines, while internal details of the wings' plumage are a pale orange dilute. Here preliminary sketch lines, which are impressed rather than clear gloss, reveal adjustments in the position of the youth's sprig and the edge of his drapery.

There has been little modern agreement about the ancient use of this double-disk. A rarity, generally discovered in and around Athens, this type of object has commonly been called a bobbin based on Gisela M. A. Richter's suggestion that it could have been employed for winding yarn. Use as a child's toy, like a yo-yo, has also been suggested. The double-disk's fragility, however, might indicate that it was a symbolic version of a daily-life object. And erotic iconographic emphases on youthful male beauty and on abduction scenes probably signify that double-disks were unsuitable for children. In fact, their discovery in women's graves has recently promoted the view that this object was a love charm employed by young Athenian women for luring men of their dreams.

This double-disk's iconography has likewise been disputed. In the predominant entirely mythological interpretation, the west wind, Zephyros, and Apollo's love, Hyakinthos, appear on A, and Eos with a human paramour (Kephalos or Tithonos) on B. In a compelling alternative, a non-mythological youth or boy is coupled with a divine figure on each side: Eros on A, Nike on B. Erika Simon (1985) suggests the disks' depictions may celebrate a young lyre-player's victory in a dithyrambic chorus at an Athenian festival, while



Jenifer Neils (1994) would identify the boy on disk B as a winner of the *euandria*, an Athenian tribal beauty contest for boys.

REFERENCES: ARV² 890.175, 1673; BAdd² 302; BAPD Vase 211738; Richter 1928; Richter 1930b, 348, fig. 250, 350; Brendel 1932, 308–309; Seltman 1933, 70; Diepolder 1936, cover, 16–17, pl. 19.1–2; Richter/Hall, 103–105, no. 74, pls. 76, 178.74; Scheurleer 1936, 101–102; Schuchhardt 1940, 204–205, figs. 170–71; Richter 1945a, 13 fig., 14; Richter 1945b, 17; Richter 1949b, 14; Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford 1950, 189; Giglioli 1950, 35, pl. 11.1–2; New York 1952, 220, no. 31, color pl.; Richter 1953, 85, 303n.50, pl. 66b; Levi and Stenico 1956, [108–109], figs. 100–101, [110]; Sichtermann 1956, 119n.77; Greifenhagen 1957, 64–65, 66, fig. 50; EAA III (1960) s.v. Giacinto 869, 870, fig. 1084 (C. Capri- no), and s.v. Giocattolo 908 (J. Dörig); Beck 1975, 42, no. 59, pl. 48; Richter 1975, 98, fig. 69; Mertens 1977, 141–43, no. 2, pl. 21.1; Dover 1978, 75, 78, 93, 221, no. R847; E. B. Harrison 1979, 92, pl. 26.1; Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 15–16, 81, no. 53, pl. 7.1; Reinhardt 1980, 44; Schefold 1981, 326–27, figs. 478–79; Neuser 1982, 121–22, 128–29, no. Z 8; Wehgartner 1983, 157, no. 5, 158, pl. 53.1; Shapiro 1985; Simon 1985, 70–71, pl. 62a–b; Maas and Snyder 1989, 89, 230–31n.61; Immerwahr 1990, 99, no. 657, pl. 29.119; LIMC v (1990) s.v. Hyakinthos 549, no. 44, 550, pl. 379 (L. and F. Villard); Weiß and Buhl 1990, 500n.133; LIMC vi (1992) s.v. Nike 877, no. 317, 901, pl. 583 (A. Goulaki-Voutira); LIMC vii (1994) s.v. Thanatos I. Incorrect identifications of Thanatos 906, no. 35 (J. Bazant); Neils 1994, 156, fig. 8 and back cover; Pipili 2002, 277n.10, 278 with n.13, 279n.27.

On the suspension holes, see Boardman 1954, 193n.111. I would like to thank Richard E. Stone, Senior Museum Conservator in the Department of Objects Conservation at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, for examining the double-disk by microscope; no traces of gold are visible on the surface.



62.1

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WHITE-GROUND LEKYTHOS WITH SECOND WHITE

Attributed to the Vouni Painter, ca. 460 B.C.
H 42.4 cm
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art
35.11.5, Purchase, Anonymous Gift, 1935

Woman and boy at tombs

CONDITION: Good; upper portion of body, neck, and shoulder reassembled from large fragments with in-painting along cracks; rest intact; scattered white incrustation on top of mouth, upper meander border, and black tomb bases; scratches, chips, and losses in white-ground surface, including on woman's chiton sleeve, on boy's face, head, neck, and arm; scattered losses of black, red, and second-white colors; black incrustation and brown discoloration of white-ground surface on back; black gloss cracked on woman's himation and lower vase body; foot's resting surface abraded and chipped.

THE RICHLY LAYERED POLYCHROMY in the vivid depiction of a woman and a boy visiting an Attic cemetery on this Early Classical funerary lekythos is extraordinarily well preserved. Its white ground is the creamy yellow color that was used in conjunction with a chalky, so-called second white. This whiter second white describes not only the flesh of the female figure at the left, who readies a commemorative fillet, but also two tall gravestones and one or more burial mounds (*tymboi*) that occupy the center of the composition. Some of the many fillets tied around these grave stelai are also second white, with their borders, and those of the vase's other white forms, outlined in black or dilute gloss. The rest of the fillets are either simply drawn in outline, or painted red or black—the two other colors employed in the lekythos's four-color scheme. The randomness with which the fillets are tied and their frequent overlappings enhance the naturalism and immediacy of this graveyard scene.

The downturned mouth of the black-haired boy in a red himation at the right denotes his sadness. He too holds a fillet (color lost) to bedeck the monument of a now-unknown deceased relative or

friend. The contours of the boy's form are drawn in outline so that the creamy white ground itself serves as the color of his flesh. The ground also provides the creamy color of the woman's chiton, which is further detailed with fold lines in dilute. The edges and folds of the boy's red himation were black; however, much of the pigment has not adhered to the underlying glossy sketch lines, leaving pale streaks of exposed ground along planned folds in the cloth (cf. cat. no. 64).

On this lekythos both red and second white have been employed for painting details on top of entirely black forms. The woman's black himation has red folds, and her hair is bound with red ribbons. The left grave monument's black base is outlined in red against that of the one on the right, which it overlaps. A wreath with red berries and white leaves, a pair of white *halteres*, a white aryballos suspended from red thongs, and a red strigil adorn the base of the right monument, which thus must have belonged to an athlete.

The gravestones' black finials, embellished with white palmettes and volutes, overlap the broken-meander border marking the top of the lekythos's body and extend onto its white shoulder. This impressive motif, suggesting the towering height of the gravestones, is employed also by the Achilles Painter and other masters. Here the imperfectly preserved paint surface reveals that these monuments were painted directly over the vase's ornament, which was applied before the picture was painted. For example, the right gravestone's second-white shaft originally covered the black line running below the upper meander, and this black line was further concealed by a row of black dots painted across the monument's face. Part of this black line has now been exposed by the flaking of the monument's paint surface toward the upper right. Pigment has likewise flaked from the top of the left monument's finial, exposing the black lines running above the ornamental meander. The use of black on these white gravestones aided in concealing the vase's underlying ornament. Finally, the white palmette and white volutes on the gravestones' black finials contrast with the black palmette configuration (with alternate red fronds) on the lekythos's white shoulder.



62.2

REFERENCES: ARV¹ 580.top.1; ARV² 744.1; Para 413; BAdd² 284; BAPD Vase 209194; Lehmann 1945, 31; Richter 1953, 88, pl. 69a; Noble 1965, 65, fig. 220; Kurtz 1975a, 27, pl. 26.2; Richter 1975, 114, fig. 83; Wehgartner 1985, 14, 17, fig. 11; Noble 1988, 141, fig. 220; Kurtz 1989b, 127–29, 128, figs. 6a–b; Oakley 2003, 168, fig. 9; Oakley 2004a, pl. 7.a–b, 145–46; (in Oakley 2004a and Oakley 2003, fillet held by boy is identified incorrectly as a wreath).

The painter's name vase comes from Vouni, Cyprus: Nicotia, Cyprus Museum V 453, see ARV² 744.2, 1561; BAPD Vase 209195; Beazley 1989b, 34, no. xv, V.453, pl. 14. Two mounds rather than one may be depicted; see Humphreys 1980, 110. See, recently, Oakley 2004a, 191–203, on the issue of whether or not gravestones shown on mid-fifth-century white lekythoi reflect contemporaneous Athenian monuments. For a gravestone overlapping the shoulder on a white lekythos attributed to the Achilles Painter, see Berlin, Antikensammlung 1983.1: BAPD Vase 8941; Oakley 1997, pls. 140B, 141. For the graffito "NV" on the underside of the foot of the Vouni Painter's lekythos, see Alexander, in Richter/Hall, 222; Johnston 1979, 156–57, Type 9F, 226, 247.



63.1

63

WHITE-GROUND LEKYTHOS WITH SECOND WHITE

Attributed to the Achilles Painter, ca.
460–450 B.C.

H 36.9 cm

Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen
zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz F 2443

From Pikrodaphni (ancient Halimous),
Attika; purchased 1877

Standing woman presents baby boy to seated woman

CONDITION: Reassembled from fragments, with missing parts and cracks filled in with plaster; those fragments burned in antiquity have turned gray; black gloss chipped on handle, neck, and mouth; some loss of white ground on vase's body and shoulder at upper back; gray, brown, and peach discolorations of white ground; white deposit on *sakkos* and parts of chair; losses of dilute details on second white of women's flesh; color on women's dresses lost; ends of central fronds of right black palmette on shoulder missing.

THE BRIGHT SECOND WHITE employed for the figures' flesh against a creamy beige ground marks this white-ground lekythos as an early work of the Achilles Painter, the anonymous master named after a depiction of the hero on a red-figured amphora in the Vatican who is the preeminent decorator of these Classical Athenian funerary vases (cat. nos. 64, 65). Here a standing woman, wearing a peplos or a chiton (only the underdrawing is preserved), who is not noticeably described as a servant, holds out a baby boy to a seated woman wearing a chiton and himation, who extends her open hands as the infant turns toward her and also reaches out. Both the male child and the women have white flesh. Although the Berlin lekythos's baby is the only one extant on his white lekythoi, this scene anticipates the limited repertory of quietly posed standing or seated figures, often shown in domestic settings, that characterizes the Achilles Painter's mature white-ground oeuvre. A comparable three-figure composition on later Classical gravestones emphasizes the poignant undertone of Athenian funerary iconography that relies on generic vignettes that evoke daily life and in which the dead may be envisioned as if alive. Thus here a male child, who may or may not be deceased himself, is presented to a woman who may well be his mother, who may or may not have died in childbirth. Although it may not be possible to identify these figures precisely, the empty space between them is ominously emphasized (cf. cat. no. 65). The top central placement of a *kalos* name with patronymic—here Dromippos, son of Dromokleides—written in three lines in a neatly aligned *stoichedon* style that evokes inscriptions on stone, imparts a formality and monumentality to this early lekythos; this practice will continue in later phases of the Achilles Painter's career with different (cf. cat. no. 64) *kalos* names.

In addition to the second white, an abundant use of black gloss also marks this white lekythos as one of the painter's early works. Here black gloss does not merely articulate the vase's mouth, neck, and handle; its lower body and foot; the palmettes on its white shoulder and the ornamental band of a stopped meander with saltire squares at the top of its body; but it also describes forms within the vase-painting itself. The hair of both female figures, the seated woman's himation, the oinochoe, and the handle of the mirror hanging above her are all black. Red painted on top of this black originally described the himation's folds and the women's hair bands. A complete loss of color on their dresses emphasizes the painter's nearly black drawing lines and the probable division of color application into pre- and postfiring stages. The second white for the figures' flesh, which was fired on and is quite thickly applied, is also outlined in black to strengthen its differentiation from the creamy white ground. Details on this second white have been quite sensitively painted with a golden-brown dilute gloss. They are remarkably well preserved on the baby boy, including delicate inner anatomical markings, a cord with a black amulet suspended diagonally across his body, his concerned facial features, and his still-thin hair. While the use of a second white with such descriptive dilute detailing may go out of fashion on Classical white-ground lekythoi (cat. nos. 64, 65), it is adopted as an important feature of later Classical Attic red-figure (cf. cat. nos. 34, 35, 100, 101). The seated woman's *klismos* (chair) is outlined and detailed with a slightly diluted black and painted a pale milky brown that suggests a piece of wooden furniture. The chair's color is balanced at the far left by a hanging *sakkos* that was originally a deep taupe with brown ties. Although this lekythos was smashed into pieces and burned in antiquity, probably on a funeral pyre, its fine drawing, remarkable detail, and partially extant polychromy all attest to the Achilles Painter's ability from the very beginning of his career to distill a nuanced image of human interaction from the colorful world around him.

REFERENCES: ARV² 995.118, 1576; *Para* 438; *BAdd*² 312; *BAPD* Vase 213940; *CVA* Berlin 8 [Germany 62] 25–26, pls. 9.3–5, 10.1, 11.4–5, Beilage 6; Furtwängler 1885, II, 678–79, no. 2443; Weissähupl 1890, 48, no. 3, 60–61; Wernicke 1890, 93–94; Bosanquet 1896, 165, no. 8, 169, 173, 175, pl. 7; W. Klein 1898, 159, no. 8; Fairbanks 1907, 159–60, no. 7; Riezler 1914, 34, 46, 51–52, 58,



63.2

80, 91, pl. 2; Beazley 1928, 49; Picard 1930, 104, pl. 13.2; Neugebauer 1932, 58–59; Robinson and Fluck 1937, 100; Schuchhardt 1940, 293, 296, fig. 274; Schloss Celle 1954, no. 171; Götte 1957, 21–22; Greifenhagen 1966, 29–30, 51, pl. 81; Gehrig, Greifenhagen, and Kunisch 1968, 157, pl. 90; Gericke 1970, 160, table 54, no. 275; Felten 1971, 15n.14, 38, 85, pl. 1.1, 99, pl. 15.3; Green 1972, 9 at n.83, 16n.83, pl. 3e; Zinserling 1973, 80, pl. 33; Kurtz 1975a, 38, 40, 44, fig. 19a, pl. 35.1; Humphreys 1980, 113, pl. 2b; Havelock 1981, 115, fig. 94; Rühfel 1984a, 108–10, fig. 43; Gersdorff [1985], 42, fig. 34; Keuls 1985, 139, 141, fig. 123; Walter 1985, 43, fig. 38, 44; Wehgartner 1985, 14, 20, 23, fig. 17, 24; Shapiro 1987b, 108, no. 20, 109, 111, 114, pl. 2b; Heilmeyer 1988, 140–41, no. 2; Kurtz 1988, 147, fig. 24.3; Boardman 1989, 132, fig. 261; Reilly 1989, 427, 433, no. 17, pl. 74, fig. 17; Oakley 1990, 52n.356; Frontisi-Ducroux and Vernant 1997, 80–81, ill. 6; Oakley 1997, figs. 7A, D, pl. 91C; Berlin 2002, 301, 306 fig., 309, no. 199; Oakley 2004a, 36, list 3, no. 47, 47, 48, fig. 21.

For the Achilles Painter's sensitive depiction of the male child, cf. the red-figured neck-amphora with Euphorbos and Oedipus: Paris, Cab. Méd. 372; ARV² 987.4; *Para* 437; *BAdd*² 311; *BAPD* Vase 213824; Oakley 2003, 178, fig. 17. For a comparable composition on Classical gravestones, see Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden 1 1903/2.1; Oakley 2004a, 221, fig. 174; and Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3790; Kaltsas 2002, 183, no. 362.



64

64

WHITE-GROUND LEKYTHOS

Attributed to the Achilles Painter, ca.
445–440 B.C.

H 38.4 cm

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 13.201,
Frances Bartlett Fund

Said to be from Gela; purchased from
E. P. Warren 1913

Girl brings chest to woman

CONDITION: Intact; gray incrustation on top of mouth, outer edge of mouth chipped; black gloss on handle chipped; leaves missing from palmettes on white-ground shoulder; white ground pitted on right back of body; gray, taupe, and beige incrustations on white ground and figure of girl; surface chips with loss of dilute-gloss outline of girl's nose and lower rear contour of her upper arm; color lost on girl's garment, central sections of chest, and hanging *sakkos*; red flaked on woman's himation; this red has bled onto her yellow chiton and the white ground; fillet at juncture of vase's body and foot chipped.

THIS MATURE WORK of the Achilles Painter is the paradigmatic Classical Athenian white-ground funerary lekythos, a type of vase that is often called simply a "white lekythos." The quiet, seemingly ordinary moment from daily life shown here has been drawn from this extraordinary painter's narrow yet evocative repertory: In a domestic interior, denoted by the *sakkos* and oinochoe hanging above at left, a girl carries a chest that could well contain jewelry to a tall woman, who wears a himation over her chiton, as if ready to leave home. These self-composed female figures stand in contrapposto poses and exchange serious glances. They approach the gravitas of contemporaneous sculpture from the Parthenon. Such pairs of female figures were once commonly referred to as "mistress and maid," but often, as here, nothing identifies one of them as a servant or slave rather than another family member. As is characteristic of white lekythoi attributed to the Achilles Painter, a *kalos* name with patronymic—here Axiopieithes, son of Alkimachos, written *stoichedon* style in a centralized three-line inscription—enhances the formality of the scene. In this vase-painting the inscription also helps to offset the difference in height between the girl and the woman. Above the figures' heads, the Achilles Painter's classic stopped meander interrupted by saltire squares runs along the top of the vessel's body. It is noteworthy that this fine, typical Athenian funerary lekythos, said to have been found in Gela, Sicily, appears to have been exported in antiquity.

This masterpiece's imperfect state of preservation reveals the different aspects of classic white-ground technique. On the left, the vase-painting's original bright colors have vanished. Thus the eloquent outline drawing in brown to brownish-orange dilute gloss that is exposed, such as for the girl's chiton, is largely underdrawing. The backswept hair of both women, rendered as sketchy, soft masses in black gloss, has been fully preserved. The chest shown, at the center of the composition, replete with the knobs employed for fastening it with a cord, is partially preserved. Its borders are painted a pale, pinkish-brown, but the color on its mid-section is lost. Now seeming to float above the girl's extended hand and arm, it has even mistakenly been called a stool.

On the right, the painted colors are extraordinarily well preserved, and their visual effect has been likened to lost contemporary free painting. The tall woman's brilliant yellow ocher chiton is strikingly juxtaposed with her deep red himation. As this red did not adhere to the dilute-gloss underdrawing, these drawing lines, which have, recently, been mistaken for incision, are now visible. Finally, any lines that may once have been applied intentionally on top of the garment's colors to indicate folds in the cloth have now also disappeared entirely (cf. cat. no. 66).

REFERENCES: ARV² 997.156, 1568; *Para* 438; *BAdd*² 313; *BAPD* Vase 213978; *Annual Report, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 38 (1913) 92; Beazley 1914, 222, no. 35; Fairbanks 1914, 249–50, no. 32a, pl. 41; Beazley 1918, 164, fig. 100; Langlotz 1922, 16–17, pl. 37, fig. 54; Pfuhl 1923, II, 551, 561, III, 207, fig. 538; Pfuhl 1924, 42, 44, 64, fig. 89; Pfuhl 1926, 68, 64, fig. 89; CB I, 46–47, pls. 24, 26; Gullini 1951, 12, pl. 6.3; Buschor 1954, 49; Buschor 1959, 32, 36, 39, fig. 32, 41; Richter 1959, 337, fig. 453; Robertson 1959, 141 fig., 142, 146; Thimme 1964, 24, pl. 7.1; Richter 1966, 75, 353, fig. 392; Charbonneaux, Martin, and Villard 1972, 251, fig. 284, 391; Kurtz 1975a, 46n.9; Folsom 1976, pl. 47; C. C. Vermeule 1982, 180–81, 228, 504, fig. 234; Wehgartner 1983, 22, 186n.21, pl. 4.1; Kurtz 1988, 146–47, fig. 24.2; Beazley 1989b, 26, 28, 31, 33, pl. 17.1; Boardman 1989, 132, 136, fig. 263, 247; Knoll 1989, 90, 91, fig. 12; Reilly 1989, 441, no. 87; Immerwahr 1990, 101, no. 5(d), pl. 31.126; Hadulla and Wachsmuth 1996, 303, fig. 2; Oakley 1997, 29, 63, 142–43, no. 210, color pl. 3B, pl. 3a–b; Oakley 2004a, 38, no. 84; Oakley 2004b, 212, figs. 8–9, 214, no. 30; Panvini and Giudice 2004, 384, no. L10.

For the Parthenon's Ionic frieze, see Neils 2001, and for the temple and its sculptures, in general, with references, see Hurwit 2004. Cf. for a chest with its central color preserved, CVA Basel 3 [Switzerland 7] 75, pl. 49.1–2, Basel, Antikenmuseum BS 454. Koch-Brinkmann 1999, 68, mistakes the exposed gloss sketch lines for incision.

The small inner containers, which held olive oil for grave offerings and libations, characteristic of Classical white lekythoi, are revealed on examples attributed to the Achilles Painter that are not intact. The neck and shoulder of his lekythos in Berlin, Antikensammlung 1983.1 (see cat. no. 62, REFERENCES), have separated at the join with the body and may be lifted off, exposing the inner container, which is in the globular shape typical of this painter's works, see Wehgartner 1985, 14, fig. 7, 15, fig. 9. See Schreiber 1999, 178, 181–82, figs. 20.26–32 on exposed globular inner oil containers of several white lekythoi attributed to the Achilles Painter. The association of these containers' various shapes with different painters was first made by Dietrich von Bothmer, see Noble 1988, 68. For the cylindrical containers associated with the Sabouroff Painter, see cat. no. 66.



65.1

65

WHITE-GROUND LEKYTHOS

Attributed to the Achilles Painter, ca.
435–430 B.C.

H 39.4 cm

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art
07.286.42, Rogers Fund, 1907

From Eretria; purchased 1907

Seated youth holding out a fruit to standing woman

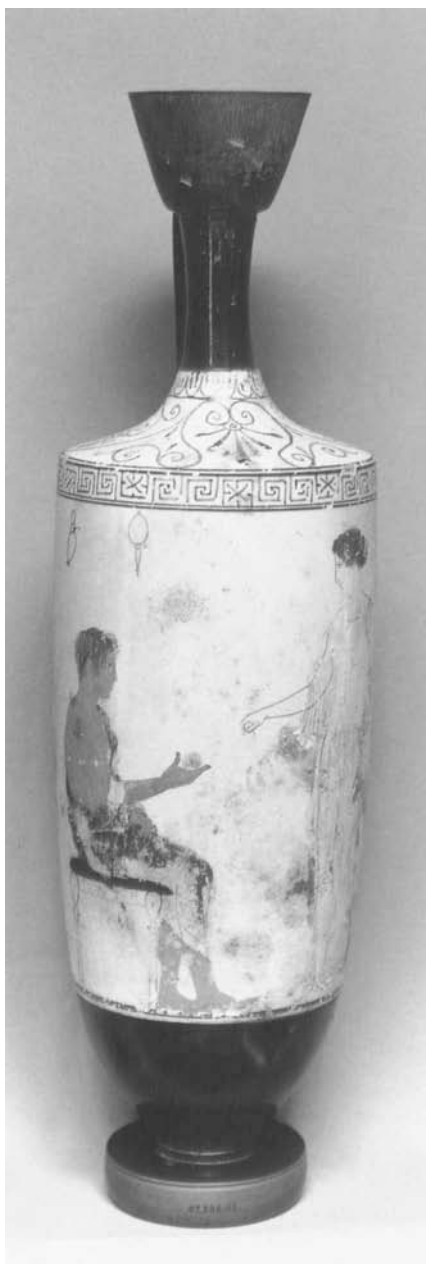
CONDITION: Intact save for reattached handle; black gloss chipped on handle, neck, and mouth; brown, beige, and yellow discolorations of white ground; surface flaked and pitted, esp. on and around female figure; vertical scratches in white ground extend into youth's hair and before his face; raised incrustation of pigment surface at back of youth's head; scratches in stool's seat and between its legs; gashes run through woman's cheek and center of her body; red color of youth's himation lost and color on woman's chiton lost; modern red fold lines on woman's chiton were removed; abrasion around edge of foot's resting surface; gray incrustation at bottom center.

THE SEATED YOUTH on this late work by the Achilles Painter has extraordinary pale-brown flesh and tousled hair in shades of black and Venetian red topped with wavy strokes of white that may have been influenced by the polychromy of Classical free painting. In its rare use of male flesh color on white ground well before the huge lekythoi from the end of the fifth century B.C. (cat. no. 68), the Metropolitan's vase has long been compared to the Thanatos Painter's contemporaneous white-ground lekythos in the British Museum, on which Hypnos is shown as a winged youth with pink flesh. Significantly, while Hypnos's flesh color is contained within the outlined contour of his body, the flesh color of the Achilles Painter's youth was originally applied over the figure's matt brown outlines, which merely served as under-drawing. Interior details of the youth's anatomy, such as his ear, the contour of his upper arm, and his eye were once painted on top of the flesh color. The sclera of the youth's carefully rendered profile eye is reserved in the white color of the ground; the pupil and the contours of the upper lid and iris are black, while the edge of the lower lid is

brown. Today the Achilles Painter is lauded for the exquisitely controlled draftsmanship and classic understatement of his prime works (cf. cat. no. 64) as well as their remaining color, but the New York lekythos preserves evidence that in the end color mattered most of all to the painter himself.

Although the youth's himation has been described as white (Oakley 1997), this was not its original color. The garment's white surface now is actually the lekythos's bright white ground itself, which had long been protected by a lost pigment that once covered the himation's surface. Scant traces of a vivid red color at the youth's knees appear to be the remains of the Classical color. (Although some modern overpaint was removed from this vase many years ago, a bright red color for the himation had been mentioned before, and more traces of color are visible on old photographs [Richter/Hall].) A second, deeper red, which is still well preserved, describes the cushion of the youth's *diphros*. The *sakkos* hanging behind the woman is also deep red and further decorated with zig-zags and a row of dots. An oinochoe and a mirror hanging above the youth as well as the stool on which he sits are simply drawn in matt brown (raw umber), which is typical of this master's late works. These hanging objects set this white-ground scene indoors, like many others from the hand of the Achilles Painter.

The youth holds out a round fruit to the now poorly preserved brown-haired woman, who stands before him in a contrapposto pose. She half extends her right arm toward the fruit, leaving a void at the center of the composition. Only a faint brownish shadow of the fruit remains. Beyond simply being a token of affection between a man and a woman, if the fruit depicted was a pomegranate—strongly associated with death and the Underworld—it might identify the lavishly painted youth as the deceased in this typical, quiet two-figure composition on a funerary lekythos.



65.2

REFERENCES: ARV² 1001.209; BAPD Vase 214031; Beazley 1914, 226, no. 42; Fairbanks 1914, 260–61, no. 14a, pl. 39; Richter 1917, 129; Beazley 1918, 164; Pfuhl 1923, II, 560–62, III, pl. 206.536; Beazley 1925, 379, no. 40 (Manner of Achilles Painter); Richter 1927, 162; Richter/Hall, 151, no. 117, pls. 116, 176; Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford 1950, 195–96; Richter 1953, 99; Kraiker 1958, 92, 149, pls. 46–47; Buschor 1959, 41, 46, fig. 38, 47; Gericke 1970, 159, table 53, no. 267; Folsom 1976, 146, pl. 48; Sutton 1981, 321–22, 326, 381, table G.1, 419, no. G.146; Oakley 1997, 27, 66, 153, no. 292, color pl. 3A, pl. 150A–B, figs. 5D, 6D; Tzachou-Alexandri 1998, 93, 94, fig. 23; Oakley 2004a, 60, list 4, no. 33.



66.1

66

WHITE-GROUND LEKYTHOS

Attributed to the Sabouroff Painter, ca.

445–440 B.C.

H 31.3 cm

Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen
zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz F 2455

Probably found in Attika; purchased 1877
from Athens

Hermes, Charon, and a youth

CONDITION: Body intact; foot and handle reattached; black gloss chipped and flaked on handle, neck, and mouth; white incrustation within mouth; gashes and chips and overall crazing of white ground; beige and brown discolorations; some loss of added colors, esp. on Hermes' chlamys and youth's himation; possible change in color of vegetation from green to brown.

A FULL GAMUT OF STATES OF COLOR preservation may be observed in the Charon scene on this Classical white-ground lekythos, which represents, in mythic form, a youth's confrontation with his own death. The deceased youth standing at the right, who is depicted as if alive, is the most poorly preserved figure on the vase (fig. 66.2). He was originally depicted wrapped in a heavy, cinnabar-red himation with black folds, which, save for some remains of the upper portion, has mostly vanished. The youth's hair and the outlines of his face and ear are rendered in matt black. The pure Classical profile of his face, formed by a straight line running from the brow to the tip of his nose, is countered by the downward turn of his mouth, which suggests his inner anguish.

Charon, ferryman of the dead, and Hermes, guide of souls to the Underworld, await the youth. The messenger god (fig. 66.2), standing impatiently at the center with his hand on his hip and his body in what would have been front view, looks intently at the youth. Hermes' matt black hair and beard look windblown. His attributes—here a helmetlike *pilos*, a *kerykeion*, and winged boots—are drawn with well-preserved matt black outlines, but any colored details have vanished. Only the red borders of Hermes' chlamys are preserved. The

lost main color of its cloth might have been Egyptian blue, and this now-missing color protected the white surface of the underlying engobe, which thus still reflects the chlamys's contour.

In contrast, the colors of Charon's garment and boat are almost perfectly preserved (fig. 66.1). The ferryman, who is not shown as old or especially ugly, wears an *exomis*, a short chiton fastened on the left shoulder that served as workmen's dress; it is a deep cinnabar red. This garment's astonishingly fluid and intricate folds are painted with matt black lines upon the red fabric. The color of Charon's boat is a brilliant yellow ocher applied in broad separate brushstrokes. His boat's wooden pole, a more concentrated hue of the same yellow, is described by color alone. The brilliant colors on this portion of the lekythos are so extraordinarily well-preserved, in fact, that in the CVA their authenticity is mistakenly questioned. Interestingly, only the front half of Charon's boat is represented; an impressionistic depiction of reeds, bullrushes, and other water plants fills the back of the vase (fig. 66.3). Charon's boat must originally have been shown as if emerging from overgrown banks at the water's edge, a distinctive motif probably derived from a now-lost Classical painting.



66.3

The anonymous vase-painter of this white-ground lekythos was named the Sabouroff Painter by Beazley after a nuptial lebes in Berlin, formerly owned by the Russian count Sabouroff. This master began as a rather pedestrian red-figure cup-painter, who became inspired by the possibility of painting in color on a white ground. Later in his career the Sabouroff Painter produced white-ground lekythoi exclusively, and he appears to have worked in the same pottery workshop as the Achilles Painter (cat. nos. 63, 64, 65). Depictions of Charon were one of his specialties, and he is credited with introducing the use of matt black outlines on white-ground lekythoi. So great was this painter's interest in polychromy that he generally did not draw continuous outlines, but relied on color itself in the creation of form.

REFERENCES: ARV² 846.196; Para 423; BAdd² 297; BAPD Vase 212344; CVA Berlin 8 [Germany 62] 30–31, pls. 16.1–5, 17.3–4, 6, 8, Beilage 9.1; Furtwängler 1885, II, 684–85; Fairbanks 1914, 12–13, no. 15, 17, pl. 3.1; Riezler 1914, 117–18, pl. 45, 12, 46n.110, 51, 62; Neugebauer 1932, 59, pl. 62.center; Schuchhardt 1940, 294, 298, fig. 276; Diepolder 1947, 51, fig. 35, 53; Greifenhagen 1966, 29, 30, 52, no. 83, pl. no. 83; Gehrig, Greifenhagen, and Kunisch 1968, 157–58; Greifenhagen 1968, 23, 31, pl. 4; Brommer 1969, 167, no. 7, 171; Kurtz 1975a, 35 at n.9; Bruno 1977, 99–100, pl. 15a–b (reversed); Gehrig et al. 1980, 66–67, no. 26; Wehgartner 1983, 28, pl. 3.1 (with wrong accession number); LIMC III (1986) s.v. Charon 1 213, no. 7a, 218–22, pl. 168 (C. Sourvino-Inwood); Krauskopf 1987, 73–74n.234, pl. 15b; Heilmeyer 1988, 140–41, no. 6; LIMC V (1990) s.v. Hermes 337, no. 611a (G. Siebert); Koch-Brinkmann 1999, 30, 59, figs. 54–55; Kavvadias 2000, 119, no. 204, 128, 130, pl. 139, no. 204; Berlin 2002, 496, 498–499, no. 374 (I. Wehgartner); Wehgartner 2002, 93n.24; Oakley 2004a, 108, no. 7, 115, figs. 70–71, 116.

While the body of the Berlin lekythos is intact, on the Sabouroff Painter's fragmentary white-ground lekythos in Malibu, JPM 73.AE.41, the cylindrically shaped inner oil container characteristic of this painter's lekythoi is exposed; a vent hole on the shoulder prevented the vase from exploding during firing because the inner container blocked the opening at the vessel's neck, see Schreiber 1999, 183, 184, figs. 20.36–37. For an X-ray photograph of a lekythos attributed to the Sabouroff Painter showing the cylindrical container inside and on interpretations of these inner containers see Oakley 2004a, 7, figs. 2, 8.

Two nuptial lebes in Berlin were formerly in the Sabouroff collection, the name vase, Antikensammlung F 2404 (ARV² 841.70; BAdd² 296; BAPD Vase 212249) and Antikensammlung F 2405 (ARV² 841.71; BAPD Vase 212250).



66.2



WHITE-GROUND CALYX-KRATER

Attributed to the Phiale Painter, ca.

440–435 B.C.

H 32.8 cm

Vatican City, Vatican Museums 16586

From Vulci 1835; acquired 1835

A, *Hermes bringing the infant Dionysos to Papposilenos and the nymphs of Nysa*
B, *two Muses listening to central seated Muse playing the barbiton*

CONDITION: Very good; assembled from large fragments; current restoration reveals most cracks and losses; speckled brown and black incrustation over white-ground and reserved surfaces; excellent preservation of added colors; on side B, toned plaster inset at back of left Muse; poor surface condition of fragment with upper part of seated Muse; scratches on her brown chiton; losses in her barbiton's strings; restoration along cracks running through all Muses' garments.

THIS CALYX-KRATER'S extraordinarily well-preserved colorful white-ground paintings appear to have been inspired by sources from outside the realm of pottery. Its unknown artist, a pupil and workshop colleague of the Achilles Painter (cat. nos. 63, 64, 65), is known as the Phiale Painter after a red-figured libation dish in Boston. This white-ground calyx-krater, the Phiale Painter's masterpiece, must have been created around the time of the Parthenon frieze, with which it shares a subtle variety in movement and pose of calm, self-controlled human figures. The vase's harmonious polychromy may well reflect lost Classical free paintings. In addition, the memorable mythological scene on the obverse has been thought to reflect, perhaps through the intermediary of a lost famous painting, a Classical satyr play by Sophokles, the *Dionysiskos*.

The infant Dionysos, who was born from his father, Zeus's, thigh after the death of his mother, Semele, is here entrusted for nurturing to old Papposilenos and the nymphs in faraway Nysa. Hermes, identified by his winged cap, winged

boots, and *kerykeion*, tenderly delivers the divine baby to his caretakers, who dwell in a rustic, ivy-strewn rocky landscape. The attentive nymph at the left as well as old Silenos himself sit on rocks, and the nymph looking on at the right wears an animal skin over her dress.

A rustic setting likewise appears on the reverse. Here a Muse sits on a rock atop Mount Helikon as she plays the long-armed barbiton, flanked by two other Muses wrapped in himations, who stand by listening. If Muses were in charge of the young Dionysos's musical education, then the vessel's two sides would be closely related to the god thematically. In any event, the occurrence of both images together is eminently appropriate on a vase designed for mixing wine with water at the Classical symposium, where drinking was accompanied by musical entertainment.

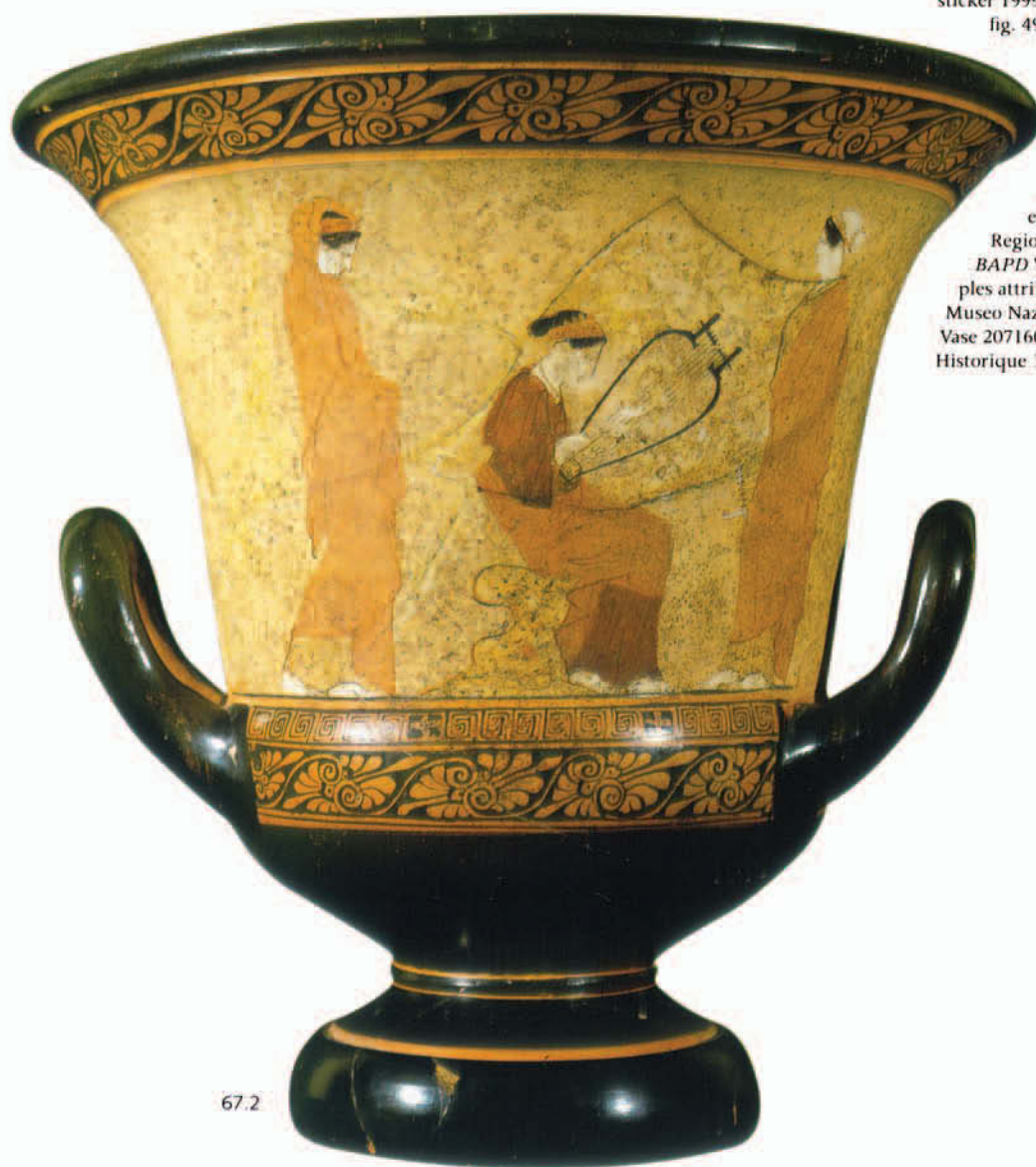
The white-ground technique of the Phiale Painter's calyx-krater differs from that of contemporaneous white-ground lekythoi, which employ chalk-white grounds, matt outlines for figure drawing, and an array of bright, but often fugitive colors applied after firing. In contrast, here the ground is toned to a yellowish cream. Black gloss has been employed widely, especially for most figures' hair, and it has been diluted for drawing lines and shading. The added colors range from the purple red of the infant Dionysos's swaddling cloth to admixtures of brown, from orange to pinkish red, for other figures' clothing. Finally, a whiter second white has been used extensively for female flesh, folds and patterns of cloth, the *sakkos* and lyre of the right-hand Muse on side B, as well as the tail, beard, head, and body hair of Papposilenos, whose hoary depiction may derive from a theatrical costume. While contemporaneous free painting surely differentiated white female flesh from a darker shade for males, a second white on a creamy ground had been employed on white lekythoi of the previous generation (cf. cat. nos. 62, 63). Taking workshop practice into account, one can determine that the Vatican calyx-krater's white ground, its second white, its black gloss and dilute, and its purple-red and brown range of colors would all have been applied before

rather than after firing, along with the red-figure ornament on its lip and cul. Entirely fired decoration would have resulted in a sturdy surface that could have withstood actual use before placement in a tomb, and that has survived on this large white-ground vessel to this day.

REFERENCES: ARV² 1017.54, 1678; *Para* 440; *BAdd*² 315; *BAPD* Vase 214232; Braun 1835, 124; Perrot 1914, 731–32, 733, fig. 402; FR III, 302–306 (E. Buschor), 302, fig. 144, pl. 169; Rumpf 1953, 97, 103, pl. 30.6; Richter 1956, 265, pl. 17B; Brommer 1959, 53, fig. 50, 55; Buschor 1959, 45–46, 50, fig. 40; Robertson 1959, 123–28; Simon 1960, 10, pl. 7.2; Simon 1961, 164, 165, fig. 34; Arias/Hirmer/Shefton, color pls. 43–44, 367; Devambez 1962, 131; *EAA*

v (1963) s.v. Nyseides or Nysai 615, fig. 769 (S. De Marinis); Helbig 1963, 694–96, no. 966 (H. Sichtermann); Boardman et al. 1967, 374, pl. 36; Schefold 1967b, pl. xix, 225–26 (I. Scheibler); Webster 1967, 148; Trendall and Webster 1971, 5; Walter 1971, 278–79, fig. 254; Charbonneaux, Martin, and Villard 1972, 260–63, figs. 296–98; Brilliant [1975], 207, 208, figs. 6–51(a–b); Simon/Hirmer, color pl. 48, 138–39; Mertens 1977, 122, no. 9, 125–26; Johnston 1979, 111; Waiblinger 1980, 146, fig. 4, 147, 149; Schefold 1981, 34–35, fig. 28; New York 1982, 190, no. 107 (D. von Bothmer); Wehgartner 1983, 36–37, no. 9, 38–39, pl. 5; Hemelrijk 1984, 9, fig. 7; Paquette 1984, 182–83, no. B14; Hamdorf 1986, 74, fig. 35; *LIMC* III (1986) s.v. Dionysos 480, no. 686, pl. 378 (C. Gasparri); Boardman 1989, 61–62, fig. 126; *LIMC* V (1990) s.v. Hermes 319, no. 368b (L. Kahil); Oakley 1990, 6, 15–16, 19, 32–33, 36, 45, 49, 75–76, no. 54, with references, pl. 38a–b; Buranelli 1991, 70n.63, 88–90, 91, fig. 18, 340, no. 61; *LIMC* VI (1992) s.v. Mousa, Mousai 660, no. 12, 675, pl. 384 (A. Queyrel); Tiverios 1996, 226–27, fig. 213, 355; Valavanis and Kourkoumelis 1996, 62–63; *LIMC* VIII Suppl. (1997) s.v. Silenoi 1112, no. 19, 1125, no. 161 (E. Simon); Van Keuren 1998, 13–15, 25–26, figs. 6–7; Krumeich, Pechstein, and Seidensticker 1999, 254–55, pl. 24b; Clark, Elston, and Hart 2002, 56–57, fig. 49; Buranelli and Sannibale 2003, 127, fig. on 138.

For the Phiale Painter's name vase, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 97.371, see: ARV² 1023.146; *Para* 441; *BAdd*² 316; *BAPD* Vase 214328. See Neils 2001 for the Parthenon frieze. On the calyx-krater's association with lost Classical painting, see Mertens, chap. 6. Cf., for the use of a second white on Classical white-ground calyx-kraters, the Phiale Painter's own earlier krater, Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale AG 7: ARV² 1017.53, 1579; *Para* 440; *BAdd*² 315; *BAPD* Vase 214231; Oakley 1990, pl. 37; fragmentary examples attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter: Reggio di Calabria, Museo Nazionale 12939A–B: ARV² 619.11 bis; *BAdd*² 270; *BAPD* Vase 207160; Wehgartner 1983, pl. 6.1–2; and Lausanne, Musée Historique 3700: ARV² 619.12; *BAdd*² 270; *BAPD* Vase 207161.



67.2

HUGE LEKYTHOS

Attributed to the Group of the Huge Lekythoi, ca. 400 B.C.

H (with mouth) 69.5 cm; (without mouth) 59.5 cm

Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz F 2685
From Alopeke, Attika; purchased 1872

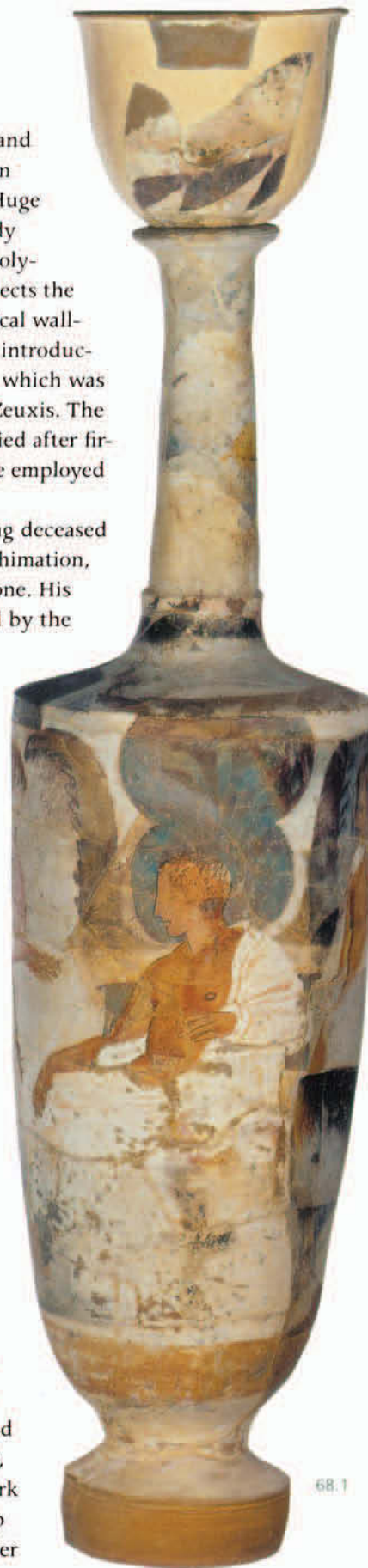
Deceased youth seated at tomb visited by two youths

CONDITION: Broken and burned in antiquity; body and neck assembled from many fragments; mouth restored in plaster incorporating original fragments; many fragments grayed from fire, some bleeding of color; mutation of blue to violet; color pigments on white-ground surface flaked and pitted, esp. on left youth; youths' eyes lost; root marks on central seated youth's face and chest; youth on badly burned fragments at right poorly preserved.

WITH THE FIVE IMPRESSIVE white-ground lekythoi in the so-called Group of the Huge Lekythoi, the production of Athenian funerary lekythoi and also the white-ground technique itself came to an end. The two examples in Berlin—this vase depicting a visit to a young man's grave and another depicting a *prothesis*—came to light in Attika in the late nineteenth century. All of these special vases appear to have been decorated by the same painter, and they may all have come from the same family burial ground. This Huge Lekythos was fashioned with a characteristic separate mouth, possible explanations for which are: the difficulty of forming neck and mouth together on such a tall vessel; the necessity of fitting the vase into the potter's kiln; or perhaps a ritual function for the separate mouth. Lacking an inner oil container (see REFERENCES in cat. nos. 64, 66) and a bottom, this substantial clay vessel must have served as a commemorative monument inspired by the great marble lekythoi that were now often used as gravestones. Here the use of black gloss on subsidiary areas, as was traditional on earlier clay lekythoi (cf. cat. nos. 59, 62, 63), has been abandoned. In emulating marble, the white ground now entirely covers the

vessel's shoulder, neck, mouth, and foot as well as the figural zone on its body. At the same time, the Huge Lekythos's white cylindrical body serves as a field for impressive polychrome painting that clearly reflects the latest advance in now-lost Classical wall- and panel-painting, namely, the introduction of shading by Apollodoros, which was further developed by his pupil Zeuxis. The pot's colors, which were all applied after firing, must be comparable to those employed in lost free painting.

At the center front a frowning deceased youth, partly draped in a white himation, is seated before his own gravestone. His head and upper body are framed by the monument's brightly colored anthemion crown consisting of a pair of outward-curving, originally blue acanthus leaves flanking a central green palmette on an originally blue ground. This vase-painting's Egyptian blue reacted with the kaolin-rich white ground when the pot was burned in antiquity, turning to violet; however, the earth tones employed here for other details have remained true. The youth's flesh reflects the suntanned color employed in ancient Greek painting to differentiate males from pale, white females. His face, surrounded by a close cap of dark brown hair, is now a pinkish-beige flesh tone flatly applied; unfortunately, the eye is missing. The remarkable preserved shading of his form, suggesting its three-dimensionality, begins at the back of his neck and continues onto his exposed torso, with separate brushstrokes of dark brown and orange applied on top of the flesh tone. In the rare earlier



68.1



68.2

instances of flesh color employed for males on white lekythoi, it was not shaded (cf. cat. no. 65).

Shown in a traditional type of scene found on funerary lekythoi, the deceased is flanked by two young men who have come to visit his grave. The youth at the left, wrapped in a pale orange-brown himation with brown folds, leans on his walking stick, which is overlapped by the deceased's legs. His exposed limbs appear to have been shaded in a manner similar to the deceased youth. The head and upper body of the otherwise poorly preserved standing youth at the right closely resemble those of the seated youth (fig. 68.2). The Berlin lekythos's painter also employed this standing youth on the larger Huge Lekythos with a grave scene in Madrid, which is 95 cm tall; in fact, the paintings on both vases are nearly replicas.

No traditional vase ornament has been employed on this Huge Lekythos. Instead, its shoulder, neck, and mouth are encircled by wreaths of leaves that suggest the commemorative wreaths actually employed as grave gifts. While

this monumental vessel is a testament to the skill of its potter and its painter, who may well also have worked outside the realm of vases, it is small compared to other Huge Lekythoi, which can rise to around a meter in height.

REFERENCES: ARV² 1390.4; BAdd² 373; BAPD Vase 217905; Furtwängler 1885, II, 769, no. 2685; Girard 1892, 216–18, 217, fig. 123; F. Winter 1895, 3 fig., 4, 8–10 fig., 13; Fairbanks 1914, 207–208, no. 3; Riezler 1914, 67n.172; Pfuhl 1923, III, fig. 553; Neugebauer 1932, 62–63; Rumpf 1947, 11; Kraiker 1950, 14, 15, fig. 3, 16; Rumpf 1953, 122, pl. 39.4; Brommer 1969, 155–63, pl. 22; Kurtz 1975a, 68–73; Robertson 1992, 254–55; Scheibler 1994, 57, fig. 20; Scheibler 1995, 93, 95, fig. 85; Koch-Brinkmann 1999, 36–38, 43, 78–79, 87–88, figs. 133–37, Beilage XXI; Berlin 2002, 497–98, 500, no. 378 (I. Wehgartner); Koch-Brinkmann and Posamentir 2004, 157, 158, fig. 260, 165.

On Huge Lekythoi, see also Wehgartner 1983, 29; Burn 1991b, 129–30; and Wehgartner 2002, 95 for the color. For Berlin's Huge Lekythos representing a *prothesis*, Antikensammlung F 2684, see: ARV² 1390.3; BAdd² 373; BAPD Vase 217904; Koch-Brinkmann 1999, figs. 142–48; Oakley 2004a, 79, no. 27. For Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional 11194, see: ARV² 1390.5; BAdd² 373; BAPD Vase 217906; Koch-Brinkmann 1999, figs. 138–41. On the potting of these vases, see Schreiber 1999, 183, 185, figs. 20.38–39.

WHITE-GROUND LEKYTHOS

Associated with the Group of the Huge Lekythoi, ca. 400 B.C.

H 75.5 cm

Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz F 2683
From Alopeke, Attika; purchased 1872

*Deceased youth seated at tomb visited by two men,
one with a horse*

CONDITION: Restored in 2005 at the Getty Museum; assembled from many fragments; handle and part of mouth and foot missing; broken and burned in antiquity with graying of some parts, bleeding of color and mutation of blue to violet; much loss of visible color and drawing on white-ground surface, including shading on flesh of male figures and horse.

THIS UNIQUE, OUTSIZED WHITE-GROUND lekythos is best understood in light of the Group of the Huge Lekythoi: It was discovered in the same nineteenth-century find from Attika as Berlin F 2685 (cat. no. 68). Although technically not one of the entirely white Huge Lekythoi, which have a separate mouth and no bottom, it is the only Attic vase outside of that Group to employ shading for figures' flesh under the influence of now-lost monumental painting. While this significant feature is well preserved on Berlin 2685, here the scant remains of shading are difficult to discern.

Sometimes considered a transitional vase that led to the creation of Huge Lekythoi, this white-ground lekythos is so large that it is actually taller than Berlin F 2685. As is the case with a standard white-ground lekythos, here black gloss has been employed on the mouth, neck, and (lost) handle as well as on the lower part of the body and the upper surface of the foot (cf. cat. nos. 62–66). The white ground covers the body's figural zone and extends up onto the shoulder and lower neck. Here there is neither a band of ornament around the top of the body nor ornament on the shoulder as there would be on a standard lekythos. Instead the impressive palmette finial of the tombstone

depicted on the body overlaps onto the plain white shoulder.

In a familiar scene handled in an untraditional way, a very sad-looking deceased youth sits before his own funerary monument (fig. 69.1). His face is shown in three-quarter view and framed by a painterly cap of short brown hair. He is surrounded by the anthemion's dramatic originally blue volutes and green fronds. Below, several once-blue commemorative fillets are draped over the monument's base. On the brown-haired male visitor at the left, who is partly draped in blue and holds his now-lost spear or staff planted vertically on the ground, traces of a brown mustache and beard as well as body modeling can be made out. The visitor at the right is a bearded cavalryman with paired spears who stands beside his horse (fig. 69.2). His



69.1



69.2

exotically patterned blue-green tunic is typical of the Thracian dress worn by Athenian horsemen, who are depicted relatively rarely on funerary lekythoi. The surviving details of the horse are impressive. The brown mane and tail have been painted in quick brushstrokes with loose unruly hair at the edges. The horse's head and shoulders are shown in three-quarter view and were modeled with individual brushstrokes of brown paint. The outlines of the horse and human figures are now a matt yellowish orange-brown dilute: This might have been underdrawing, subsumed by color, shading, and a final drawing of the forms, or it might be the final drawing that has simply faded.

A comparison of details of the upper part of the central deceased youth (fig. 69.3) taken in visible light (top) and shortwave (<280nm) ultraviolet (UV) light (bottom) is instructive. Under visible light, as noted above, the drawing medium used to define the figure is very faint and appears to have a light, somewhat yellow hue. In addition,



69.3

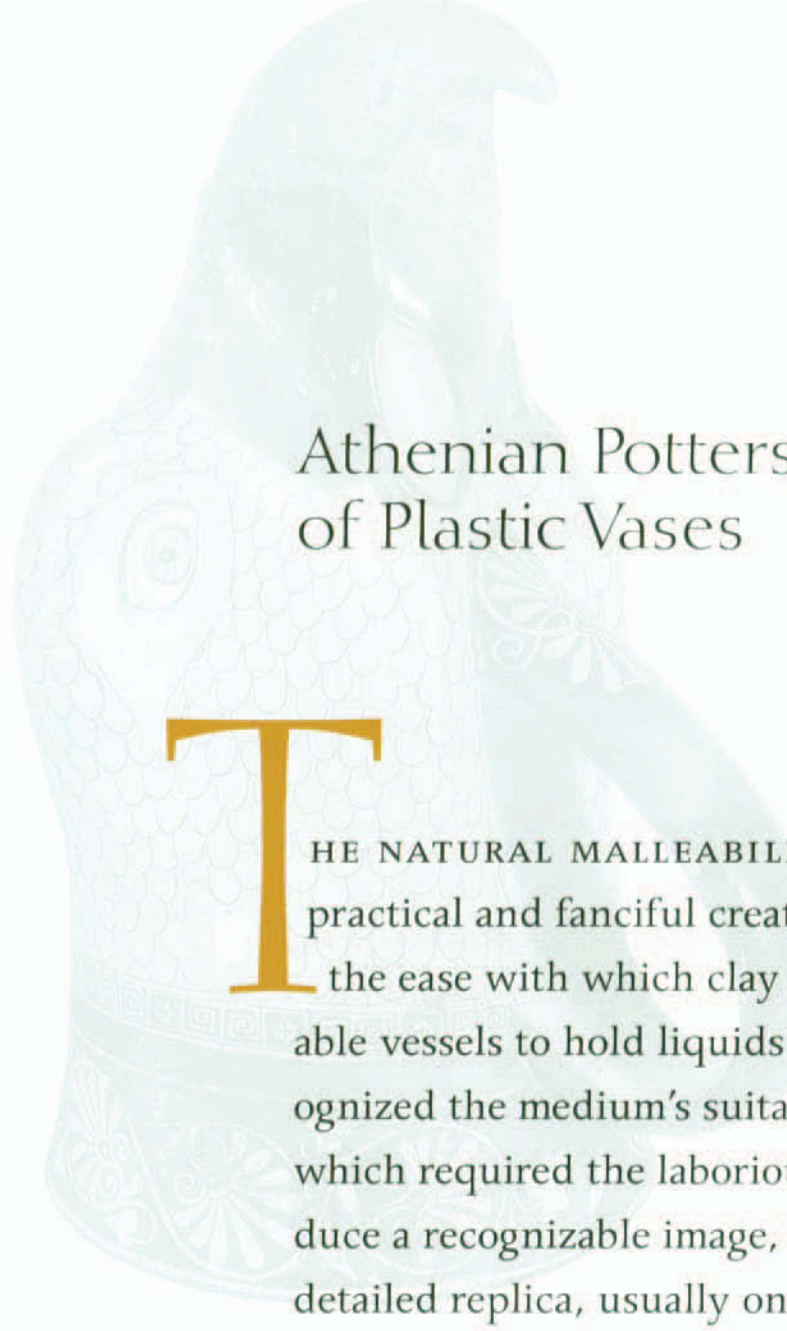
lines employed for shading on the youth's face, neck, shoulders, and hand are barely detectable. The original shaded definition of the figure's form, which appears to have faded, responds differently from the background when illuminated using shortwave UV light, which enables us to see it once again. Further analysis is under way to determine the nature of the painting medium and to understand more fully the image's original appearance.

REFERENCES: Furtwängler 1885, II, 767; Fairbanks 1914, 204–205, no. 1; Jacobsthal 1927, 191; Neugebauer 1932, 63; Scheurleer 1936, 111–12, pl. 35, fig. 99; Kurtz 1975a, 69 at n. 9; Robertson 1992, 254–55; Koch-Brinkmann 1999, 76–77, pls. 126–32; Oakley 2004a, 186, no. 4.

For earlier instances in which painted gravestones overlap shoulders of lekythoi, see cat. no. 62. My thanks to Marie Svoboda for examining the Berlin lekythos under UV light and for providing the photographic details illustrated here, and to Karen Trentelman, Senior Scientist at the Getty Museum, for helping to interpret the image taken under UV light.



Plastic Vases and Vases with Plastic Additions



Athenian Potters and the Production of Plastic Vases

Marion True

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu

THE NATURAL MALLEABILITY OF CLAY lends itself to both practical and fanciful creations. As early as craftsmen realized the ease with which clay could be fashioned into serviceable vessels to hold liquids as well as dry goods, they also recognized the medium's suitability for sculpting. Unlike stone, which required the laborious chipping away of material to produce a recognizable image, clay could quickly be modeled into a detailed replica, usually on a smaller scale, of some familiar form.

Thus it is not surprising that potters tried to combine these two aspects and disguise the functional nature of a clay vessel with a sculptural form. Artisans of all periods have delighted in converting containers into identifiable figures or parts of figures by adding heads and limbs as well as tails, horns, or beaks as appropriate. Similarly, they have fashioned recognizable fruits, nuts, shells, and even landmarks into containers. With human and animal forms, this tendency may in part have been due to the association between the parts of a body and the parts of a vessel.¹ Some shapes may also have been inspired by a connection between the vase shape and its contents—the

bust of a young woman holding perfumed oil, for example²—or the association of an image such as a bull³ or a pomegranate⁴ with some religious or funerary ritual.

Scholars have traditionally used the word *plastic*, as either an adjective or a noun, to refer to vases that are sculptural in form or have modeled elements applied to them. Adapted from the Greek verb *plasso*, meaning “to model,” the term now creates some confusion because of its association with modern petrochemical materials. It is still useful, however, since it encompasses a variety of different potting techniques—vases with relief decoration, vases made separately and incorpo-

rated within larger modeled sculptural compositions, and vase parts (usually wheel-made rims and handles) attached to mold-made vessels. Each of these plastic types will be discussed below.

The production of three-dimensional sculptural terracotta vessels was already a flourishing industry by the time Athenian potters began to experiment with figural decoration in the last decades of the sixth century B.C. Earlier, Minoan and Mycenaean craftsmen had fashioned elaborate vases in the forms of bulls, ducks, lions, and other creatures from stone, gold, bronze, and silver as well as terracotta.⁵ Near Eastern artists had skillfully combined both human and animal forms with vase shapes of various materials. Late Minoan craftsmen had even developed reusable molds for rapid reproduction of their sculptural forms, but this technique was apparently forgotten until its rediscovery at the end of the eighth century B.C.⁶ Quickly, craftsmen on the islands of Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus, and also in Corinth on the Greek mainland exploited the rediscovery of the mold to create a broad range of animal, human, and vegetal shapes. These were primarily in the form of small aryballoi and alabaster used to hold perfumed oils, which were widely exported around the Mediterranean. In addition, however, craftsmen artfully adorned basically wheel-made pots such as hydriai and pyxides with molded relief decoration in the form of animal and human protomes that seem to have been inspired by similar attachments on metal vessels.⁷

It is perhaps no surprise that, chronologically, the awakening of interest in figural mold-made vases in Athens occurred in the late sixth century B.C. during the extraordinary period of innovation and experimentation that also saw the development of the white-ground technique and the introduction of the red-figure technique, Six's technique, and coral-red gloss. All preserved evidence indicates that this was a period of frequent contact between the Greek mainland, the islands, and countries of the eastern Mediterranean. Athenian workshops were surely in competition with other sites of ceramic production for a share of the export market, and they would have been looking for ways to distinguish their products.

In fact, the first examples of mold-made vessels

from Attic potters reflect both the forms and the techniques used by their Corinthian and island counterparts. One of the earliest, dated by Sir John Beazley to the third quarter of the sixth century B.C., is the aryballos in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, made in the shape of male genitals (*aidoion*) that is signed by the potter Priapos (see cat. no. 75 REFERENCES). Many mold-made vessels of similar form are preserved among the East Greek and Corinthian plastic aryballoi.⁸ A fragmentary aryballos of this type, likewise from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is remarkable for the black-gloss bull's head in relief that decorates the scrotum (cat. no. 75). Another example of the small, mold-made vessels similar to the earlier production is the triple cockleshell aryballos attributed to the potter Phintias (cat. no. 78), who was a member of the Pioneer Group. Aryballoi in the form of a single cockleshell, easily molded from nature, are known in earlier examples,⁹ but the combination of the three shells joined to one mouth presents a more balanced and decoratively charming product while also allowing the painter to employ the new technique of white ground to simulate the material of the original (see cat. no. 78). Both Phintias and Priapos are otherwise unknown as potters of plastic vases. Fortunately, however, at least two of Phintias's well-known contemporaries were, like him, excited by the possibilities of mold-made decoration and employed the technique with great originality.

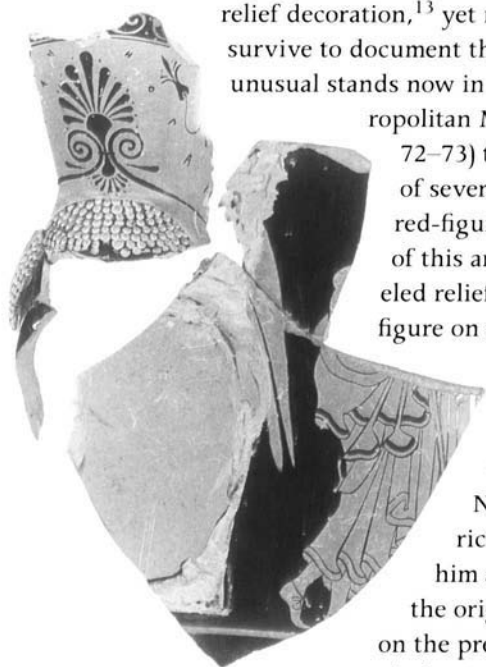
Vases with Applied Relief Decoration

Although not the most refined craftsman, Nikosthenes was certainly one of the most innovative and also one of the most productive of the Attic potters. He is generally credited with introducing several distinctive vase shapes to the Athenian repertoire, including the Nicosthenic neck-amphora (cat. no. 15) and the kyathos (cat. no. 17 and fig. 1)—both borrowed from Etruscan prototypes¹⁰—as well as the kantharos of type C.¹¹ He boldly experimented with the new white-ground technique (see cat. no. 50) and superposed color or Six's technique (cat. no. 15 and cf. cat. no. 17). In addition, he employed molded decoration to great effect. He began his career as a pot-

Figure 1. Black-figure-on-white-ground kyathos with mold-made female head at join of front end of fragmentary handle and rim, attributed to Psiax as painter, ca. 520 B.C. H (to rim) 7 cm. Malibu, JPM 77.AE.102.



Figure 2. Fragmentary red-figured lidded skyphos with mold-made head of a Black man on attached sieved spout, signed by Euphronios as potter and attributed to Onesimos as painter, ca. 500–490 B.C. Malibu, JPM 81.AE.214.



ter of standard black-figured vessels. Two unique oinochoai¹² with his signature in the Louvre are decorated in black-figure on white ground and have molded protomes attached to their spouts. Smaller, frontal heads in lower relief, such as those found on the handles of some Nikosthenic or Nikosthenic-influenced hydriai (cat. no. 71), oinochoai (cat. no. 70), and kyathoi (see fig. 1), are typical of his workshop. He continued to be productive as a potter well into the first decades of the red-figure technique.

It is unlikely that in the transition to red-figure Nikosthenes would have foregone his interest in relief decoration,¹³ yet no known signed pieces survive to document this statement. A pair of unusual stands now in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (cat. nos.

72–73) that employ a patchwork of several techniques, including red-figure, may well be the work of this artist. A delicately modeled relief head is applied to the figure on either side of each curved

stand. The similarity of the heads to those found on the handles of vessels associated with Nikosthenes prompted Dietrich von Bothmer to propose him as one possible potter in the original publication.¹⁴ Based on the preserved evidence for the use of plastic decoration during this

period, this suggestion seems most probable. It is further supported by the fact that the shape is otherwise known only in Etruscan bucchero examples, and Nikosthenes is the only Attic potter known to have borrowed shapes—his special amphorae (cat. no. 15) and kyathoi (see cat. no. 17 and cf. fig. 1)—directly from bucchero models.

Nikosthenes was not only prolific but his willing experimentation also clearly influenced the next generation of potters, and one of the best of these adopted Nikosthenes' conceit of applying a head or face to the spout of a vessel. The great Pioneer artist Euphronios has not previously been identified as a potter of plastic vases, but the appearance of his signature on an unusual fragmentary vessel in the J. Paul Getty Museum's collection now proves that he was (fig. 2).¹⁵ This hybrid vase—a lidded skyphos with attached sieved spout—is decorated in red-figure with scenes of athletes and their trainers. The painting is attributed to Onesimos and the attached lid is inscribed *Euph[ronios epoie]sen*. The potter adorned the base of the attached spout with the now-fragmentary protome of a Black man modeled in high relief. Once applied to the curved surface of the wheel-thrown vase, this mold-made head was given a soft oriental headdress by the vase-painter. The finely articulated features and dotted relief treatment of the hair link this protome directly to the heads of Black men found on head vases of the Epilykos Class (represented in this exhibition by cat. no. 79). On that basis, the heads of the Black men from this important group of plastic aryballoi can now be firmly linked to this master.¹⁶

It seems unlikely that this unusual lidded skyphos would be the only plastic product from the Euphronian workshop, and perhaps another extraordinary vessel with applied relief ornament may likewise be associated with his atelier (cat. no. 82). This kantharos from the collection of the Getty Museum is decorated on each side with a large mold-made mask—Dionysos on one side and a satyr on the other—and with red-figure vase-paintings of athletes. At first glance the kantharos presents an uncomfortable combination of a wheel-thrown vessel and relief attachments. The concept of ornamenting the sides of a vase with

masklike images of the god of theater and/or one of his retinue is best known from a series of black-figure vases with the faces drawn in outline technique (see cat. no. 74).¹⁷ These have been linked with a variety of festivals associated with Dionysos, including the Lenaia and the Anthesteria.¹⁸ But they are perhaps most persuasively associated with the Greater Dionysia during which the first dramatic performances using masked actors were introduced around 534 B.C.¹⁹

Given the delicacy of the terracotta masks that are joined to both the bowl and foot, the vessel could not have been practically used as a drinking cup. Rather, it must have been intended as an offering for a sanctuary or tomb. This surprising kantharos is not unique, however, for fragments of at least three other examples survive in the Getty's collection (see Technical Studies, fig. 5).²⁰ One of these, much larger and more elaborately decorated, differs from the Getty's restored kantharos (cat. no. 82) in having masks of Dionysos applied to both sides of the large open bowl. Its red-figure decoration consists of frolicking satyrs and maenads surrounded by elaborate palmettes. Like the smaller version, this cup could never have functioned as a real drinking vessel. Both the ungainly shape and the exaggerated scale suggest a votive offering.

In shape and concept, these red-figured kantharoi immediately call to mind an equally awkward but impressive late black-figured kantharos with the attached head of a donkey from the collection of the British Museum (cat. no. 76). Although unattributed to potter or painter, the type C profile of the British Museum's kantharos recalls Nikosthenes' association with this particular variant of the vase type,²¹ and this vessel's donkey head may well be a reflection of the older artist's interest in protome attachments.²²

Given their unique and not entirely successful design, the kantharoi with applied masks were most likely all the product of one workshop. The paintings of athletes on the smaller kantharos have been attributed to the Foundry Painter (cat. no. 82);²³ those of satyrs and maenads on the larger vessel have been attributed to Onesimos.²⁴ The one potter for whom both of these artists are known to have worked is Euphronios. Since this

master craftsman can now be firmly credited with the creation of one original plastic vase type, he appears to be the most likely candidate for the kantharoi with applied masks as well.

Statuette-Vases (Wheel-thrown Vases Incorporated into Larger Sculptural Compositions)

At the same time that Nikosthenes and Euphronios were experimenting with the application of relief decoration on the surfaces of wheel-thrown forms, another Athenian potter was attempting something much more audacious—he was incorporating wheel-made vessels within mold-made figural compositions. One of the best-preserved examples is the British Museum's figure of a bearded male seated on a *diphros* and holding a giant horn-shaped vessel in his arms (cat. no. 77). This image may represent the god Ploutos, normally recognizable by his white hair and beard, and the large horn is the cornucopia of this god of wealth and bounty from the earth.²⁵ The horn, decorated in red-figure with images of four deities, evidently suffered some damage in antiquity, and its rim was cut down. It is carefully formed, however, and within the exterior form of the horn shape, a separately made, round-bottomed cup has been inserted, providing a shallow black-gloss surface within the deeper mold-made form. This complex construction of a vase within a molded figure sits on a simple base formed from a slab of clay. Attached to the horn and the proper left side of the figure, a single strap handle converts this three-dimensional sculpture into a type of vase that has been called a rhyton.

Technically, the term rhyton, based on the Greek word *rhuo* meaning "to run through," refers to a horn-shaped vessel terminating in an animal head or protome with a spout in its mouth or between its forelegs (the group of animal-head rhyta will be discussed below). It was a type of vessel well known to the Minoan and Mycenaean Greeks in the Bronze Age.²⁶ Later examples from Persia and the Near East inspired a renewed interest in the shape among Attic potters in the later sixth and early fifth centuries B.C.²⁷ Contemporary depictions on vases often show the rhyton being used in symposia together with a phiale—an open

Figure 3. Red-figured rhyton (statuette-vase) in the form of a satyr raping a donkey, from Ravanusa, ca. 510–500 B.C. H 26 cm. From Fiorentini 2003, 340.



saucerlike vessel (e.g., cat. nos. 18–19) that collected the liquid flowing out of the rhyton's spout. The application of the name *rhyton* to the more complex figural vases is actually a misnomer, as most have only one opening and no spout for the liquid to escape, and they may better be classified as statuette-vases (e.g., cat. nos. 85–86).²⁸

Neither the potter nor the painter responsible for the remarkable seated figure of Ploutos is known, but a recent discovery in Ravanusa, Sicily, appears to be by the same master or masters (fig. 3).²⁹ The relief portions of this vessel vividly depict a bearded satyr dressed only in a black *pardalis* (panther-skin cloak), engaged in intercourse with a donkey. While the satyr is grinning lustily, the donkey, ears back and openmouthed, appears to be braying at this outrage. Mounted on the donkey's back like a pannier and supported along the animal's neck and the satyr's arms and chest is a small psykter-shaped vessel. Its offset rim is washed with red slip, as are the relief astragaloi (knucklebones) attached to the sides as lugs. Front and back, the surface is decorated with red-figure Dionysiac scenes, and on the recessed panels set between the relief front and back legs of the donkey and beneath his white belly, two satyrs are drawn in red-figure technique. Like the London

figure, the entire composition stands on a thin slab of clay that forms the base.

The new Ravanusa vessel remains unattributed. Apparently on the basis of the painted decoration, the London vase has been linked with the potter Kachrylion,³⁰ but there are no indications that this potter ever produced mold-made vessels.³¹ In fact, no other artist until Sotades (cat. nos. 86–87) was confident enough to tackle the complex integration of wheel-made vase and mold-made terracotta statuette required for the production of such compositions. Perhaps further excavations will produce a signed example of this master coroplast, but for now his identity remains an open question.

Both these vases, which can be dated by their paintings to the last decade of the sixth century B.C. (cf. dating in cat. no. 77), are separated from the nearest parallels by more than half a century. However, one unusual figural vessel from the Hermitage (cat. no. 85) provides an important connection between these early examples of statuette-vases and the mid-fifth-century pieces made by the genius potter Sotades. The mold-made part of this object represents a majestic black-gloss bird (identified in the catalogue entry as a dove) standing frontally. Similar to the Ploutos and the Ravanusa donkey, the spaces between its well-modeled legs and feet are filled with recessed walls that here are covered with the same red paint used to define his feathers and the scaly rings on his legs. The base is no longer a simple attached slab, however, but a mold-made mound that seems to imitate the irregular surface of the ground. Attached to its back is a flaring wheel-made vessel decorated in the red-figure technique with Eos carrying off a youth on one side and a satyr pursuing a maenad on the other. A strap handle has been added at the rear. While this wheel-thrown component serves to convert the bird into a vase, it does so abruptly, without any attempt to unify the two aspects of the object as was done in the London Ploutos and the Ravanusa donkey statuette-vases. Also unlike the earlier examples, the attached vase has no separately made bottom to prevent its contents from filling the hollow cavity of the bird. Instead, the rim opens directly into the body, which is washed

with a black gloss. The painting on the rim is attributed to the Painter of London D 15 (an artist from the circle of the Brygos Painter), and the work should be dated around 470 B.C. (cf. dating in cat. no. 85), a generation or more after the production of the London and Ravanusa examples. Though never assigned to a potter, this vase has often been associated through its painter with the Workshop of Brygos and the Brygan animal-head rhyta that will be discussed below.³² While it may, in fact, be linked to those special vases, it should also be seen as the direct predecessor of the splendid Sotadean figural rhyta, the final category of large statuette-vases.

The same extraordinary inventiveness of Sotades as a potter that led him to experiment so successfully with the white-ground and coral-red techniques, often in combination, also inspired his production of the most exceptional statuette-vases that have survived from the workshops of ancient Athens.³³ The subjects he chose to depict in the molded images that formed the basis of these vessels were unusual, exotic images: a Black youth being attacked by a crocodile (cat. no. 86); a camel with a Persian driver and Black groom;³⁴ a pygmy dragging a dead crane;³⁵ a seated sphinx (fig. 4);³⁶ and, most impressive of all, a mounted Amazon (cat. no. 87). Unlike the earliest figural compositions that had attempted to integrate the separately made vase component, these figural rhyta have their red-figured vessel part grafted onto their backs in the same illogical manner as the Brygan bird. Just as in the bird, the wheel-made portion opens directly into the body of the molded figure or figures.

Like the earlier figural vases—the one in London and the one from Ravanusa—the Sotadean images are brightly painted with added colors—the crocodile attacking the poor Ethiopian is vividly green, and the beautiful Amazon, dressed in brightly patterned garments, rides over a lion and a boar that are added in matt pigment beneath her horse. Most astonishing of all, the body and wings of the seated sphinx in London are painted completely white, with details picked out in red and dilute gloss, and she wears a necklace of gilded relief gorgoneia on her chest (see fig. 4).³⁷

In addition to their unusual and complex sub-

ject matter, the Sotadean statuette-vases can be distinguished from all of the earlier examples of this Class by their well-crafted bases, which are hollow, straight-sided raised plinths. Covered with black gloss, these may be rectangular or irregularly shaped to accommodate the figural composition. Some of the bases are actually pierced to allow the vessel to function as a true rhyton (e.g., cat. no. 87 and fig. 4), and the signature of the potter, where preserved, is neatly incised in the black surface (e.g., cat. no. 87).

The appearance of an opening in the bases of some Sotadean statuette-vases raises an important question—what was the purpose of all of these extraordinary figural vessels? Like the earlier statuette-vases and most of the vases with elaborate relief decoration, the Sotadean rhyta, even when pierced, could not have been intended for any practical use. These elaborately painted and gilded figures with extended limbs, wings, and tails would have been far too fragile to withstand any degree of wear. They could have served only a ceremonial function and, in fact, most seem to have been found in sanctuary deposits or in tombs where they were placed as offerings for the dead.

But perhaps the most interesting aspect of the known statuette-vases is that they generally have been found outside of Greece. Many come from graves or sanctuaries in Italy and Sicily, where they also inspired imitations by local potters that go on well into the fourth century B.C.³⁸ A well-known painting from the Tomba dell'Orco II in Etruria depicting a table of offerings that include a pair of similar vessels (fig. 5) clearly documents the Etruscan taste

Figure 4. Red-figured rhyton in the form of a sphinx, attributed to Sotades as potter, ca. 470–460 B.C. H 29.2 cm. From Capua. London, The British Museum BM Cat Vases E 788.



Figure 5. Vases on a banquet table. Copy of an Etruscan wall-painting from Tomba dell'Orco II, Tarquinia, ca. 350–300 B.C. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek IN 1606. Courtesy of Mette Moltesen.



Figure 6. Statuette-lekythos in the form of a sphinx, ca. 380 B.C. H 14.5 cm. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum ΦA-1869.7. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum.



for such unusual objects. Other statuette-vases have been found even farther afield, such as in the Sudan (cat. no. 87), and even in Persia. Ironically, these remarkable creations that best demonstrate the virtuosity and originality of the Athenian potters appear to have been made almost exclusively for the export market.

Except for the South Italian replicas of diminished quality and size, however, the manufacture of large statuette-vases ceases with the Sotadean workshop. They are replaced in the fourth century by a series of plastic lekythoi that present more intimate and familiar subjects, such as Aphrodite rising from the sea,³⁹ on a much smaller scale (see cat. no. 89). Although the best (fig. 6) may recall the Sotadean statuette-rhyta in the quality of certain details of the modeling and painting, these small, intricately constructed later vessels are no match for the imposing and dramatic images signed by the mid-century master himself.

Head Vases and Animal-Head Rhyta

The sudden popularity of human-head vases and animal-head rhyta in Athens during the last decade of the sixth century B.C. and the first decades of the fifth has often been linked to more than the interest in experimentation that distinguishes this period. It has been attributed to the increased contacts between Greece, Ionia, and the Persian Empire at this time and specifically to the Greeks' enthusiasm for the luxury metal vessels used in oriental banquets.⁴⁰ But, while it is indeed likely that many of the earliest examples of Athenian human- and animal-head vases imitated such precious-metal prototypes,⁴¹ the Attic potters lost no time in creating distinctive ceramic vessels, both large and small, which employed these subjects in new and interesting ways.

Small models of human heads were made into aryballoi (e.g., cat. no. 79), while the larger human-head vases were usually converted into drinking or serving vessels with the addition of handles and rims or spouts (e.g., cat. nos. 80–81). The animal heads generally became rhyta (e.g., cat. nos. 83–84). Occasionally, an early potter attached a foot to the bottom of the animal head to provide a secure resting surface, but more commonly he added only a flaring wheel-made rim to the end of the neck and a strap handle or two, assuming that the vessel, if used, would be emptied before being set down on its rim. The second opening (usually through the mouth) that originally distinguished animal-head rhyta as vessels through which liquid could flow is missing in

most Attic ceramic examples,⁴² and thus the animal heads are more properly drinking cups—kantharoi or mugs—than rhyta.

A variety of potters, including Euphronios (as mentioned above), experimented with mold-made vases in the form of human heads, singly or janiform, adding various types of feet, handles, and mouths to create aryballoi, kantharoi, and oinochoai. The artists of the janiform vases often playfully combined male and female or Caucasian and Black subjects in the same vessel (e.g., cat. nos. 79 and 81) for dramatic contrast. The most impressive examples of this production are the head vases signed by the potter Charinos that combine exquisitely modeled female heads with fine painted decoration on the elaborate headdresses and attached spouts or rims (cat. no. 80). Beazley named one group of head vases the Charinos Class after their potter,⁴³ but now Charinos has also been linked with a fine specimen of another Class of janiform head kantharoi, the Providence Class, through the splendid example with conjoined female heads in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 7).⁴⁴

As Beazley's extensive list shows, the early Attic head vases are far more numerous than animal-head rhyta. They vary greatly in quality and were produced by a number of different potters. By contrast, the early animal heads are fairly rare, of rather consistently high quality, and their manufacture seems to have been restricted to at most a handful of potters. Most have been linked to the workshop of one master, the potter Brygos, for the figural decoration on a number of the preserved examples has either been attributed to the Brygos Painter himself or else to vase-painters in his immediate circle.⁴⁵ A particularly fine example of this Brygan Class is the hound's-head cup from the Hermitage (cat. no. 84). Here the alert, expressive face of the black-gloss hound makes a natural transition to the attached wheel-thrown rim, almost like a collar around its neck. Beazley attributed the mythological battle between the pygmies and cranes painted in red-figure on the rim to the Brygos Painter.⁴⁶

Another small group of early fifth-century animal-head rhyta has been named the Dourian Class because the decoration on most has been attributed to the artist Douris late in his career.⁴⁷

The best of this group is the magnificently modeled vulture's head from the Bibliothèque royale in Brussels (cat. no. 83). Although the red-figure decoration on the narrow rim is limited to running palmettes, Beazley associated these florals and the meander pattern separating them from the bird's head with Douris.⁴⁸

No potter has been linked with the rhyta of the Dourian Class and no signature of the potter Brygos or any other artist appears on the preserved rhyta traditionally assigned to the Brygan Class.⁴⁹ However, an exceptional rhyton that can now be assigned to the Brygan Class—a ram's head in Richmond, Virginia—is signed in a most obvious manner down the middle of the forehead by Charinos as potter.⁵⁰ And just as his ram's head is linked to the Brygan Class, so Charinos is linked also to the Brygos Painter through the red-figure vase-paintings on the rim of the janiform head kantharos in New York (see fig. 7) that has now been attributed to him.⁵¹ Since Charinos is known from other signatures for his mastery of plastic vessels, it does not seem impossible to suggest that he also made the rest of the animal-head rhyta of the Brygan Class.⁵²

The red-figure scene on the rim of Charinos's ram's head depicting a heroic banquet has been attributed to the Triptolemos Painter.⁵³ According to Beazley, the Brygos Painter, Douris, and the Triptolemos Painter all worked together in the workshop of Euphronios. Perhaps the coroplast Charinos was part of this workshop as well, learning the craft of plastic vases from the older master.

Animal heads of the next generation imitate closely the models of the so-called Brygan Class, employing many of the same animal subjects—rams, hounds, donkeys—that had obviously achieved some popularity in the market while also adding such new subjects as boar and possibly panther. Some heads appear to have been cast from reused older, detailed molds, but in general the features of these heads are bland, treated more simply and with less attention to naturalistic details.⁵⁴ Since the Sotades Painter has been identified as the artist who decorated the wheel-thrown rims of many of these rhyta, the potter Sotades has also been associated with the best examples (Williams, chap. 8, fig. 4).⁵⁵ His

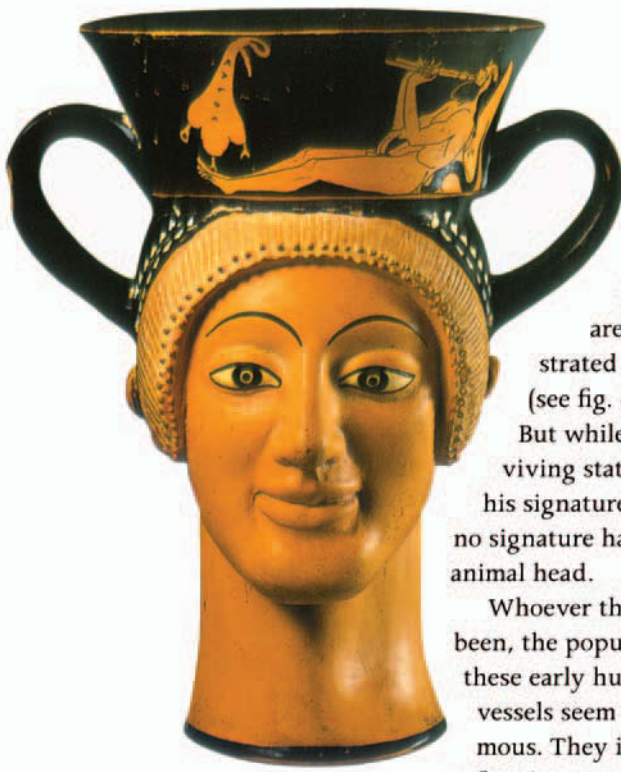


Figure 7. Janiform kantharos in the form of conjoined female heads with red-figure satyrs on the rim, attributed to Charinos as potter and to the Brygos Painter, ca. 480 B.C. H 19.7 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1912, 12.234.5. Photograph © 1990 The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

fascination with the manufacture of plastic vessels and his collaboration with this painter are both clearly demonstrated by his statuette-vases (see fig. 4 here and cat. no. 86). But while many of Sotades' surviving statuette-vases preserve his signature (e.g., cat. no. 87),⁵⁶ no signature has yet appeared on an animal head.

Whoever the potters may have been, the popularity and influence of these early human- and animal-head vessels seem to have been enormous. They inspired generations of variants as well as fine and poor

copies by both Attic and South Italian artists. Like the early statuette-vases, discussed above, the majority of the Charinos Class head vases and the Brygan Class rhyta have been found in Italy. And, like the Sotadean statuette-vases, the animal-head rhyta of the Sotadean Class and the later imitations and variants have been found in tombs and sanctuaries in Greece as well, showing that the appeal of these figural vessels had become widespread.

Conclusion

Whether inspired by vases of earlier Greek ceramicists or by the metal luxury vessels of Ionia and the Near East, in the last decades of the sixth century some of the best potters of Athens embraced the production of plastic vases with great enthusiasm. Perhaps their most original contribution was the statuette-vase, or figural rhyton, a form that reached its climax in the mid-fifth century B.C. under Sotades with the creation of his majestic Amazon (cat. no. 87). Earlier vases with applied relief decoration as well as completely three-dimensional vessels such as the animal-head rhyta and human-head kantharoi and oinochoai also demonstrated the ingenuity, sensitivity, and humor of these exceptional craftsmen.

Much has been written about the complex

iconography and ritual and religious significance of the Attic plastic vases, but most remains conjectural.⁵⁷ One hopes that there will be further archaeological discoveries like the Ravanusa satyr-and-donkey vase (see fig. 3), which will expand our knowledge of both the creators of these strange hybrids and their original purposes. In the meantime, the artistry of the preserved examples will continue to delight and amuse us.

NOTES

- 1 Archaeologists and ceramics scholars alike still refer to the neck, shoulder, belly, and foot of a vase.
- 2 See Higgins 1959, pls. 5–7, British Museum 1607–12.
- 3 Higgins 1959, pl. 15, British Museum 1635, and pl. 31, British Museum 1679.
- 4 Higgins 1959, pls. 19–20, British Museum 1652–54.
- 5 Karo 1911; Vermeule 1960, 1–12, pl. 4, figs. 30–32; lion and stag rhyta are pictured in Marinatos and Hirmer 1960, pls. 175–77.
- 6 Higgins 1959, 7.
- 7 See Williams 1999, 41, fig. 29, 44, fig. 32a–b, 48, fig. 35a for excellent examples.
- 8 E.g., Higgins 1959, pl. 23, British Museum 1659 (East Greek), and pl. 29, British Museum 1676 (Corinthian).
- 9 E.g., Higgins 1959, pl. 19, British Museum 1648–49, from Rhodes.
- 10 *ABV* 215; Williams 1999, 63–66, figs. 48a and c (shown side by side with Etruscan examples).
- 11 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 00.334, attributed to the Nikosthenes Painter: *ARV*² 126.27; *Para* 333; *BAdd*² 176; *BAPD* Vase 20155; see CB III, 10.
- 12 Louvre F 117 and F 116: *ABV* 230.1–2; *Para* 690; *BAdd*² 59; *BAPD* Vases 301231 and 301232; Mertens 1977, 31–32; Biers 1983, 123, figs. 8.4a–b and 8.3a–b.
- 13 Elsewhere, I have suggested that he may also be the potter responsible for a unique spouted kantharoid vase from the Musée du Vin, Beaune (True 1986, 110–15, figs. 15a–b), and an important fragmentary kylix with relief figures of horses applied to the surface (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis Collection 102a–f; note that fragment *e* no longer exists, and *f* is now joined to *b*), attributed by Beazley to the Euergides Painter (*ARV*² 1625; *BAdd*² 171; *BAPD* Vase 275048; True 1986, 133–35, fig. 18).
- 14 Bothmer 1972.
- 15 JPM 81.AE.214; True 1986, 116–26, 132. A related Getty vase (81.AE.214.B) of similar shape decorated with scenes of the labors of Theseus lacks its spout (True 1986, 127–31, 132).
- 16 It is interesting that already in 1894, Paul Hartwig (1894, 126) had attributed to Euphronios a fine head vase from Eretria: a plastic aryballos in the form of a Black man's head, now in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens (no. 2385 [N. 1227]; *ARV*² 1594.51; *BAdd*² 389). This attribution was questioned, however, by E. Pottier (1902, 140), for Euphronios was not otherwise known to have made plastic vases.
- 17 For the most detailed discussion of these vases, see Bell 1977; more recently Pinney 1986.
- 18 Frickenhaus 1912; Burkert 1983, 230–38; Simon 1983, 100–101; Burkert 1985, 226, 294.
- 19 Simon 1983, 103–104.

- 20 JPM 81.AE.195a–b, 86.AE.576.1–2, and 81.AE.215. True 1986, 149–62, 266–74, figs. 22a–25f.
- 21 See above, note 13.
- 22 Hoffman (1962, 9, no. 4) noted that the donkey head of this kantharos was closest to the donkey-head rhyton in Paris, Petit Palais 367, attributed to the Colmar Painter (ARV² 357.74; BAPD Vase 203756). Beazley noted that this artist's "developed style was formed under the influence of Onesimos . . . and the Antiphon Painter. He probably sat side by side with them in the workshop of Euphronios" (ARV² 352).
- 23 By J. Robert Guy.
- 24 By Dyfri Williams. For Onesimos, see cat. no. 46.
- 25 On this identification, see True 1986, 30–40, with earlier bibl. The hair and beard of the London statuette-vase's seated male figure are pale rather than white: They appear to have been reserved. In the standard interpretation, explained in cat. no. 77, the seated male figure represents Dionysos holding an outsized drinking horn. Cf. the Kerch-style bell-krater from Berlin (cat. no. 102), with cat. no. 77 for a later male figure with white hair and beard carrying a cornucopia.
- 26 See above, notes 5–6.
- 27 See most recently Hoffmann 1997, 5–9, with earlier bibl.; see also Guy 1981, 8, stressing the connections between Greece and the Near East before the Persian War. On Attic adaptation of the foreign metalware, see also Miller 1997, 141–44 and figs. 47–50.
- 28 It must be noted here that the production of the statuette-vases appears to have been completely separate from the production of terracotta statuettes. The clay used for the vases was much finer in quality and capable of taking the impression with much sharper details. Comparisons with contemporary terracottas found in Athens and elsewhere in Greece and Italy only point up the coarseness of the figurines in comparison with the images attached to the vases. See, recently, Paris 2003 for an assessment of both terracotta statuettes and statuette-vases with excellent color illustrations.
- 29 Fiorentini 2003. Five other vases should also be connected to this potter. Two fragmentary vessels similar in form to the London statuette-vase, but with figures of satyrs instead of Ploutos holding giant *kerai*, are preserved in the Getty Museum (81.AE.216.J.1–2); also related by Fiorentini to the new Ravanusa vase are two statuette-vases of donkeys, one in the Museo Civico di Agrigento (ARV² 29.2; BAdd² 156; BAPD Vase 200121; Marconi 1931–1932) and another in Malibu, JPM 81.AE.216.L. The latter is one of a pair with 81.AE.216.M. All are discussed in True 1986, 58–74, figs. 6a–c, 7, 8a–d, 9, and 10a–g.
- 30 Smith 1896, 372; H. B. Walters, CVA, British Museum 4 [Great Britain 5], 8.
- 31 However, he did pot one of the greatest cups painted by Euphronios that employs the coral-red technique to great effect (Munich 2620; see Cohen, chap. 2, at note 25 and fig. 4 there).
- 32 Beazley (1945, 157) mentions that this vase was found with the head kantharos of the Providence Class, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 12.234.5 (see fig. 7). Now assigned to Charinos, the New York vase will be discussed further with the head vases below; see also notes 44, 51, and cat. no. 85.
- 33 For the most recent consideration of Sotades and these remarkable vases, see Hoffmann 1997. The author concentrates more on the complex iconography of the statuette-vases than on their techniques of manufacture. He illustrates most of them fairly completely, however.
- 34 Musée du Louvre CA 3825: Para 416; BAdd² 287; BAPD Vase 275887; Hoffmann 1997, 158, figs. 88–89, with earlier bibl.
- 35 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 03.799, Black pygmy (ARV² 737.125; BAPD Vase 209117); Basel, private collection, Caucasian pygmy (ARV² 1669.2 bis; Para 415; BAPD Vase 275371); Hoffmann 1997, 35–38, 157, figs. 13–14, 16–18.
- 36 London, British Museum BM Cat Vases E 788: ARV² 764.8; BAdd² 286; BAPD Vase 209465; Hoffmann 1997, 154, figs. 40–41; Williams 1999, 84, fig. 62a.
- 37 See Cohen, chap. 4 at note 16: These relief gorgoneia comprise one of the earliest preserved examples of gilding on Athenian pottery. After the first quarter of the fifth century potters seem to have lost interest in applying relief decoration to the surfaces of red-figure vases. See, however, the red-figured fragment with a female head in relief of ca. 475–450 B.C. associated with Sotades in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 26.15: ARV² 767.21; BAPD Vase 209500.
- 38 For lists of South Italian replicas, see Hoffmann 1999, 155 (sphinxes), 156 (crocodile attacking a Black man), and 158 (pygmy and crane).
- 39 E.g., Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 00.629: Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, 30–31, no. 79, pl. 9, FV 79.
- 40 Hoffmann 1961, 21–26, pls. 8–12; idem 1997, 6–8; Robertson 1992, 185; see also the overview in Miller 1997.
- 41 Vickers, Impey, and Allan 1986, pls. 23–25; Hoffmann 1989, 137; idem 1997, 4–9; note 17 there gives extensive bibl. on the notion that all Greek painted pottery was a poor imitation of metalware.
- 42 Hoffmann (1962, 49n.15) cites six examples of Attic red-figured rhyta known to him that were actually pierced; see also idem, 1997, 6n.29, for further references and discussion.
- 43 Beazley 1929, esp. 43–45; ARV² 1531–32.
- 44 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 12.234.5: ARV² 1538; see Beazley 1929, 58; and Guy 1981, 6, for the attribution. See also above, note 32, and below, note 51.
- 45 Hoffmann 1962, 10–12, pls. II–III.
- 46 ARV² 382.188.
- 47 Hoffmann 1962, 13–15, pls. 4–5.1–2.
- 48 ARV² 446.260.
- 49 Indeed, the signature of Brygos does not appear on any plastic vase but is limited rather to a series of fifteen drinking cups (ARV² 398; Para 369).
- 50 Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 79.100: BAdd² 402; BAPD Vase 7537; Guy 1981.
- 51 The potter attribution is discussed above at notes 32 and 44. For the attribution of the vase-paintings by Beazley, see ARV² 382.183; Para 366; BAdd² 227; BAPD Vase 204082.
- 52 As is cited above in note 32 above, Beazley (1945, 157) mentions that the New York head vase (see fig. 7) was found together with the so-called Brygan bird (cat. no. 85). If Charinos may be the potter of the Brygan rhyta, is it not possible that he might also have created the bird in the Hermitage?
- 53 Guy (1981, 2n.9) credits Martha Ohly-Dumm with this attribution.
- 54 One bizarre and not particularly artful innovation of this time was the dimidiated animal-head rhyton, in which the two sides of the vessel's head belong to different beasts, awkwardly grafted together, e.g., ram with donkey (Hoffmann 1962, 20, nos. 38–40).
- 55 Hoffmann 1962, 19–25, pls. 6–12.2.
- 56 ARV² 772–73; Para 416; BAdd² 287; BAPD s.v. Sotades.
- 57 Most recently, Hoffmann 1997, with exhaustive earlier bibl.



70.1

70

BLACK-FIGURED WHITE-GROUND OINOCHOE OF SHAPE I WITH PLASTIC FEMALE HEADS ON HANDLE

Attributed to the Class and Painter of
London B 620, ca. 525–515 B.C.

H (with handle) 28.6 cm

Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique 5,
bequest of Baron Lucien de Hirsch, 1898

From Vulci; formerly Alessandro Castellani
collection; W. W. Hope collection; collection
of Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino

Lioness attacking boar, tree, cow suckling calf

CONDITION: Assembled from fragments with no losses; glue stains and retouching visible along cracks; black gloss chipped and cracked around plastic head on front of handle, on rim of trefoil mouth, and on vessel's foot; chips in added white on both plastic heads; graying of white on head at back of handle; scattered black incrustation on ornament; indentations on left and right sides of body, probably from stacking in the kiln.

THE BLACK-FIGURE DEPICTION on the creamy white-ground body of this oinochoe—an early example of this special technique—is devoted entirely to animals in nature: an unusual theme in Athenian art. A lone tree at the center front suggests the rural setting; to the left, in a ferocious animal fight, a lioness attacks an enormous wild boar; to the right, a wary cow, with a delicately twisted tail, suckles her calf as a falcon flies overhead.

The airy composition is enhanced by open-work black ornament that often reveals the underlying white ground: a black checker on the neck; outline tongues on the shoulder, every other one containing a black stripe; a double black ground-line around the body; and, below, double lines bordering a row of upright lotus buds and outline rays. Relief lines are employed in the checker and in the tongue patterns. A black echinus foot balances the black on the vessel's mouth and handle.

The chthonic snakes, which emerge from the sides of the handle in place of rotellae and rest on the rim of the trefoil mouth, seem appropriate for this oinochoe's fearsome black-figure theme of ani-



70.2

mal life and death in the countryside. The plastic snakes themselves, however, are not rendered in a black-figure vocabulary: Their heads and scales are painted with black outlines on their reserved three-dimensional forms. The central section of the oinochoe's tall tripartite handle is also reserved. The pot's clay has otherwise been so effectively hidden beneath its black-and-white surface treatments that these contrasting bright orange reserved features provide an aesthetic surprise. Here human imagery has been limited to plastic female heads that grace the front and rear ends of this oinochoe's tall arched handle. Both heads were made in the same mold, and both were originally painted a bright white—the color of female flesh in black-figure—rather than the creamy white of the vessel's ground. The features of these heads were originally painted red.

The exquisite Brussels oinochoe's plastic additions seem to suggest the influence of metalware; however, no metal prototypes are known for several distinctive features of this vase. Its unusual shape, with the checkered neck, set between a

pair of raised ridges, that flares outward to accommodate an elongated ovoid body, has been compared to a mounted ostrich egg. Beazley associated this vase with a half dozen similar white-ground oinochoai and fragments in his Class of London B 620, which was painted by one painter and made by a single potter. Three of these vases—the present oinochoe; one showing Peleus treed between a boar and a lion (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 46.11.7); and the Class's name vase, showing Peleus bringing the infant Achilles to the centaur Chiron, who stands beside a tree—were found at Vulci and appear to have belonged to the collection of the Prince of Canino in the early nineteenth century. These three remarkable Athenian vases may originally have been designed together as a set. Their decoration with a white ground and mold-made additions at the experimental time of transition from black- to red-figure brings to mind the creations of the potter Nikosthenes and the vase-painter Psiax (cf. cat. nos. 71, 50, 52; Mertens, chap. 6, fig. 1; True, chap. 7, fig. 1).

REFERENCES: *ABV* 425, 434.bottom.4; *Para* 187; *BAdd*² 111; *BAPD* Vase 320455; *Castellani* 1884, pl. 1, 11, no. 62; *Hope* 1849, no. 49; Gaspar 1901, 612–13; Feytmans 1948, 31–36, pls. 10–14; Lane 1948, 40–41, pl. 53; Bernhard 1966, 72, 128, fig. 267; Charbonneaux, Martin, and Villard 1971, 308, 309, fig. 353, 411; Mertens 1977, 64, no. 14, 68–70, 112–13n.31; Pollard 1977, fig. 8; Vickers 1984, 97 at n.105; Hurwit 1991, 52; Malagardis 1991, 107, 108, fig. 1c; Clark 1992, 567, no. 1311, 624–36.

I have been able to consult Gaspar 1901 as the article in *Durendal*, but not the abstract version cited by Feytmans 1948 and in *ABV* 324.bottom.4. I have also not been able to consult the Canino sale catalogue of 1837 (no. 196).

On the representation of trees in vase-painting, see, recently, Rühfel 2003, esp. 76–78. For Beazley's Class and Painter of London B 620, see *ABV* 425, 434; *BAPD* s.v. London.B 620, P of. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 46.11.7; *ABV* 434.bottom.3; *Para* 187; *BAdd*² 111; *BAPD* Vase 320454. London, British Museum GR 1867.5-8.1009, *BM Cat. Vases* B 620: *ABV* 434.bottom.1; *Para* 187; *BAdd*² 111; *BAPD* Vase 320452. For the early history of these vases, see Mertens 1977, 112–13n.31. On the association of Nikosthenes and Psiax with white-ground vases and plastic additions, see this volume, Mertens, chap. 6, and True, chap. 7.



70.3



71.1

71 BLACK-FIGURED WHITE- GROUND HYDRIA WITH PLASTIC ADDITIONS

Recalls the work of Nikosthenes as potter and of Psiax as painter, ca. 520–515 B.C.
H (with handle) 24.3 cm; H (rim) 21 cm
Paris, Petit Palais, Musée des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris ADut 322
From Vulci, found in Canino excavations by Feoli; part of the Auguste Dutuit collection bequeathed to the City of Paris in 1902; formerly Cottureau collection; Magnoncour collection

Hermes and Maia

Under B/A side handle, *goat*; under A/B side handle, *ram*; under rear handle, *lion*

CONDITION: Good; cleaned and restored; assembled from fragments with losses on body filled in with white-toned plaster, including part of Hermes' upper body and area behind him, ram's upper forelegs and part of its torso, area to right of back handle; heads and upper bodies of snakes that once flanked lion protome on rim broken off; parts of lion's row of teeth missing; losses of white ground on body, esp. around figure of Maia and on upper back; losses in second white on Maia's flesh; chips in black gloss on Hermes' head and drapery.

PERHAPS MORE THAN ANY OTHER individual Archaic Athenian vase, this unique hydria engagingly imitates metalwork. Its most striking detail is the extraordinary lion's-head protome at the front end of the pot's thick high and arching handle. The molded animal head's face and ears are reserved, suggesting the influence of red-figure, and its details are described or heightened with paint. The lion's eyes, painted a bright white, are rimmed with black and have oculi consisting of dotted black circles. Black dots indicate the whiskers' roots on the beast's muzzle, which is wrinkled from growling, and also its nostrils' interiors; two more black dots embellish the forehead. The inside of its open mouth, with the tongue extended, is painted red. Its teeth are painted with separate dabs of white on top of the red. As in the black-figure technique, the wavering, flamelike locks of the lion's mane have been incised into the black gloss on the vessel's handle. This little protome recalls the lion's-head water spouts of fountains and fountainhouses often depicted on hydriai, vases commonly employed for fetching and storing water.

Two reserved moldings extending up the handle at the sides originally terminated in snake heads that rested on the hydria's rim, flanking the lion's-head protome (cf. cat. no. 70). Another plastic feature derived from metalwork graces the handle's lower end at the back: a mold-made clay appliqué of two reserved downward-facing palmettes with black hearts. Alongside this pot's relief elements, an illusionistic painted feature also evokes metalwork: tongues encircling the roots of the two side handles, which mimic appliqués employed to mask the attachment of metal handles. These tongues are drawn with black outlines and then covered with a dilute wash of grayish black, which suggests their three-dimensionality. The Petit Palais hydria's shape has itself been called "a potter's phantasy, for it combines an

unparalleled globular body with a neck and handle reminiscent of oinochoai" (Mertens 1977).

This distinctive small hydria with plastic additions is also an early white-ground vase. While black gloss has been employed on its neck, mouth, and handles, a creamy ground covers most of its body, the curved vertical band between the foot's upper and lower degree, and also the sloping vertical element of the foot's underside. Black-figure-on-white-ground decoration extends all the way around the pot. The pair of black figures on the front is quite unusual: the messenger god Hermes, a son of Zeus, and his mother, Maia, one of the Pleiades. Their names are inscribed vertically behind their backs. Hermes, shown here as a beardless youth (cf. cat. nos. 7, 66), is formally dressed in a himation with alternating red and black folds worn over a chiton, his head encircled by a red fillet. He holds his identifying *kerykeion* and extends a phiale toward his mother. Maia wears a mantle with red-and-black folds over a red dress; a red fillet binds her hair into a *krobylos* at the back. She holds a wreath, perhaps intended for her son. Her flesh is described by a whiter second white applied over black gloss, an unusual feature in early white ground.

The theme of sacrifice informs the pot's iconography. The goat and ram beneath the hydria's side handles are the sacrificial animals associated with Hermes, the god of herdsmen. The black-figure lion with an elaborately incised mane and red tongue under the back handle echoes the lion's-head protome on the handle's front.

The inscription running across the front of the vase above the figures reads "*kalos Karystios*;" this same *kalos* name appears on Psiax's white-ground-and-Six's-technique alabastron in the British Museum (Mertens, chap. 6, fig. 1). Although the Petit Palais hydria has recently been attributed to Psiax (see Pelletier-Hornby 2000), and its ornament, such as the band of crenellations beneath tongues at the neck, recalls this painter's work, its somewhat sparse and stiff black-figure decoration is probably not from his own hand. This white-ground vessel's prominent individualized protome and unusual potting readily bring to mind Nikosthenes, who signed a pair of early white-ground oinochoai in the Louvre each of which bears a large protome of a male or female head below the lip at the front of its rounded, black neck.

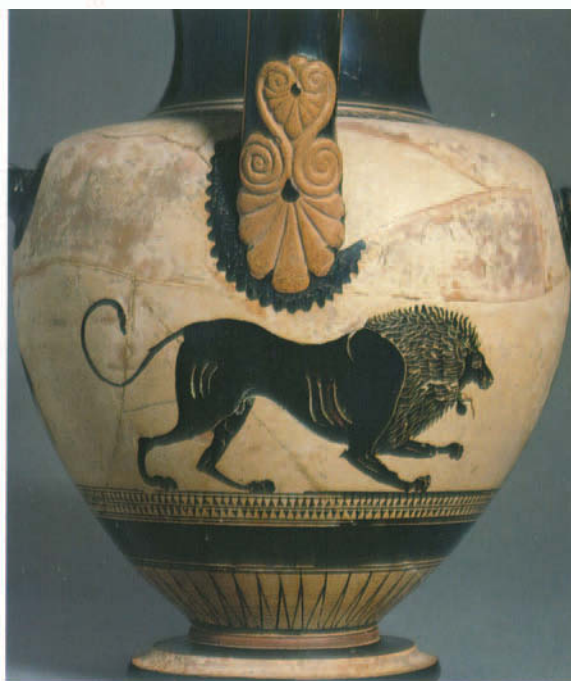
REFERENCES: *ABV* 668; *Para* 617; *BAPD* Vase 306443; *CVA* Petit Palais [France 15] 14, pl. 11; Gerhard 1831, 29 (160), 39 (254), 83 (811), 131 (160c), 143 (254), 191 (811); De Witte 1839, 10–11, no. 10; Gerhard 1840, 68–70, pl. 19.1 (animals reversed); Panofka 1850, 34, 87, 90, pl. 2.3; Lenormant and De Witte 1858, ix, 217–18, 221, 251–52, pl. 85; Lenormant and Feuadent 1879, 36–37, no. 64, pl. 16; Wernicke 1890, 94, 103; W. Klein 1898, 49; *Collection Dutuit* [1908], pl. 18.2; Robinson and Fluck 1937, 125–26; Schnitzler 1948, 14, 42, 51, 68, no. 45, pl. 32.45a–b; Rumpf 1953, pl. 21.8; Diehl 1964, 58, 229, no. T 222, 251, pl. 37; Mertens 1977, 49, no. 10, 50–51; Wehgartner 1983, 8, 178n.76; Shapiro 1989, 128, pl. 58a–c; *LIMC* v (1990) s.v. Hermes 310, no. 243, pl. 220 (G. Siebert); Pelletier-Hornby 2000, 27, 28, figs. 1–3, 29, 30, fig. 4, 31, fig. 8, 32 (attributed to Psiax [Martine Denoyelle]).

For a lion's-head water spout depicted on a black-figure hydria, see Vatican, Museo Etrusco Gregoriano 426, attributed to the Antimenos Painter: *ABV* 266.2; *Para* 117; *BAdd*² 69; *BAPD* Vase 320012; Burow 1989, pl. 59, bottom. See further Mertens, chap. 6, on the Petit Palais hydria. For Nikosthenes' oinochoai, Paris, Musée du Louvre F 117 and F 116, see: *ABV* 230.1–2; *BAdd*² 59; *BAPD* Vases 301231 and 301232; Wehgartner 1983, pl. 1.1–2; see also Clark 1992, 569–70, nos. 1317–18, 624, 635, 637–39.

Eduard Gerhard 1831, 131 (160a–c), in publishing vases from Vulci, grouped (c) the Petit Palais hydria with two similar vases that were in the collection of the Prince of Canino: "(a) *Olpe col soggetto d'una vacca, di sublime disegno*," must be the Brussels oinochoe attributed to the Painter and Class of London B 620 (cat. no. 70), and "(b) *Soggetti relative all'educazione d'Achille*," must be the Class's name vase (see cat. no. 70, REFERENCES). Perhaps the Petit Palais white-ground hydria with plastic additions had been used in Etruria and/or designed to be in the same serving set as the white-ground oinochoai with plastic additions. The decoration of all of these vases emphasizes the depiction of animals and the nurturing of the young. Cf. Clark 1992, who discounts a possible association between the Class of London B 620 and Nikosthenes, with the contrasting view in Biers 1983, 122.



71.2



71.3



72.1

72 and 73
TWO STANDS WITH PLASTIC
FEMALE HEADS DECORATED IN
SEVERAL TECHNIQUES

72

IRIS AND SPHINX STAND

Attributed to Nikosthenes as potter and to the Euergides Painter, ca. 520 B.C.

H 25.4 cm; W 17.2 cm; D 17.2 cm

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 65.11.14, Louis V. Bell Fund, 1965

European art market; purchased 1965

CONDITION: Assembled from fragments with losses filled in with plaster and toned, including lower left part of Iris's body and arm, and front of sphinx's left hind foot; white chipped and worn on both female faces and also on neck and breast of sphinx; beige incrustation on Iris's white flesh.

73

SPHINXES STAND

Attributed to Nikosthenes as potter and to the Euergides Painter, ca. 520 B.C.

H (restored) 26 cm; W 16.8 cm; D 17.7 cm

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1980.537, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Norbert Schimmel, 1980

European art market; formerly collection of Mr. and Mrs. Norbert Schimmel

CONDITION: Assembled from fragments with losses on wing of one sphinx filled in with plaster; lost stem and foot restored; losses in stand's edges with black ivy pattern; chips in black gloss on sphinxes' hair; white chipped on female face of one sphinx; beige incrustation on white female face of other; loss of white dots on black feathers of wing coverts.

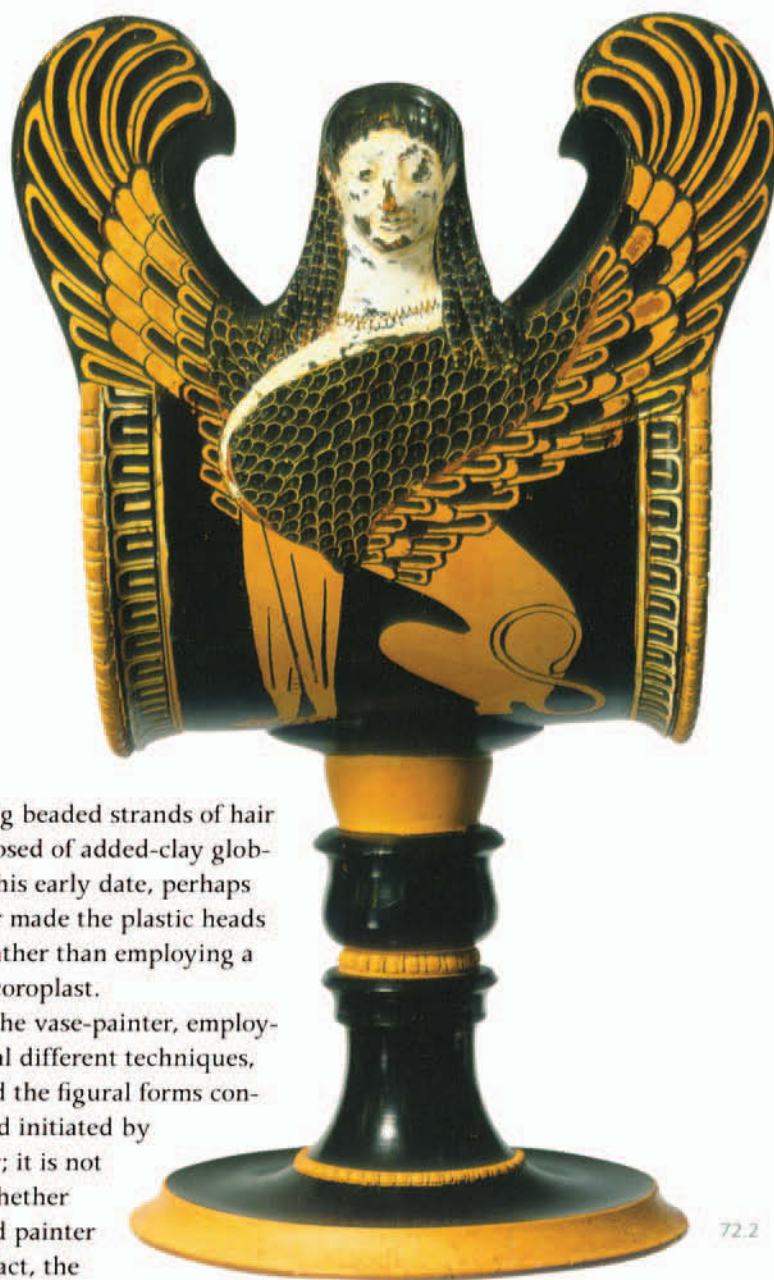
THE FANTASTIC CREATION of an Athenian pottery workshop, these two unique semi-cylindrical stands with stemmed feet derive from a simpler prototype found in Etruscan bucchero. Embellished with winged female beings at either end—the messenger goddess Iris and a sphinx or a pair of sphinxes—the stands were surely designed, and perhaps even commissioned, for foreign export. Sphinxes served as Archaic Greek tomb guardians and were often shown transporting deceased youths to the Underworld; the presence of these monsters may indicate that the

stands had a funerary function. Although their actual ancient use is not known, it has often been suggested that these stands held stalks of a vegetable, such as fennel, celery, or asparagus.

Significantly, in both shape and decoration these stands employ a variety of techniques available in a Late Archaic pottery workshop at the time of transition from black- to red-figure. The potter made the basic functional parts of these vessels on the wheel. On the Iris-and-sphinx stand, an elaborate wheel-made and turned stem and foot is preserved. It is punctuated by two applied rolled and tooled beaded strip moldings that echo the large tooled beaded moldings running along or adjacent to the curved sides of each stand's body. These strip moldings, the vertical edge of the foot, and an upper element of the stem have been carefully reserved rather than painted black. The body element was raised on the wheel in a tube shape and then slit and opened into a semi-cylindrical form. Inward-curving wings, perhaps cut like cookies from rolled-out sheets of clay, were attached by hand at each end of the body. Between the wings, relief appliques of female heads and necks were affixed to projecting clay tabs. These mold-made relief heads' individu-



72.3



72.2

alized long beaded strands of hair are composed of added-clay globules. At this early date, perhaps the potter made the plastic heads himself rather than employing a separate coroplast.

Here the vase-painter, employing several different techniques, completed the figural forms conceived and initiated by the potter; it is not known whether potter and painter were, in fact, the same person. The

ground around the figures on both stands is painted black, and the sphinxes' legs and bodies as well Iris's short chiton have been rendered in an early form of red-figure, employing reserve plus simple black drawing lines rather than relief lines. Primary and secondary feathers on all of the figures' wings have been painted in outline on reserve. These primary feathers all contain internal black tongues, and the secondaries have either been left the color of the clay, painted black, or filled with black or red internal tongues. A red line separates the outline flight feathers from the upper wing coverts, which have scalelike black feathers rendered with black-figure incision. Red has also been employed for Iris's *kerykeion*.



The plastic female heads have been painted white, and their eyes and brows have been detailed with black paint rather than black-figure incision. These facial features appear to suggest contrasting female personalities. While Iris and one of the sphinxes on the sphinx stand have smiling faces with wide-open, rounded eyes, the sphinx of the Iris stand and probably the less well-preserved second sphinx of the sphinx stand have almond-shaped eyes that peer downward at the viewer. The white of the sphinxes' plastic heads continues onto their painted breasts, and Iris has white-painted arms and legs. While this white flesh has been said to follow black-figure convention, that is not entirely the case. Iris's white limbs are, for the most part, contrasted against a black ground like that of red-figure or Six's technique, rather than against black-figure reserve. Remarkably, inner details on her limbs have been painted in brown dilute rather than incised as in black-figure or Six's technique. In addition, the stands' female beings all wear delicate zigzag necklaces with tiny pendants, which, although these have earlier been described as incised, are actually painted with brown dilute gloss on top of the white flesh. This Late Archaic vase-painter should be credited with a bold attempt to move beyond black-figure convention. During the fifth century details painted in dilute gloss on white flesh will be employed on the second white of funerary lekythoi (cf. cat. nos. 59, 63) and also in late red-figure (cf. cat. nos. 34, 35).

Dietrich von Bothmer has associated the painter of these stemmed stands with the Euergetes Painter, an anonymous early red-figure cup-painter fond of decorative handle sphinxes, who is named after a potter for whom he worked. And Bothmer attributed the stands' potting to Sikanos, who signed early red-figured stemmed plates decorated with a *kymation* (curved molding) like the pattern on the Iris-and-sphinx stand. This stand's *kymation* is painted on a creamy white of a different color than the white female flesh, which must be related to the early use of white ground at this time. Examples of early white ground and the production of special pottery for export to Etruria as well as the early use of mold-made plastic heads have generally been associated with Nikosthenes



73.2

(cf. cat. nos. 70, 71); in this volume, Marion True proposes that he must have been the potter of these extraordinary stands.

REFERENCES: *BAPD* Vases 3648 [65.11.14] and 3154 [1980.537]; Bothmer 1966, 184; Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 138n.1; Hoffmann 1971, colorplate 13 [1980.537]; Bothmer 1972; Muscarella 1974, no. 58 [1980.537] (D. von Bothmer); Boardman 1975, fig. 103 [1980.537]; Bothmer 1975, 114, 116, fig. 17 [65.11.14], 117; Langlotz 1975, 189 at n.62; *MMA Notable Acquisitions 1965–1975*, 124 [65.11.4] (D. von Bothmer); Brommer 1980, 337n.9; *MMA Annual Report 1980–1981*, 35–36 (D. von Bothmer); *MMA Notable Acquisitions 1980–1981*, 14 [1980.537] (D. von Bothmer); Moret 1984, 23n.2, 74n.9; True 1986, 133–36, nos. 2–3; Spivey 1991, 140–41; Milleker 1992, 43–44 [1980.537]; Sparkes 2000b, 323, fig. 3, 329n.3; Descoeudres 2001 (publication of a fake stand); Padgett 2003, 280–83, no. 71 [65.11.14], 281n.1 [1980.537]. Accession numbers in brackets indicate sources for and images of one of the stands rather than both.

At my recent gallery talk about plastic vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, a member of the audience suggested that the stands might have been used to hold a scroll. Jean-Paul Descoeudres (2001, 114) suggested, unconvincingly, that the stands were meant to be headrests. For the Euergetes Painter's handle sphinxes on a red-figured cup potted by Euergetes, see London, British Museum GR 1920.6-13.1: ARV² 88.1, 1625; *BAdd*² 170; *BAPD* Vase 200698. For the potter Sikanos, see ARV² 68.13, 69, and *BADP* Vases 200581 and 200584; see also Sparkes 2000b. On the association of Nikosthenes with plastic additions as well as white ground, see also Mertens, chap. 6.



74.1

74

CUP OF TYPE A WITH FOOT IN THE FORM OF MALE GENITALS

Attributed to the Manner of the Lysippides Painter and to the workshop of the potter Andokides, ca. 520 B.C.

H 12.5–13.8 cm; Diam 34 cm

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1974.344

Purchased 1974; formerly collection of Mr. and Mrs. James Bomford; British art market

I, black-figure and outline, *gorgoneion*; in the zone, *symposium in vineyard*

A–B, black-figure and outline, *satyr masks* between eyes and grapevines

CONDITION: Reassembled from fragments with overpainting along joins; black-figure decoration abraded; gloss chipped around incised lines; added color lost; three drill holes from ancient repair on side A; lead from metal clamp preserved in two lower holes; cup's plastic foot chipped at tip of penis.

DUBBED "A CURIOUS EYE CUP" by John Boardman (1976), this impressive drinking vessel

is the most famous of the four known Attic cups with feet in the form of male genitals. Before the Oxford cup was fired, discs were flattened on the undersides of the phallic foot's solid-clay balls and also near the tip of its penis to enable the kylix to stand securely. A round hole at the center of the foot's underside may have served as a vent during firing. The unusual plastic foot may originally have been naturalistically toned with a pale brown dilute slip rather than reserved. In contrast, on the phallic-footed cup formerly in Berlin, the plastic foot was painted black, thus evoking the conventional black-figure color for male flesh as well as the sturdy black stem and foot of a standard black-figured eye-cup. When stored, a wine cup was hung on a wall by a handle, but in use it was generally held by its foot. This cup's foot would surely have heightened the eroticized atmosphere of a male drinking party.

The elaborate program of painted decoration, covering all of the bowl's exterior and interior, features Dionysiac and apotropaic imagery, as eminently suitable for a symposium as the remarkable foot. In the space between the large eyes on each side of this eye-cup's exterior, the viewer is

confronted by the outline mask of a satyr with a long black-figure beard, flanked by ivy. Inter-twined black-figure grapevines, laden with heavy bunches, grow up around the cup's handles. The combination of black-figure and outline drawing of the painted decoration is echoed in the alternate black and outline rays that encircle the plastic foot. This technically adventuresome eye-cup, related to the work of the black-figure Lysippides Painter, was likely produced in the avant-garde workshop of the potter Andokides at the time of transition from black- to red-figure.

The traditional apotropaic gorgoneion, drawn in a combination of outline and black-figure, on the tondo inside the bowl, reinforces the potency of the frontal staring eyes and the phallic foot on the cup's exterior. The zone around the tondo is filled with a special black-figure symposium—an open-air celebration in a vineyard. Grapevines, heavily laden with bunches, encircle the bowl's interior, and, in growing upward at the cup's handles, they echo the interwoven vines on the exterior. Beneath the vines, the participants recline on the ground. The black band that separates them from the central tondo may allude to the mattresses commonly shown in outdoor symposia. Several of the symposiasts wear *mitrai*, East Greek turbans that were an element of luxurious foreign dress popular at Athenian drinking parties beginning in the late sixth century B.C. (cf. cat. no. 52). Beneath a lyre hanging from the vines, a musician plays the double pipes; a turbaned man sings, and another symposiast, in an erotic gesture, is about to slap a naked servant boy with his sandal. Two men hold drinking vessels in shapes not normally found at ordinary human symposia: a kantharos, often used by the god Dionysos himself, and a phiale, normally employed as a libation bowl (cf. cat. nos. 18, 50). This curious eye-cup, which was broken and mended in antiquity, must have been used with whole-hearted enjoyment by its male owner.

REFERENCES: BAPD Vase 396; Sotheby & Co., London, sale 13 July 1970, no. 134; Wilson 1970, 266 left; Moorey and Catling 1971, 53, pl. 136, 54, no. 136; Boardman 1974, 108, fig. 177; Boardman 1976; Vickers 1978, fig. 33, 85–86, no. 33; Shapiro 1981, 140, pl. 27, fig. 11; Vickers 1981, 544–45, no. 5, fig. 5a–c; Weber-Lehmann 1985, 29–30, pl. 30.1; Kurtz and Boardman 1986, 53 with n.104; Bérard et al. 1989, 12, fig. 3; Johns 1989, 92, 93, fig. 76; Tsingarida 1991, 9, fig. 3, 13; Martens 1992, 222–24, figs.



74.2

99–100, 355, fig. 160; Dalby 1996, 98, fig. 19; Osborne 1996b, 313, 314, fig. 83; Valavanis and Kourkoumelis 1996, 90–91; Klinger 1997a, 350–54, 351, fig. 10; Osborne 1998, 133–35, figs. 68–69; T. J. Smith 1999, 114, 123, fig. 6; Vickers 1999, 36, no. 24.

For cups with phallic feet, see Boardman 1976, 287; Isler-Kerényi 2001, 214–15, figs. 118–20 (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 2052) and 190–92. See further Johansen 1976 and cat. no. 75 for vases in the shape of male genitals and their significance. On associations of Late Archaic Dionysiac imagery with early theatrical performance, see cat. no. 43, Steinhart 2004, and True, chap. 7. For the potter Andokides, the black-figure Lysippides Painter, and the red-figure Andokides Painter, see Cohen, chap. 1.



74.3



75.1

75

FRAGMENTARY ARYBALLOS IN THE FORM OF MALE GENITALS WITH A BULL'S HEAD IN RELIEF

Unattributed, ca. 520–510 B.C.

H 11.2 cm

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 95.55,

Catharine Page Perkins Fund

Purchased 1895; formerly Alphonse
van Branteghem collection; Eugène Piot
collection; Albert Barre collection

CONDITION: Extant portion intact; vase chipped at upper, outer edges of body; penis missing; broken tip of bull's left ear lost; black gloss chipped around bull's horns and in its ears; patches of beige incrustation on surface.

THIS FRAGMENTARY VASE is an *aidoion*, a vase in the shape of male genitalia. Only the scrotum is preserved; its now-lost penis would have projected from the round hole on what was originally the vessel's front, opposite the bull's head (fig. 75.2). A flasklike plastic vessel, this vase has the disc-shaped mouth of an aryballos, the oil container employed by male athletes for slicking their bodies before competition. Its owner in antiquity would have carried this *aidoion* about conveniently suspended from his wrist by a thong.

Earlier in the sixth century B.C. aryballoi in the form of male genitalia were commonly produced by Corinthian and East Greek pottery workshops. The first preserved Attic example, which dates from the mid-sixth century and is also in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, was signed by the potter Priapos. A black-figure depiction of a man courting a boy decorates the handle-plate of Priapos's *aidoion*. A symbol of fertility and fecundity, a vase in the form of male genitalia would surely also have been titillating in the homoerotic culture of ancient Athens (cf. cat. no. 74).

Boston 95.55 is an exceptional *aidoion* because the frontal head of a long-horned bovine is modeled in relief on the back of its scrotum. This caboshed head, which must have been thought

to belong to an uncastrated bull, would have underscored the plastic aryballos's association with virile power, and it would have vied with the phallus on the front for the viewer's attention. The little bull's head is black-figure in conception, with black gloss over its surface; the hairs of its coat and the contours of its eyes and nostrils are incised.

A black leftward key pattern runs across the top of the aryballos's outward-curving body between the bull's horns, and the rest of this vessel's delicate black ornament is likewise restricted to its uppermost elements. A broken key pattern embellishes the vertical edge of the aryballos's wheel-made mouth between the black handles. Volutes fill the spaces between the lower ends of the handles and the outer ends of the shoulder. Finally, on the topside of the mouth, palmettes with lotus buds grow at the upper ends of the handles, and two dot rosettes fill the spaces between these buds. Oddly, save for a black line along the top edge, neither painted ornament nor

an indication of pubic hair appears on the front of the scrotum to which the penis was once attached.

This plastic aryballos was purchased by E. P. Warren in the June 1892 sale of the van Branteghem collection at the Hôtel Drouot in Paris, and Warren sold it to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in 1895. Warren's handwritten "Sending List of Vase and Bronzes" from 1894, preserved in the archives of the Department of Greek and Roman Art, says, under entry no. 261 entitled "Sent bottle in form of a phallus": "Part was broken off after the sale and lost. This was before I got it." Nineteenth-century catalogues, such as Wilhelm Fröhner's for the 1892 van Branteghem sale, also refer to this plastic aryballos as being "en forme de phallus." This *aidoion*, therefore, had apparently survived intact from antiquity until 1892; its now-missing penis must be the part that broke off before the vase entered the Museum of Fine Arts.



75.2

REFERENCES: Barre 1878, 44–45, no. 354; Piot 1890, 32–33, no. 120; van Branteghem 1892, no. 261; Eldridge 1918, 270, fig. 11; Beazley 1927–1928, 204; Payne 1931, 176; Johansen 1976, 97, fig. 31, 98; Steinhart 1992, 521n.217; Steinhart 1995, 83–84; Herrmann and Kondoleon 2004, 132, 133, fig. 111, 184, no. 111 (described incorrectly as "oil flask [aryballos] in the shape of an ox head").

On the aryballos's suspension, see cat. no. 78. For Priapos's aryballos, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 13.105, see: *ABV* 170.1; *BAdd*² 48; *BAPD* Vase 301082; Herrmann and Kondoleon 2004, 113, fig. 108, 184, no. 108; True, chap. 7. A non-Attic *aidoion* (H 5.68 cm) in the Art Museum, Princeton University, 2002–169, is likewise decorated with a bull's head in relief. My thanks to J. Michael Padgett, Curator of Ancient Art, for informing me about Princeton's vase. For phallic vases, see also Boardman and La Rocca 1978, 69–71. I would especially like to thank Mary Comstock and Christine Kondoleon at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for supplying the relevant entry from E. P. Warren's unpublished "Sending List" of 1894. On E. P. Warren, see further Williams, chap. 8.



76
**DONKEY'S-HEAD RHYTON-
 KANTHAROS**

Unattributed, ca. 525–500 B.C.
 H (to top of handles) 21.5 cm; Diam (bowl)
 14.3 cm
 London, The British Museum
 GR 1876.3-28.5, *BM Cat Vases* B 378
 Perhaps from Athens; purchased 1876

A, Donkey's-head rhyton attachment, on
 kantharos's bowl, black-figure, *Ariadne(?)*, seated
 on camp stool, and ithyphallic satyr
 B, on kantharos's bowl, black-figure, *Dionysos*
 riding a donkey between satyrs and a maenad

CONDITION: Donkey's right ear reattached; small chips in front surface of donkey's head; rhyton part otherwise intact; orange color mottled on clay of donkey's head; kantharos's bowl reassembled from fragments; B/A handle reassembled; white incrustation on rhyton's inner surface and on bottom of kantharos's foot.

THIS WINE VESSEL'S EXPERIMENTAL and ungainly union of a mold-made animal-head rhyton with a wheel-made kantharos is unique. Its late sixth-century donkey's head, moreover, appears to be the earliest preserved Attic rhyton, and this rhyton-kantharos as a whole is a rare preserved example of an Athenian plastic vase with black-figure decoration. In design, the donkey's tall, outward-flaring ears are echoed by the kantharos's tall looping strap handles.

In order to assemble this vase, the potter cut a hole in the kantharos's bowl and precisely inserted the donkey's head, thereby forming a dual-chambered wine vessel with a large capacity. But the resulting rhyton-kantharos is overweighted toward the donkey's head, which extends down so far that the donkey's lips set the vessel off kilter, and it rests unstably on the kantharos's foot. The interior of the kantharos's bowl is covered with black gloss, while the interior of the rhyton part is painted an orange red. This distinctive red, also found on the interiors of later animal-head rhyta (cf. cat. no. 83), may have served to enhance the color of the diluted wine contained in a rhyton's exceptionally deep, narrow cup. The exterior of this donkey's head is reserved, as in the red-figure technique, and various details are painted in pottery colors. The mane, the eyes' contours and oculi, and the bridle are black. The interior of the ears, eye area, muzzle beyond the bridle, and teeth are a creamy white. The interior of the nostrils are brownish red, and the interior of the mouth and projecting tongue are red.

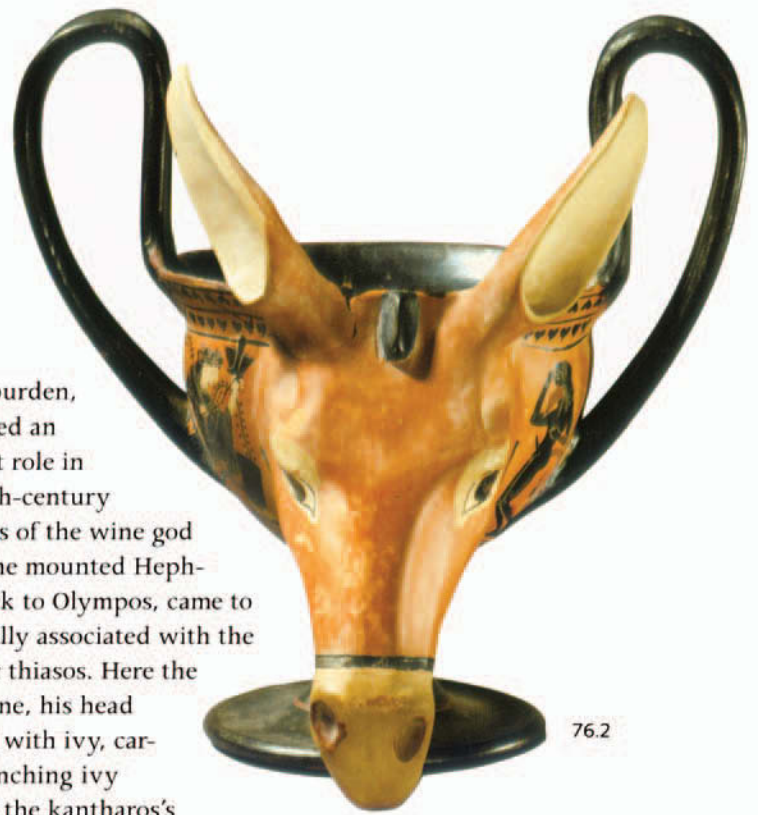
The iconographic unity of this compound wine vessel's plastic and painted black-figure decoration has been carefully planned. While a bridled donkey's head has been joined to the kantharos's obverse, on its reverse, Dionysos himself rides upon an ithyphallic donkey. This ignoble

beast of burden, who played an important role in early sixth-century depictions of the wine god leading the mounted Hephaistos back to Olympos, came to be generally associated with the Dionysiac thiasos. Here the god of wine, his head wreathed with ivy, carries a branching ivy vine, and the kantharos's offset lip is itself encircled by ivy.

Dionysos, riding to the right and accompanied by satyrs and a maenad, appears to head toward a female figure, probably Ariadne, who is seated beside the plastic donkey's head on the obverse. She too wears an ivy wreath with alternating red and black leaves and holds a branching ivy vine. In addition, she holds by its foot a kantharos with tall strap handles that recalls the vase itself. In ancient Athenian art a kantharos was often the drinking vessel of Dionysos, and in Athenian ceramic tradition this special rhyton-kantharos appears to have been an ancestor of both the mask kantharoi (cat. no. 82) and the animal-head rhyta (cf. cat. nos. 83, 84) of the early fifth century. Furthermore, the donkey's importance here brings to mind this Dionysiac beast of burden's popularity in early statuette-vases (cf. True, chap. 7, fig. 3).

REFERENCES: Walters 1893, 210; A. B. Cook 1894, 99; Buschor 1919–1921, 12, fig. 17; Beazley 1929, 40; CB 1, 22 (cited incorrectly as E 378); Marconi 1931–1932, 68, 69, figs. 6–7; Boardman 1974, 192, fig. 321; Hoffmann 1983, 69n.12; True 1986, 159–60; Hoffmann 1989b, 134, 135, figs. 2a–b; Schäfer 1997, 46, pl. 17.2, 4; Fiorentini 2003, 349n.3.

For the distinction between donkeys and mules and these animal's association with Dionysos, see, recently, Padgett 2000, esp. 49–56.



76.2



77.1

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RHYTON (STATUETTE-VASE) IN FORM OF DIONYSOS HOLDING A RED-FIGURED DRINKING-HORN

Unattributed, ca. 500–490 B.C.

H 24.4 cm

London, The British Museum

GR 1873.8-20.267, *BM Cat Vases* E 785

From Capua; purchased from Alessandro Castellani 1873

CONDITION: Intact; broken top of drinking-horn smoothed in antiquity; heads of figures in vase-painting missing; only shadows of once-red inscriptions extant; black gloss cracked toward bottom of rhyton; chips missing and black gloss cracked on block of seat; much of matt paint on sculptural form no longer preserved; remaining vermillion, red, and blue green flaked; white pitted; gray incrustation on bottom right edge of male figure's beard.

THE BEARDED MALE FIGURE seated on a camp stool supporting an outsized drinking-horn (rhyton) on his lap depicted by this Late Archaic Athenian statuette-vase has generally been identified as Dionysos, an eminently suitable subject for a unique wine vessel. This unusual vase displays a complex ensemble of techniques. Its form combines mold-made, handmade, and potted parts, while its surface decoration employs the familiar black gloss and reserve of painted pottery alongside several startlingly bright, matt colors. The entire statuette is set upon a flat, rectangular clay base. The male figure's body and the block on which his seat is painted must have been mold-made in two halves that have been joined together. His beard and probably his head appear to have been fashioned separately. Dionysos's head is turned to his right and pressed against the drinking-horn, recalling figures shown frontal face in vase-painting. Most of the horn was made on the potter's wheel and then blended into the sculpted composition. It curves sinuously over the right side of the god's lap so that its pointed lower end appears in the main view of the composition, that is, the side his head is facing. This drinking-horn has a strap handle at the back. Interestingly,

Dionysos's lower arms and hands are indicated in reserved relief on the drinking-horn's body. At the back, the lower end of the vessel's strap handle, which terminates in red rotellae, is attached to the mold-made male figure's left leg. The vent hole required for firing this ambitious creation is visible beneath the vessel's handle. The horn's interior is lined with a rounded potted cup, which is covered with black gloss and would handily have held the wine.

The seated wine god's flesh was painted a vermillion red (cf. cat. no. 82), which is still well preserved on his face. His lively expression is reinforced by black arched brows above wide-open black-rimmed eyes with white sclerae and black oculi. Any color that may once have covered his long hair and full beard has disappeared entirely. In 1896, Cecil H. Smith observed "wavy black lines" on the beard. Dionysos wears a red sleeved chiton, with a white stripe down the center front, topped by a milky blue-green himation. Folds and other details of these garments are painted with matt black lines, and the soft white boots on his feet are fastened with matt black ties. The rhyton he holds is a red-figured vase with a gathering of now-headless deities, identified by inscription as Artemis, Apollo, Aphrodite, and Hermes. The vessel's pointed lower portion is covered with black gloss, and an ornamental frieze of upright, circumscribed palmettes with black hearts forms a base for the figures. The statuette's camp stool is depicted in red-figure on the block support rather than being painted in matt colors or sculpted. This stool has legs that terminate in cat feet, and its seat is covered with a panther skin. The skin's head and forepaws, which hang down illusionistically at the back, enhance the rear view of the statuette. The statuette-vase's two-dimensional depiction of a skin-covered stool on the block is comparable to the analogous feature painted onto the base of a Late Archaic marble statue of a seated Dionysos of ca. 510 B.C. in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens. This extraordinary Attic vessel, which was exported to Magna Graecia in antiquity, must have been found in a tomb; however, the salvaging of its broken horn may suggest that it had once been cherished by its ancient owner in life.

REFERENCES: *BAPD* Vase 7870; *CVA* British Museum 4 [Great Britain 5] iii i c, 7, pl. 37 1a–d; C. H. Smith 1896, 372–73 (attributed to school of Kachrylion); Buschor 1919–1921, 18; Beazley 1929, 38 and n.2; Rumpf 1936, 63, fig. 1; *EAA* II (1959) s.v. Ceramica 499, fig. 690.center; Schuchhardt 1967, 14, 16, figs. 6–8; *LIMC* I (1984) s.v. Artemis, 711, no. 1165, pl. 540 (L. Kahil); True 1986, no. B 5: 30–40 (attributed to Charinos as potter), 68–74; Lissarrague 1995, 7, 9n.10.

Cf. the satyr carrying a krater who is shown in frontal face on the contemporaneous red-figured calyx-krater attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Arthur M. Sackler Museum 1960.236: *ARV*² 185.31; *BAdd*² 187; *BAPD* Vase 201683. For the marble statue of Dionysos, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3711, see Kaltsas 2002, 74–75, no. 111. In several early interpretations the male figure of the London vase has occasionally been called Silenos; True, chap. 7, suggests instead that this vase, which she dates ca. 510–500 B.C., depicts Ploutos holding a cornucopia.



77.2



78.1

78

ARYBALLOS IN THE FORM OF THREE COCKLESHELLS

Attributed to Phintias as potter, ca. 510–500 B.C.

H 6.2 cm

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art
23.160.33, Rogers Fund, 1923

CONDITION: Excellent; intact; chips in outer edge and topside of mouth; white incrustation within neck; black gloss cracked within mouth, abraded at edges of handles, chipped on upper body; a few chips in white-ground surface; chips in black and red lines on shells; beige incrustation near edge of one shell.

THIS EXQUISITE OIL FLASK in the form of three bivalve cockleshells clustered together was called “astonishingly naturalistic” by Gisela M. A. Richter (1927); indeed, these domed shells with radiating ribs may have been made in molds taken from real shells. In forming the aryballos, the clay bivalves are perched on edge in a sophisticated trefoil pattern with their knobs at the top. They are covered with white slip on which concentric transverse markings have been painted in delicate stripes of black and red. Their joining outer edges are rimmed in black. On each side of the vessel, the centermost black stripe runs across both half shells, and on the underside, the black and red stripes from all of the shells merge harmoniously. The white slip that enhances this *trompe-l’oeil* imitation of shells must be associated with the avant-garde exploration of white ground on Late Archaic Attic pottery. Although this plastic vase rests firmly on the shells’ lower edges, its surface decoration continues all the way around, for an aryballos was designed to be carried about suspended by a thong from the wrist of a male athlete.

A compact, wheel-made neck and mouth, flanked by a pair of angular vertical handles, which aided in the vessel’s suspension, rise from the space between the mold-made shells. The little handles have projections at the bottom characteristic of an Attic aryballos. These standard *vase*

elements are covered with black gloss, save for the reserved circular topside of the mouth, which bears an appropriate inscription—"the boy is beautiful indeed"—written in unevenly spaced black letters with the words divided by two interpoints:

ΗΟΓΑΙΣ : ΚΑΛΟΣΝΑΙ

Two contemporaneous fragmentary cockle-shell aryballoi have been found in sanctuaries in Attika itself: on the Athenian Akropolis and at Eleusis. On the topside of the mouth, each bears a signature of Phintias as potter (misspelled on the former), written with three interpoints between name and verb. The similar designs of the well-preserved example in New York and of another in Toronto suggest that these plastic aryballoi were all produced in the same pottery workshop. They provide important evidence that the Pioneer Group painter named Phintias, like Euphronios (cat. nos. 10, 11, 12, 82; True, chap. 7, fig. 2), must have become a potter. These Phintian special aryballoi, furthermore, count among the early examples of plastic vases produced in Athens, and they were clearly valued locally.

REFERENCES: ARV² 25.bottom.1; BAPD Vase 200151; Richter 1924, 128 and fig. 5; *Illustrated London News*, 26 July 1924, 181; Richter 1927b, 140; Richter and Milne 1935, fig. 108; Richter 1953, 75 at n.96.

For the construction of a cockleshell aryballos, see Schreiber 1999, 90–91, figs. 9.2–5. On the aryballos and its use, see Richter and Milne 1935, 16; Clark, Elston, and Hart 2002, 69. For its suspension, see Haspels 1927–1928. Cf. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis 873: ARV² 25.middle.3; BAPD Vase 200150; Graef and Langlotz 1933, II, 82, no. 873, pl. 75; Eleusis, Archaeological Museum: ARV² 25.middle.2; BAPD Vase 200147; Hoppin 1919, II, 358–59; Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum 352: ARV² 25.bottom.2; BAPD Vase 200154; Hayes 1992, 80, no. 83; see also Robinson, Harcum, and Iliffe 1930, I, 158–59, no. 352, II, pl. 16, for the inscription's association with Phintias. Cf. also ARV² 26.top. See also, esp. for Euphronios as potter, True, chap. 7. For Phintias as potter, see also the red-figured cup decorated on the inside only, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1628: ARV² 25.1; BAdd² 74; BAPD Vase 200146.



78.2



78.3



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JANIFORM ARYBALLOS IN THE FORM OF CONJOINED HEADS OF A BLACK MAN AND A WHITE WOMAN

Head vase assigned to Class B: The Epilykos Class, ca. 515–500 B.C.

H 11.3 cm

Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 987

Said to be from Greece; purchased 1898

CONDITION: Body intact; mouth reassembled from fragments, part missing; mouth's top edge chipped; black gloss within mouth cracked and chipped; loss of some clay dots in Black man's hair; some chipping of black gloss on his face, esp. on brow, around nostrils, on cheeks, above upper lip; white on his left eye and pupil of his right eye chipped; white on woman's eyes chipped; most of bright red topcoat on woman's lips and red on crimped edge of her *sakkos* missing; edge of resting surface abraded; white incrustation on underside.

THIS JANIFORM ARYBALLOS is one of the earliest of the mold-made vases in the form of human heads produced in Archaic Athens. Like other aryballoi (cf. cat. no. 78), this plastic oil container was designed for use by an athletic Greek male. While it could have been carried about suspended from a thong looped around its neck and handles, this model could also have been set down on the base of its conjoined heads' neck. Its iconography exhibits the selection of contrasting subservient individuals marked as Others on the basis of class, race, and/or gender that also typifies later head vases (cf. cat. no. 81). Yet here the impressively modeled heads of both the young White woman, probably a prostitute, and the Black man, probably a slave, are depicted with grace and self-possessed dignity rather than caricatured. Nearly eighty years ago Beazley described the Black man's head as "a dark fruit ripened evenly and fully." Displaying closely observed Negroid physiognomy, today this mold-made head remains a striking ancient Greek study of foreign ethnicity.

In a pottery workshop, the two contrasting heads would have been fashioned in separate molds, joined, and fitted with the wheel-made mouth and the handles of an aryballos. Like contemporary black-figure, red-figure, or bilingual vases, which might well have been produced in the same shop, this plastic aryballos would have been decorated by a vase-painter before firing. Unlike the reserve normally employed for the flesh of Ethiopians in the red-figure technique, however, here black gloss has been pressed into service to color the Black man's flesh naturalistically. The sclerae of his eyes are painted white over the black, and a white stripe between his once-red lips suggests teeth. Bright blue—a color that does not belong to the standard repertory of vase-painting—is still preserved on some patches of the rows of extruded pointed clay dots that suggest his tightly curled hair.

The flesh of the woman's head, which has especially delicate features, is reserved, following the convention of contemporary red-figure (cf. cat. nos. 3, 29), rather than white, the traditional color of female flesh for stone and terracotta sculpture as well as black-figure vase-painting. She has arched black brows and black-contoured



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almond-shaped eyes: The black lines employed for both precisely follow the modeled articulation of these facial features. As in the case of the Black man's head, the white of her eyes has been applied over black gloss, and the iris and pupil of each eye are separated by an incised circle, recalling the black-figure technique. The head cloth, or *sakkos*, that covers her hair is literally decorated in red-figure on a black ground, with ornamental palmettes at the sides and a dominant cock paired with a submissive one at the crown of her head. In addition to fighting, cocks served as love gifts between Athenian males, and, in appreciation of male beauty, *kalos* is inscribed in black letters down the reserved female's neck on each side of the vase.

Heads by the same modeler, some perhaps produced in the same molds, occur singly or conjoined in other extant plastic aryballois. On a janiform aryballos in the form of conjoined female heads, purchased by the Louvre at the same time and perhaps found in the same tomb as this one, *Epilykos kalos* is written around the topside of

the mouth. The name for this Class of head vases is derived from this *kalos* name. It is commonly employed by the bilingual vase-painter Skythes (cat. no. 8), who thus has been associated with the decoration of these miniature masterpieces.

REFERENCES: ARV² 1530.middle.2; *Para* 501; BAdd² 385; BAPD Vase 231211; Pottier 1902, 138–40, pl. 12; Perrot [and Chipiez] 1914, pl. 24, 751–53; Herford 1919, 10, pl. 2a; Pfuhl 1923, I, 290, III, fig. 272; Beazley 1929, 41–42, Group B, the Epilykos Group, no. 2; Paris 1938, 61e–f; Bernhard 1966, 73, 129, fig. 272; Snowden 1970, 25, 44, fig. 13; Bourgeois 1971, 89, 91, fig.; Hoffmann 1974, 203, fig. 8, 204; Kurtz 1975a, 123, pls. 64.5, 65.2; Croissant 1983, 287–91, pls. 116–17, Louvre CA 987; Hoffmann 1988b, 146, 147, fig. 6; Denoyelle 1994, 100–101, no. 45; Williams 2004, 113 at n. 79.

Cf. other janiform aryballois of the Epilykos Class, e.g., Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 986, conjoined heads of two White women: ARV² 1530.middle.1, 1578; BAPD Vase 231210; Pottier 1902, pl. 11; Pfuhl 1923, I, 289–90, III, fig. 270; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 98.888, conjoined heads of two Black men: ARV² 1530.middle.3; *Para* 501; BAPD Vase 231212; Buschor 1919–1921, 10, pl. 4; Snowden 1976, 166, fig. 199, 167, also, in general, for the physiognomic depiction. See True, chap. 7, for new evidence that might possibly associate the potting of the Epilykos Class with Euphronios: a protome of a Black man's head with dotted hair on a vase with a fragmentary potter-signature of Euphronios (True, chap. 7, fig. 2). However, the technology of the hair dots appears to differ. The dots in the Epilykos Class are pointed, while the Euphronian dots are rounded.



80.1

80

OINOCHOE IN THE FORM OF A WOMAN'S HEAD

Head vase assigned to Class C: The Charinos Class; signature of Charinos as potter, ca. 500–490 B.C.

H 27 cm

Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz F 2190

From Vulci (near Cucumella) 1883; purchased 1883

CONDITION: Restored from fragments with missing parts filled in plaster toned orange, including crack through head's right brow, missing fragment from inner corner of left eye down to left cheek and crack through base of handle; rotella of left handle root restored; upper part of pupil on left eye missing; brownish red flaked from corners of lower lip; black gloss on trefoil mouth and handle's edges chipped; chips along lower edge of black band at base.

THE MOLD-MADE HEAD OF A LOVELY young woman that forms the body of this oinochoe has been compared to Late Archaic marble korai from the Athenian Akropolis. This jug's palmette-covered shoulder, from which its wheel-made trefoil mouth and tall strap handle rise, resembles the cushion ancient women employed to soften a load carried atop the head. The proud potter of this exquisite anthropomorphic wine pitcher may have incised his own signature down the back of its glossy black handle, running name and verb together and with the latter misspelled: *Charinosepoisen*.

This oinochoe was found in an Etruscan tomb at Vulci together with a replica, now in St. Petersburg, which is also signed by Charinos. Most of this craftsman's extant signed head vases, shaped as either an oinochoe or a one-handled kantharos, take the form of a woman's head wearing an elaborate *sakkos*. While often found in Etruria, Attic head vases were conceived as fashionable vessels for serving or drinking wine at the symposium; however, the Athenian symposiast himself—the male citizen—was excluded from their plastic



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iconographic repertory. The female heads of these vessels have recently been interpreted, not as Greek goddesses or respectable Athenian women, or even Dionysiac maenads, but as the hetairai who would have served male guests at a drinking party.

The sensitive sculptural form of this female head vase is enhanced by individualized painted definition and adornment. Brows and eyelids have been outlined in black gloss on the head's reserved flesh. On Charinos's earlier kantharos or mug in Tarquinia the sclerae of the eyes are colored appropriately with added white, but here they are reserved unnaturally. Yet the unique handling of the oculi on Berlin's Charinos oinochoe suggests the shimmering translucency of the human eye: Each pupil is black with an incised border; the surrounding iris is ringed with a line of black gloss and colored with dilute black gloss on top of which a circle of dark black dots has been inscribed. The red painted on the female head's faintly smiling lips is a naturalistic brownish hue, but traces of a cinnabar topcoat overlap this color. Her hair is painted bright red. Both her ears and the channeled cap of tight curls with sev-

eral rows of relief dots that frames her face appear to have been finished by hand.

A *sakkos* covers the back of her hair. Unlike the reserved red-figure palmettes on the oinochoe's wheel-made shoulder, the details of the *sakkos* are painted with black gloss on a reserved ground. A black key pattern frames the woman's face, followed by a broad band of netting, described by cross-hatched black lines. This netting is sandwiched between sections of cloth decorated with an elaborate black lozenge pattern. Two down-curved projecting points, defined with radiating lines and black dots at the back of the head, are connected by painted black ribbons or chains. The *sakkos*'s sagging and peaked rear profile is also depicted in Attic vase-painting. The head vase terminates at the base of the woman's neck, which is delicately defined by a black molding and serves as a stable resting surface for this charming wine pitcher.

REFERENCES: ARV² 1531.3; *Para* 502; *BAdd*² 385; *BAPD* Vase 231221; Helbig 1883, 165–66; Furtwängler 1885, II, 511–12; Klein 1887, 214, 215, no. 3; Reisch 1890, 316–18, figs. 2–3; Kekule von Stradonitz 1922, 48–51, figs. on 49–50; Hoppin 1924, 64–65, Charinos no. 1; Rodenwaldt 1927, color pl. 10, 673; Beazley 1929, 43–44, no. 3, fig. 2; Neugebauer 1932, 115, pl. 39, top; Richter 1949, 137–38, fig. 218; Greifenhagen 1966, 22, 48–49, pls. 52–53; Schefold 1967b, 93, color pl. IIa–b, 173, no. IIa–b (R. Lullies); Gehrig, Greifenhagen, and Kunisch 1968, frontispiece, 123; Gehrig et al. 1980, 52–53, no. 19 (B. Kaeser); Brussels 1982, 182, no. 107 (K. Van Gelder); *LIMC* II (1984) s.v. Aphrodite 109, no. 1080, pl. 109 (A. Delivorrias); Schuchhardt, Heintze, and Hutter 1987, 22, fig. 15, 434; Heilmeyer 1988, 112–13, no. 5; Cohen 1991, 77–78, figs. 52–53; Reeder 1995, 213, no. 48; Ricotti 1996, 97.

Beazley 1929, 44, first made the comparison with korai nos. 682 and 674; on the Akropolis korai, see now Karakasi 2003, esp. 120, 123, and pls. 146–47, 178–79, 252, 269–71. For Charinos, see also Buschor 1919–1921, 12; Guy 1981, 2, 6; and True, chap. 7. For St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum B 2103 (686), see: ARV² 1531.4; *BAPD* Vase 231222; Reeder 1995, 212, no. 47. On the iconography of head vases, see also cat. nos. 79, 81. For Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese 6845, see: ARV² 1531, bottom.2; *Para* 502; *BAdd*² 385; *BAPD* Vase 260209; Arias/Hirmer/Shefton, color pl. 32. For a comparably shaped *sakkos* in vase-painting, see the left hetaira on a red-figured cup attributed to Olto, Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional 11267; ARV² 58.53, 1574, 1622; *BAdd*² 164; *BAPD* Vase 200443.



80.3

JANIFORM KANTHAROS IN THE FORM OF CONJOINED HEADS OF HERAKLES AND A WOMAN

Head vase assigned to Class M: The Vatican Class, ca. 470 B.C.

H 19.1 cm; Diam (rim) 13.9 cm

Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AE.218

European art market; purchased 1983

CONDITION: Restored from fragments with areas of fill and inpainting; chips around base; black gloss abraded and chipped on handles, Herakles' left brow and eye, his hair and beard; added white chipped on sclerae of eyes, Herakles' mustache, and teeth on lower jaw of lion's skin; some white encrustation on handles and hair of female head.



81.1

THE BOWL OF THIS SMALL janiform kantharos is composed of outward-facing mold-made heads of Herakles and a woman and crowned by a broad and flaring wheel-made lip (some areas restored). The neck of the conjoined heads serves as the vessel's resting surface. A pair of handmade looping strap handles (one partially restored), characteristic of a kantharos, is attached vertically at the sides. The physical join of the two molds is visible on the bowl's interior, which was perfunctorily covered with a thin and uneven coat of black gloss. Following standard vase-painting vocabulary, this striking plastic vessel's mouth and handles are black, and, as in the red-figure technique, the flesh of both its male and female heads has been reserved, counter to the conventional distinction in ancient art between darker-skinned males and white-skinned females (cf. cat. nos. 25, 65).

Kantharoi are capacious wine cups, and the imagery of plastic versions is often associated with the mythic realm of Dionysos and with the symposium. The restorer added a Dionysiac ivy vine with corymbs of berries in white on the vessel's black lip. The head of Herakles is also iconographically appropriate: In Attic vase-painting, the hero is sometimes shown drinking alongside the wine god, and both normally employ a kantharos. In Greek art, generally, Herakles often wears the skin of the Nemean Lion, a trophy from his first labor, with its head placed over his own serving as a helmet (cf. cat. no. 2). Here the lion skin's jaws, which frame Herakles' black-haired and bearded face, are painted by the restorer as white over a red undercoat and decorated with red dots at the top. The fangs of the lower jaw (partially restored) are white. Four molded fangs also project from the upper jaw, but here the ancient painter has neglected to paint them white, and they blend with the hero's black hair. In this truncated image, the lion skin's paws, rather than being tied across his chest, are tied beneath the hero's chin and delineated in outline on his neck. The so-called Herakles knot, a popular design in Greek jewelry, was based on the conventional artistic tie in the lion skin's forelegs; however, the restorer of this kantharos has misunderstood the knot, adding an extra pair of loops at the left. In addition, he has



painted the lion skin's leaflike paws in a way that is anatomically impossible, and the black dots that denote the animal skin's furry surface have erroneously been continued by the restorer on the skin of Herakles' neck. Herakles himself stares straight ahead with his characteristic big, rounded eyes beneath arched black brows. The sclerae of his eyes are naturalistically colored white, as is the norm in sculpture and some plastic vases but not in red-figure vase-painting. Herakles' mustache and the tuft beneath his chin are painted white, though his hair, beard, eyes, and eyebrows are black.

The mold-made head of a woman on the reverse has comparatively little painted detail. Her black-rimmed eyes are almond-shaped and, like Herakles', they have white sclerae and a reserved ring around their black pupils. The off-center placement of her pupils and irises, however, makes the woman look cross-eyed; painted eyebrows have been omitted. Arcs of dilute gloss frame the corners of her mouth. Her centrally parted, wavy hair, which covers her ears, is set off from her face by a black contour.

Female heads occur frequently among the plastic vases designed for drinking and serving wine at the symposium (cf. cat. no. 80), and they have been associated with the hetairai who

were an integral part of these gatherings and whose duties included pouring the wine. The janiform head vases, moreover, often present pointed contrasts of gender, class, race, or ethnicity. In the Vatican Class, a woman's head may also be combined with that of a satyr. Herakles, likewise, may be combined with a satyr, or, as in this Class's name vase, with a Black man, another individual who would have been best known to Athenians as a servant or slave (cf. cat. no. 79). Significantly, while the intemperate hero Herakles commonly appears on plastic wine vessels, these vessels never take the form of heads of the Athenian male citizens, who themselves frequented symposia.

REFERENCES: "Acquisitions/1983," *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984) 248, no. 86; *BAPD Vase* 13374.

For the Vatican Class, see *ARV*² 1538–39; *BAdd*² 387; *BAPD* s.v. Vatican Class; see also Beazley 1929, 39, 42, 60, 67–68. For the potting of kantharoi and their artistic association with Herakles and Dionysos, see Schreiber 1999, 124–27. On the Nemean Lion's skin, see Cohen 1998. For the Herakles knot in Greek jewelry, see Williams and Ogden 1994, title page, 64–65, no. 18, 80–81, no. 35, 197, no. 131, 251, no. 191. On the iconography of head vases, see Lissarrague 1995a and Bérard 2000. For the name vase of the Vatican Class, Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 16539, see *ARV*² 1538.4; *BAdd*² 387; *BAPD Vase* 218432; Snowden 1976, 163, fig. 193. The female head of the Malibu kantharos is comparable to Class K: The Toronto Class: *ARV*² 1537–38; *BAdd*² 386–87; for the name vase Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum 919.5.25, see *BAPD Vase* 218421; and cf. Bérard 2000, 410, fig. 15.13.





82 MASK-KANTHAROS

Attributed to the Foundry Painter and to
Euphronios as potter, ca. 480 B.C.
H (to top of handles) 21.1 cm; Diam (bowl)
17.4 cm
Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AE.263
European art market; purchased 1985

A, mask of Dionysos

B, mask of a satyr

On the bowl, A–B, red-figure, *athletes cleaning themselves*

CONDITION: Restored from fragments with modern additions and paint. Losses include left side of face of Dionysos mask; left side of face and beard, right cheek, left ear, and part of right ear of satyr mask; parts of bowl, including rim fragments. Abrasion on foot's resting surface.

IN GREEK ART, AS WE HAVE SEEN, the kantharos was generally employed by the hero Herakles or by the god of wine, Dionysos, himself (cf. cat. no. 81). In life, drinking from this special model would have been awkward: The attached masks hindered access to the rim, and the kantharos's characteristic inward-curving handles could hardly have been convenient. Perhaps inspired by a metal prototype, this vessel surely was intended for ritual or funerary use. In

this volume, Marion True suggests that the Malibu mask-kantharos was fashioned by Euphronios, the Pioneer painter (cat. nos. 10, 29–30) who turned to potting later in his career (cf. cat. no. 10).

This masterpiece of Athenian pottery combines a bowl and foot that were thrown on the wheel with handmade concave strap handles and two different mold-made masks. These masks are affixed to the opposite sides of the bowl and also joined to the foot at the tips of their beards. This vessel's lip and short stem are characteristic of a kantharos of type C. Its painted decoration combines standard red-figure with the colorful palette of plastic vases.

The masks present contrasting characters: the mature god, portrayed with an idealized Grecian profile, and his bestial follower, the snub-nosed satyr, who originally would have had pointed horse's ears. Dionysos has slender arched brows and a red, benignly smiling mouth; the satyr's black brows are bushy, and his grinning red mouth exposes two painted rows of white teeth. In other details, the handling of the masks underscores the vessel's unity of design. Hair in both masks' black beards is described by wavy incised lines—an archaizing technical feature by the second decade of the fifth century. Both faces had eyes with white sclerae and black irises and a ring around the pupil added in a thick clay slip that also covered the ends of their mustaches and



82.3

chins. Traces of pigment reveal that both faces were originally a bright vermillion. Finally, white ivy, a plant associated with the wine god, forms wreaths on the black hair of both masks.

White ivy also circumscribes the lip of the kantharos, but the rest of its bowl is decorated in red-figure attributed to the robust style of the Foundry Painter, an associate of the Brygos Painter (cat. nos. 47, 60). Rather than Dionysiac imagery, four young athletes, shown cleaning themselves after competition, occupy the spaces between the masks and the vessel's handles. Each youth assumes a different, carefully observed pose: Two clean themselves with strigils, another sponges himself at a laver, and the fourth readies the garment he has removed. They are surrounded by added-red nonsense inscriptions. These athletes stand on the ornamental stopped meander that demarcates the upper edge of the cul. At the sides, adorsed palmettes and tendrils culminating in lotus flowers decorate the cul and the roots of both strap handles.



82.2

REFERENCES: "Acquisitions/1985," *GettyMusJ* 14 (1986), 192, no. 55; True 1986, 138–43, no. 1; *JPGM Handbook* 1991, 48; Vallera-Rickerson and Korma 1992, 86, fig. 11; *JPGM Antiquities Masterpieces* 1997, 42; *JPGM Handbook* 1997, 49; Badinou [2000], 116; *JPGM Handbook* 2001, 49; Clark, Elston, and Hart 2002, 29, fig. 17, 117, fig. 110; *JPGM Antiquities Handbook* 2002, 76; Neer 2002, 14, 15, fig. 1.

For iconographic associations of the masks as well as the attribution to Euphronios, see True, chap. 7. On the kantharos of type C, see Clark, Elston, and Hart 2002, 101. The Foundry Painter's name vase is a red-figured cup with the depiction of a foundry on its exterior, Berlin, Antikensammlung F 2294: ARV² 400.1, 1573, 1651, 1706; *Para* 370; *BAdd*² 230; *BADP* Vase 204340.

RED-FIGURED RHYTON (CUP) IN THE FORM OF A VULTURE'S HEAD

Attributed to Douris as painter and to the Dourian Class of animal-head rhyta, ca. 485–475 B.C.

H 21.8 cm; Diam 11.4 cm

Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique 8, bequest of Baron Lucien de Hirsch, 1898
From Capua; formerly Alessandro Castellani collection

CONDITION: Intact, but with cracks above right ear and through palmette band at top of head; rim abraded; surface abrasion, esp. on palmette band, left side of bird's head, and front edge of beak; black gloss cracked on band between rows of ornament; gloss on beak chipped and pitted; black incrustations on beak; added color of inscription lost; losses of added white around eyes; much of interior still covered with earth.

THE MAGNIFICENT BIRD'S HEAD of this early Attic rhyton—called an eagle in the nineteenth century—should probably be identified as a vulture. The visible ears, featherless depressions around the eyes, and elongated beak all characterize a vulture, though the scalelike plumage recalls ancient representations of eagles. Here each of the feathers, drawn with curved black relief lines on reserved ground, has a central rib of golden-brown dilute. The rhyton's painted decoration consists of sensitive detailing of the mold-made bird's head and red-figure ornament against a black ground: addorsed palmettes adorn the front end of the handle, and a row of circumscribed palmettes and a stopped-meander pattern with saltire squares encircle the shallow, slightly flaring wheel-made rim. On the basis of its ornament, Beazley attributed the painted decoration of this rhyton and of a simpler version in the British Museum to Douris. A unique *kalos* name, inscribed in added color on the Brussels rhyton, extended from the bowl's black band onto the handle: now a shadow, it was read by Denise Feytmans as *Leosthenes kalos*, written with a double first sigma.



Several other interesting details of this rare bird's-head rhyton are defined by added colors or black gloss. The featherless areas around the eyes contained radiating strokes of white, and white entirely covered the inner eye-lids. The reserved irises of the bird's staring eyes each have a ring of black dots. The projecting ears appear to have been added by hand to the molded head; they are not found on the British Museum's version. Their painted articulation is best preserved on the bird's right ear: a black dot and white central area surrounded by radiating lines of an unusual pale orange-red hue. This special color is also used on the ovoid depressions at the edges of the lower beak's underside, previously described as reserved, and it reappears on the irregular interior of the rhyton's mold-made part. The inside of its wheel-made rim is black. The bird's beak was likewise meant to be black, but here the gloss has misfired so that much of it is now a bright accidental red. Scribbly brushstrokes of mustard-yellow orange on the underside of the lower beak near the tip and several heretofore unnoticed strokes of this color preserved on the right side of the upper beak, also near the tip, would have been especially striking had the beak fired black as was intended. This remarkable feature, found also on the upper beak of the Dourian rhyton in the British Museum, has generally been interpreted either as gory remains of the bird's prey or as an anatomical feature of the beak.

Attic animal-head so-called rhyta, which are not pierced for liquid to run through them, are in fact simply zoomorphic drinking cups with either one handle, as here, or two. They are believed to have been inspired by luxurious metal vessels commonly employed by the Persians, whom the Greeks defeated around the time these Dourian examples in clay were produced. The painted definition of such pottery rhyta may well have paralleled engraved or inlaid details on comparable metal versions. While Herbert Hoffmann (1989b) views pottery rhyta solely as ritual funerary vessels employed in sacrificial libations for the heroized dead—as the worn rim of this example may suggest—these Attic vessels are more likely to have been used initially as drinking cups at symposia in daily life.

REFERENCES: ARV² 446.260, 1594, 1653; BAPD Vase 205307; Castellani 1884, 22, no. 105, pl. 3; Gaspar 1901, 602, 613; Daremberg and Saglio 1919, s.v. Vasa 658, fig. 7328; Buschor 1919–1921, 16, fig. 21, 17; Beazley 1925, 209; Feytmans 1948, 43–48, pls. 18–20; Hoffmann 1962, 13, no. 22, 14, pl. 5.1; Tuchelt 1962, 148, no. 1, 149; Buitron 1976, 153, no. 274, 156–57; Hoffmann 1989b, 141, 145, 155, 157; Buitron-Oliver 1995, 43, 69–70, 86, no. 247, pl. 115, no. 247.

I have employed the Gaspar 1901 article in *Durendal* here, but have not been able to consult the abstract version cited by Feytmans 1948 and ARV² 446.260.

On foreign influence and the Assyrian and Persian origin of true animal-head rhyta, see esp. M. C. Miller 1997, 141–44; on the use of Attic rhyta, see Lissarrague 1995a, 6–7.

RHYTON (CUP) IN THE FORM OF A DOG'S HEAD

Attributed to the Brygos Painter and the
Brygan Class of animal-head rhyta, ca.
480 B.C.

H 17.3 cm

St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum
B 1818

Acquired 1862; formerly Giampietro
Campana collection

On the rim, red-figure, *battle of pygmies and cranes*

CONDITION: Restored from fragments with over-painting around joins and on parts of vase surface; abrasion of surface around dog's mouth and right nostril; edge of rim chipped and abraded; most of crane facing left and parts of pygmies restored; black discolorations on depiction of cranes attacking pygmy.

THE KEEN AND ATTENTIVE DOG'S HEAD of this drinking cup is one of the finest extant animal sculptures from the ancient world. It was produced in a two-part mold, the join from which can be seen as a ridge running alongside the indented top of the animal's cranium and continuing beneath its chin. A wheel-made rim and two strap handles were added to this mold-made plastic cup. While the identity of the potter or coroplast who modeled the dog's head is not securely known, the amusing, exotic vignette on the cup's rim of pygmies—shown as reserved achondroplastic dwarfs with large genitals—battling cranes is a masterpiece by the Brygos Painter (cat. nos. 47, 60), who also executed the red-figured decoration on several other plastic drinking vessels of high quality. The egg pattern with dots running around this rhyton's rim is characteristic of the Brygan Class. Later, in the mid-fifth century, the workshop of the potter Sotades, whose Classical Athenian products often display an iconography of Otherness (cat. nos. 86, 87, 93), employs a Black pygmy with a dead crane for the plastic part of statuette-rhyta.

On the St. Petersburg rhyton a broad red band articulated with diagonal, wavy yellow lines runs around the bowl doing double duty as a groundline for the vase-painting, which would be right-side-up when the wine cup is full, and as a collar for the dog when the empty cup is turned upside down. The dog's projecting neck tendons continue under the painted band onto the wheel-made bowl, thereby adding to the collar's illusionism. The solid black gloss that covers the vessel's two strap handles and the interior of the rim also describes the dog's coat. The dog's sculptural form is further enhanced with painted anatomical details that are not uniformly well preserved. Its projecting ears' interiors have angular dilute markings. White surrounds the animal's wide-open eyes with black pupils. The stylized tear ducts and the poorly preserved nose are painted with an orange that resembles reserve. The interior of the nostrils and mouth appear to have been red. Finally, though now flaked and faded, even the whiskers of this appealing dog were described in paint.

Although the fifth-century Athenian vogue for animal-head cups appears to have been influenced by imported Persian metal rhyta (cf. cat. no. 83), here the genre has been Hellenized, not only by the omission of a pierced hole at the opposite end from the cup's rim that would have enabled liquid to flow through the vessel, but also by the selection of a home-bred domesticated animal that did not occur in the Eastern prototypes. In Greek life, a dog was not simply a faithful pet but also the nonhuman hunting companion of the elite Athenian male, who would have used a rhyton like this one at a drinking party. Fashionable Attic rhyta were exported: A similar dog's head in the Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia in Rome, which was probably made from the same mold and was likewise decorated by the Brygos Painter, was found at Falerii, Italy. The St. Petersburg replica itself, which was once in the Campana collection, may also have been exported to Italy in antiquity.



REFERENCES: ARV² 382.188, 1649; *Para* 512; *BAdd*² 228; *BAPD* Vase 204087; *Campana*, sala 1, no. 101; Stephani 1865, 143–44, 159, 186; Stephani 1869, 180–81, no. 360, pl. 6, no. 261; Beazley 1918, 92; Hoppin 1919, 1, 138, no. 90; Gorbunova and Peredolskaya 1961, 54, fig. 28; Hoffmann 1962, 10, no. 9, 12, pl. 2.4; Tuchelt 1962, 149, no. 2, 150; Peredolskaya 1967, 69–71, no. 70, pls. 50.1–2, 51.1–2, 172.5–7; Snowden 1970, 28, 98, fig. 76; Wegner 1973, 185–87, 195, 198, no. 188, 201, pls. 10a, 11a; Boardman 1975, 135, fig. 258; Gorbunova and Saverkina 1975, no. 30; Stahl 1986, 353, fig. 2, 354, fig. 3; Francis 1990, 4–5, fig. 1; Dasen 1993, 185–86, 298, no. 60, pl. 62a–b; *LIMC* vii (1994) s.v. Pygmaioi 595, no. 8, 600, pl. 469 (V. Dasen); Sparkes 2000c, 92, fig. 5.5, 94 and n.37; Williams 2004, 100.

On the Sotadean pygmy-and-crane rhyton, see Dasen 1993, 183, 185, pl. 63.3; Lissarrague 1995a, 8; Williams 2004, 95–103. For Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 867: ARV² 382.187, 1649, 1701; *Para* 366, *BAdd*² 228; *BAPD* Vase 204086; Arias/Hirmer/Shefton, pl. 142, 339, no. 142. See True 1983, 79–83, figs. 9–14, for fragmentary Brygan dog's-head rhyta with a single handle under the chin: Malibu, JPM 79.AE.22; *BAPD* Vase 10025; and Mexico City, private collection: *BAPD* Vase 10029. Another example is in Aléria, Musée Archéologique 67/467: *BAPD* Vase 9998; Jehasse and Jehasse 1973, 471, no. 1901, color pl. 5 and pl. 34. True, chap. 7, discusses the possibility of attributing the entire Brygan Class to the potter Charinos; that attribution is not accepted here.



85

85
**RHYTON (STATUETTE-VASE) IN
 THE FORM OF A DOVE WITH AN
 ATTACHED RED-FIGURED CUP**

Attributed to the Painter of London D 15
 and the Brygan Class of animal-head rhyta,
 ca. 480–470 B.C.

H 22.8 cm

St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum
 B 1876

From Capua; acquired 1872

A, on the cup, *Eos abducting Kephalos*
 B, on the cup, *satyr attacking a maenad*

CONDITION: Intact; tip of bird's beak broken in antiquity; channel along top of beak and vertical drill hole for now-lost ancient repair; surface of bird's eyes worn; black gloss cracked along front join of halves of mold-made bird; gloss pitted and abraded on bird's wings and body; surface chipped and pitted along juncture of cup and bird on left side; surface chipped and gloss abraded along upper edge of rhyton's cup; reserved areas of red-figure decoration abraded and pitted; black gloss abraded along edges of handle; red on base chipped and pitted; underside of resting surface abraded and chipped.

THIS UNIQUE RHYTON COMBINES a mold-made bird and base with a wheel-made cup (fitted with a vertical strap handle) that emerges from the creature's back. The alert, albeit architectonic, bird stands on bent legs, which are modeled in relief on the statuette-vase's base. Because the cup opens directly into the hollow interior of the bird's body and base, this vessel is a capacious wine container. Black gloss covers the cup's inner surface but not the interior of the mold-made bird and base. At the front, the vertical join between the two halves of the bird's mold is visible both inside and out. Outside, the bird's body and the cup, aside from the reserve of the red-figure decoration, are both covered with black gloss. Wherever it was applied too thinly, this black gloss has misfired red. Anatomical details, including the division of the upper and lower beak, the scalelike feathers of the wing coverts and long flight feathers, as well as the striated flesh of the bird's legs have been drawn with red paint on the black gloss. These outline details are the same red as the *kalos* inscriptions and hair fillets in the cup's vase-paintings, but they have been applied with a broader brush. The vessel's base and its recessed walls between the bird's legs and body are covered with a streaky matt red that is applied on top of reserve rather than black gloss, and hence it is slightly brown in tonality.

While the bird seems to bear its burden stoically, the simple, yet spirited red-figure depictions on the cup revolve around male and female lust and sexual pursuit. On the back, in a familiar scene, a balding satyr attacks a maenad, who fends him off with the bottom of her *thyrsos*. On the front, in perhaps the earliest representation of the theme, the winged goddess of dawn, Eos, carries off a naked boy, probably Kephalos. As Eos runs toward the right, looking backward, her booted feet do not quite touch the ground. Her wings are spread and, in brilliant contrast to the vessel's stable bird part, she seems to be taking off to carry her human charge heavenward. A black tongue pattern with dots encircles the cup's lip, and another forms the lower border for the vase-paintings.

The cup's red-figure decoration appears to be late work of the Painter of London D 15, a member of the Brygan Workshop who also painted white-

ground alabastra. In the nineteenth century, the bird statuette itself was said to be a raven or a crow, probably because of the black gloss covering its body. However, rather than a naturalistic description, this glossy surface appears to be a stylistic feature of Brygan rhyta (cf. cat. no. 84). In terms of its sculptural form and the painted articulation of its wings, this bird resembles a pigeon or a dove, and, given the erotic iconography of the vase's cup, it was surely meant to be Aphrodite's own dove.

The unique St. Petersburg bird rhyton was found in a tomb at Capua in Magna Graecia that contained just two other Athenian plastic vessels, which are now in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art: a kantharos in the form of conjoined female heads, with red-figure satyrs and wineskins on the rim attributed to the Brygos Painter himself, and a red-figured lobster-claw askos, a small, flat vessel with an upright mouth that may have been used for pouring olive oil. Beazley (1945) famously pointed out that "the Capuans had a special fondness for the plastic vases of Attica," and the sole occupant of this local tomb appears to have been furnished with grave goods that would have assured a Capuan a fine afterlife.

REFERENCES: ARV² 391.(a); *Para* 512; *BAdd*² 229; *BAPD* Vases 204198 and 223551 (with split bibl.); Stephani 1872, 177–79, pl. 4.1–2; Helbig 1873, 4–5; Beazley 1945, 157; Peredolskaya 1967, 72–73, with references, pls. 48.1–3, 173.3, 5, 9, 10; Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 20, 48, 91, no. 193, pl. 10.3–4; True 1986, 78–82, no. 2; Osborne 1996a, 70, 71, figs. 30A–B, 72; Williams 2002, 345–46; Williams 2004, 116n.48.

On the red-figure iconography, see also Hoffmann 1989b, 148–51. For the Painter of London D 15 (ARV² 390–91.1–2, 1701; *BAPD* Vases 204196–97, 275650), see now Williams 2002. For the other vases from the Capua tomb, now New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 12.234.5, janiform kantharos, see ARV² 382.183, 1538; *Para* 366; *BAdd*² 227; *BAPD* Vase 204082; and New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 23.160.57, lobster-claw askos from the Class of the Seven Lobster-Claws, see ARV² 971.6; *Para* 435; *BAdd*² 309; *BAPD* Vase 213226; and Richter and Milne 1935, 17–18, fig. 113.



86
RHYTON (STATUETTE-VASE) IN
THE FORM OF A BLACK YOUTH
AND A CROCODILE

Attributed to Sotades as potter and to the Sotades Painter, ca. 460 B.C.

H 25.5 cm; L 24.5 cm

Paris, Petit Palais, Musée des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris ADut 360

From Capua; part of the Auguste Dutuit collection, bequeathed to the City of Paris in 1902; purchased for Dutuit collection at sale of H. Hoffmann collection in 1899; formerly Alphonse van Branteghem collection; Count Michel Tyszkiewicz collection

On the cup, in two zones, A–B, red-figure, upper zone, *satyrs and maenads*; lower zone, *satyrs*

CONDITION: Excellent; intact save for a crack on the tail; missing chip on cup's rim; black gloss chipped on rim; on Black youth's chin; and along side, edge, and top of base, esp. at back; much of green color flaked from crocodile's surface; some greenish misfiring of black gloss at lower back of cup; white and brown incrustations on cup's interior and exterior, and on youth's nose, lower body, and limbs.

THE EXOTIC SUBJECT of this amazing Athenian statuette-vase—a Black youth in the clutches of a Nilotic crocodile—though far from the realm of monumental Classical art, is typical of plastic rhyta from the workshop of Sotades (cf. cat. no. 87). This is one of a dozen, whole or fragmentary, known replicas of the crocodile-group rhyton. Although none bears the potter's signature, red-figure vase-paintings on their attached cups, like those on the Petit Palais vase, have been attributed either to the primary painter in Sotades' shop, the Sotades Painter (cf. cat. nos. 90, 92, 93), or to his Manner. In antiquity these Sotadean plastic vases were exported widely, and local versions of the crocodile group continued to be produced during the fourth century B.C. in South Italy, where this Attic example was found.

The Petit Palais statuette-vase was fashioned in a two-part mold; the join of its halves can still be seen in the ridge that runs along the center top of the crocodile's head. At the opposite end, the join along the central ridge of the crocodile's tail has been cleverly camouflaged by one of the rows of extruded clay dots that suggest the scaly edges of the tail. The wheel-made cup was inserted into a hole cut in the crocodile's back so that its lower end opens directly into the body of the plastic part. The entire concoction is set upon a low flat-bottomed base. The crocodile's tail curls upward, abutting the cup, to form a handle for this elaborate drinking vessel. With the handle turned toward one's right hand, the front flank of the statuette's composition faces the viewer as it would have faced an ancient drinker. A Black youth, his right arm in the reptile's clenched jaws, is down on one knee and throws out his free left arm. He grimaces, presumably in pain and fear; on this replica the sharp features of his modeled face may have been further tooled by hand. The beast's forelegs grip the youth's body. Its feet look a bit

like cat paws, but then this is the first crocodile in Greek art, and it is impossible to say how closely Sotades could have observed one of these African creatures.

The crocodile group was enhanced with colors applied both before and after firing. Attic black gloss appropriately supplies the color of the Black youth's flesh. It has been applied thickly and carefully, and it is exceptionally shiny. The other colors employed were all matt. A well-preserved coat of white, like the black gloss applied before firing, covers the spaces between the youth's form, the crocodile, and the base. This white may have served as a ground for a now-lost indication of a natural setting painted on after firing. White describes the youth's teeth, which have been painted over his mouth's red interior as individual squares with little spaces left between them; white is also used for the bright sclerae of his wide-open eyes, which have oculi with black and reserved rings and black pupils. His eyelids are rimmed in brown, a color used also for his brows, lips, and sculptural cap of hair. In addition, a fringe of individually painted locks of brown hair borders the youth's temples and brow. Just as eye-catching as this vase's portrayal of foreign race and ethnicity, is its attempt at a naturalistic rendition of a crocodile. Many traces remain of the "pistachio green" (CVA) that once covered its body. Anatomical details were drawn on in black. The interior of the crocodile's mouth is red, and its teeth are white, with a row of black zigzags suggesting their sharp jagged form.

How should the modern viewer interpret this vessel's imagery? Was the crocodile group intended to present a ridiculous unheroic image of the barbarian (i.e., foreign) Other, displaying his helplessness in the face of a gruesome death? Dyfri Williams has recently pointed out that, despite ample remains of color on several replicas, there is no indication of blood; thus, the human figure in the crocodile's jaws might be performing a "dance" with a "partially tamed" animal rather than being eaten by the creature. Furthermore, this male figure with his well-proportioned, muscular body is not, as Beazley called him, a boy. Rather, in a bold departure from the usual fifth-century Athenian depiction of pygmies as

achondroplastic dwarfs (cf. cat. no. 84), he may represent an African pygmy (Williams 2004).

Together the poses of the two red-figure satyrs retreating from aggressive maenads on the upper zone of the rhyton's cup seem mockingly to echo the Black youth's pose. Beneath the ornamental band of meanders alternating with saltire squares, in the cup's lower zone, the red-figure satyr on each side literally crawls up the crocodile's back. Rather than ithyphallic, several of these satyrs are shown infibulated (with their penises tied up) like a self-controlled Athenian man (see Hoffmann 1997); this unusual detail probably indicates that an inversion of the normal order of things is intended here.

Fragments of a terracotta base found near the Artemision on Thasos, which bear a local graffito "*O krokodilos erath[eis]*" ("the crocodile in love"), were associated by the excavator, François Salviat (1967), with a fragmentary crocodile group from the same site. Dyfri Williams (2004) disagrees, maintaining that the inscribed fragments do not belong to the Thasos replica of the group. Salviat also made the influential suggestion that the Thasian responsible for the incised inscription had interpreted the group as an inversion of a divine rape, such as the Zeus-eagle carrying off Ganymede, in which the death of a youth ravished by a deity in animal form becomes a form of immortality. However it may have been viewed in Classical antiquity, the exotic Sotadean crocodile group certainly enjoyed a far-ranging and enduring appeal.

REFERENCES: ARV² 764.10; BAPD Vase 209467; CVA Petit Palais 1 [France 15] 26–28, pls. 26–27; Burlington Fine Arts Club 1888, 37 and pl.; Gardner 1888, 220, fig. 2, 221; Fröhner [1892b] no. 291, pl. 48.291; van Branteghem 1892, 114–15, no. 291; Hoffmann 1899, 34, no. 99; Buschor 1919–1921, 3, no. 4, 4, fig. 3; Beardsley 1929, 40, no. 58; Schnitzler 1948, 53, pl. 54, fig. 70; Boardman 1989, 40, fig. 104; Hoffmann 1992–1993, 140–42, figs. 7–9, 144, 155; Tiverios 1996, 166, fig. 146, 313–14; Hoffmann 1997, 22, 23, figs. 5–6, 30, 155, no. F2.

For the various replicas of the crocodile group, see Hoffmann 1997, 155–56, nos. F1–F9; and Williams 2004, 115n.30, plus 102, for interpretation of the group. See Hoffmann 1997, 156–57, on the fourth-century crocodile groups. For the inscribed Thasos fragment and the Thasos crocodile group, see Salviat 1967, 97, figs. 1–4. See also ARV² 764.9–11, 765–66.1–2; Para 415; BAdd² 286; BAPD Vases 209468, 209478, 209479 for Sotadean crocodile groups. On the iconography, cf. also Snowden, 1976, 150; and Lissarrague 1995a, 8.

RHYTON IN THE FORM OF AN AMAZON RIDING A HORSE WITH AN ATTACHED RED-FIGURED CUP

Vase-paintings unattributed; potter-signature of Sotades, ca. 440 B.C.

H 34 cm

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 21.2286,
Harvard University—Museum of Fine Arts
Egyptian Expedition

From Meroë, Pyramid 24; assigned to the
Museum of Fine Arts by the government
of Egypt

On the cup, red-figure, *fight between Persians
and Greeks: A, Persian horseman defeating Greek
warrior; B, Greek hoplite attacked by Persian peltast*
On the support, polychrome, A, *boar; B, lion*

CONDITION: Good; assembled from predominantly large fragments without major losses; many breaks correspond to joins from the original assembly; horse's right ear and part of left one lost; significant losses of surface polychromy and white undercoat; traces of root marks on horse's neck and shoulder; upper part of rhyton's cup assembled from fragments, with its lip abraded and chipped around edge; some misfiring of black gloss at right end of base; abrasion of black gloss along upper edge of base; white incrustation on base.

THIS EXTRAORDINARY STATUETTE-VASE depicting an Amazon hunting on horseback is set on a low rectangular base on which Sotades' incised potter-signature, ΣΟΤΑΔΗΣ ΕΓΩΙΗΣΕΝ, has been written in two lines at the center of the front flank—the side toward which the Amazon's head and that of her mount are inclined. Evoking the realm of monumental art, this relatively late Sotadean rhyton with its spirited horse has often been compared to sculptural decoration of the Parthenon. In the wake of the Persian Wars, Amazons, who figured also in the Parthenon's iconography, symbolized the Eastern barbarian enemies in Greek art and culture. Interestingly, on this rhyton's red-figured wheel-made cup, where Greeks and Persians fight in vase-paintings that are not

by the Sotades Painter (cf. cat. nos. 86, 90, 92, 93), the Persians appear to have the upper hand.

The Amazon rhyton is an impressive assemblage of wheel-made, mold-made, and hand-modeled parts. The 1930 description of the vessel's construction by Ashton Rollins Sanborn, who was present at its discovery and witnessed the rhyton fall into its constituent parts immediately thereafter, is upheld by a recent X-radiograph, published here by courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts (fig. 87.5). This X-radiograph also reveals the pins and supports employed in the rhyton's modern reconstruction. The horse's body and lower neck together with its hind legs and the large support beneath the animal were fashioned in a two-part mold. Today, the join of the mold-made halves is visible in the vertical central cracks at the front and rear ends of the horse and its support as well as in the seam atop the beast's rump. The wheel-made cup with a strap handle was inserted into the horse's back. The Amazon's head, upper body, arms, and legs and the horse's forelegs were modeled by hand and attached to the cup and/or the mold-made horse. A small projection from the large support shores up the horse's right foreleg. The upper neck and head of the horse, with its flaring nostrils, parted lips, and an indentation in the mane caused by the reins, were likewise modeled by hand, and the animal's tail was made separately and attached. The curved cheekpieces of the Amazon's impressive Attic helmet, which are flipped up, have been fashioned from individual pieces of clay. The helmet's horsehair crest flies back against the side of the wheel-made cup, illusionistically obscuring a bit of the red-figure vase-painting; these strands of horsehair are hand tooled in relief on the cup's surface. The Amazon's pierced right hand may once have held a metal or wood hunting spear. The low rectangular base was made from thick slabs of clay and pierced with a small hole at the front end, which, beyond being a vent hole for firing, may have been fitted with a spout that enabled liquid to flow out (cf. True, chap. 7, fig. 4).

This mounted Amazon statuette was originally brightly polychromed, and many traces of color survive. Colors were applied on top of a white





87.2

undercoat, recalling the white marble ground of painted Greek monumental sculpture (cf. Mertens, chap. 6, fig. 5). The white itself described the Amazon's flesh, the crest of her helmet, and the blue-eyed horse. The horse's bridle and reins were indicated entirely by red paint. Painted lashes have been preserved on the upper and lower lids of the Amazon's right eye. Her eyes themselves, which now look brown, were described earlier as violet. Traces remain of red on the Amazon's helmet and violet outlines on its cheekpieces. Her form-fitting long-sleeved tunic was decorated with red dots on a blue ground. In early descriptions, her trousers are called dark purple, and pinkish traces of this color survive. A now-faded yellow panther skin with black spots is slung diagonally over her tunic. Her quiver, originally red with blue dots and a wave pattern, is simply painted onto the horse's right flank. Remarkably, the statuette's support has been transformed into a green hillock harboring this Amazon huntress's quarry, a boar and a lion painted in polychrome (now poorly preserved).

While plastic rhyta and other unusual clay vessels from Sotades' Workshop (cf. cat. nos. 86, 96–99) generally appear to have been inspired by luxurious metal imports from the East, this exotic large statuette-vase, with its Persianizing imagery and its base pierced like a true rhyton, seems by contrast to have been intended for export to the East. The Amazon rhyton was found, however,



87.3



87.4

at Meroë in the Sudan, where it was deposited in a small fourth-century-B.C. royal pyramid long after the vessel's creation. Whether Sotades' Amazon rhyton, which could never have been used for drinking, was a precious heirloom or a newly purchased antique at the time, ultimate burial in Egypt fortuitously extended its preservation for millennia.

REFERENCES: *ARV*² 772.0, 1669; *Para* 416; *BAdd*² 287; *BAPD* Vase 209548; Deane 1923, 343, 344, fig. 1; Reisner 1923a, 37, pl. 1; Reisner 1923b, figs. on 11–12, 25; Hoppin 1924, 474, no. 1* bis; Swindler 1929, 182, pl. 12; Sanborn 1930; Charbonneaux 1936, 13, pl. 32, fig. 34; Charbonneaux 1942, pl. 58; W. S. Smith 1942, 142–43, 162, fig. 107; Chase 1950, 71, 72, fig. 78; Lippold 1952, 88–89, figs. 9–10; Dunham 1953, 91; Bothmer 1957a, 222, no. 81, pl. 90a–c; W. S. Smith 1960, 182, fig. 120, 183; Schoder [1961], no. 37; Chase 1963, 93–94, 96, 113, fig. 94; Dunham 1963, 383, no. 55, 384, fig. 209, 387, fig. 212, 388, fig. 213, 389, fig. 214, 390, fig. 215; *EAA* vii (1966) s.v. Sotades 417, fig. 513 (E. Paribeni); Noble 1969, 131, 133, fig. 17; Kahil 1972, 281, 283, figs. 18–19; Richter 1975, 111; *LIMC* i (1981) s.v. Amazones 624, no. 589, pl. 507 (P. Devambez and A. Kauffmann-Samaras); Noble 1981, 10, fig. 20; Raeck 1981, 124–25, no. P 558, fig. 56; Vermeule 1982, 183–84, 228, no. 237, 508, fig. 237; Scholz 1986, 62, fig. 97, 66; Hoffmann and Metzler 1990; Cohen 1991, 82, 84, fig. 62; Hoffmann 1997, 13, 89–96, 90–91, figs. 50a–c, 94, figs. 52–53, 95, fig. 54, 158, no. H1; Boardman 1999, 139, 140, fig. 165; Berlin 2002, 110, no. 19 (C. Berns); Clark, Elston, and Hart 2002, 129, fig. 121; Williams 2004, 103.

On the Parthenon's sculptural program, see, recently, with references, Hurwit 2004, esp. 124, 148–49; see Stewart 1990, ii, figs. 333–36, 339–40, for Parthenonian horses, and fig. 364 for reflection on a Piraeus relief of an Amazon's helmeted head from the shield of the Athena Parthenos, the Parthenon's colossal cult image. For the influence of luxurious Persian metalware on Attic pottery, see cat. nos. 96, 98–99 and True, chap. 7, and Williams, chap. 8.

I would like to thank Pamela Hatchfield, Head of Objects Conservation at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for supplying the X-radiograph and corroborating details of this vase's construction.



87.5



88.1

88 AMPHORISKOS IN THE FORM OF AN ALMOND WITH FEMALE DANCERS IN RELIEF

Attributed to an Attic workshop, ca.
380–360 B.C.

H 12.7 cm

Paris, Musée du Louvre MNC 638
From Greece; purchased 1884

CONDITION: Intact; lip chipped; black gloss chipped
on lip, mouth, neck, and handles; chips in rear,
convex curved edge of almond shell; traces of white
ground over vase body; loss of other applied colors
or gilding; cleaned in 2003.

A WHEEL-MADE MOUTH AND NECK with
the arched handles of an amphoriskos (miniature
amphora) are attached to this precious little mold-
made vase in the form of an almond in its shell.

The vessel was designed to hold perfumed almond
oil and would thus have made a rather luxurious
votive offering. While an amphoriskos is the most
common shape of almond vase, on both sides of
this extraordinary example the mold-made pitted
surface is further enhanced by relief appliques
of female dancers. On side A, a woman, dressed
in a flowing chiton and a himation that swirls
behind her, dances with *krotala* in each hand.
Her head is thrown back, recalling depictions of
maenads in Dionysiac frenzy (cf. cat. no. 35). The
mantle-dancer on side B, entirely enveloped in her
himation, advances across a groundline with her
booted feet *en pointe*. These female dancers, who
have sometimes been associated with the theater,
bring to mind the freestanding terracotta figurines
of women that characterize the somewhat later,
well-known Tanagra style.

REFERENCES: Pottier 1882–1897, 59, no. 38; Courby 1922, 487, fig.
103, 488; Mercklin 1928, 332; Beazley 1940–1945, 14n.2; Zervou-
daki 1968, 7, 10, 41, no. 93, 58, 65, pl. 20.4–5; Paris 2003, 148–49,
no. 96 (V. Jeammet).

On the almond-shaped vases and mold found in the Athenian
Agora, see Reeder [Williams] 1978, 377–78, 397, no. 65, 398, no.
66, pl. 102.65–66. Cf. Paris 2003, 146–47, no. 95, an early figurine
of a veiled dancer from the Athenian Akropolis believed to depict
a nymph.



88.2

STATUETTE-LEKYTHOS IN THE FORM OF APHRODITE AND TWO EROTES

Attributed to an Attic workshop, ca.
375–350 B.C.

H 26 cm

Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen
zu Berlin–Preußischer Kulturbesitz F 2905
Said to be from Atalante (Lokris); purchased
1876

CONDITION: Left wing of flying Eros restored; lower left arm of standing Eros lost; left- and rightmost plastic rosettes chipped; engobe chipped at protruding edges of forms, e.g., on all figures' left knees, on tips of their noses, and on vessel's base; outer edges of base and lekythos's mouth chipped; modern violet paint over poorly preserved original dark red; modern blue on back of flying Eros; gilding lost save for traces in figures' hair; traces of root marks on surface; white incrustation on back of lekythos.

FACING A DECLINE IN THE QUALITY of standard red-figure, several fourth-century Athenian pottery workshops adapted themselves to manufacturing a new product that combined a mold-made terracotta figurine with a vase. These hybrid vessels were dedicated in sanctuaries and employed as tomb offerings. Apparently luxury items, the vases were exported widely. The Berlin statuette-lekythos is one of the most beautiful, complex, and finely detailed plastic vases of this fourth-century genre.

Here Aphrodite is shown seated in a relaxed pose at the center of an elaborate, asymmetrical composition. The goddess of love rests her left arm on the shoulder of an Eros who stands beside a thymiaterion (incense burner) with a tripod base and feet in the form of lion paws. With her right hand, Aphrodite opens the lid of the small chest on her lap, recalling women with jewelry boxes accompanied by Erotes in depictions of wedding preparations or daily life on Athenian red-figured vases (cf. cat. nos. 35, 103). Here, at the far left, a second Eros flies above, holding open with wide-spread arms his mantle, which serves as a backdrop for his nude body. In this lovely miniature



89.1



89.2

sculpture Aphrodite's himation swirls behind her, and her chiton, which is open at her left shoulder, swirls downward, revealing her left breast; she wears a beaded necklace. Each figure has an upswept topknot of wavy hair. The edges of the composition are adorned with rosettes, a common embellishment on fourth-century plastic vases.

The coroplast appears to have employed several matrices to produce the statuette front of the lekythos, including at least one for Aphrodite and the standing Eros, and another for the body of the flying Eros, whose wings were fashioned separately. The rosettes were clearly molded in a single matrix and attached. Details of draperies and the figures' coiffures appear to have been worked free-hand. The statuette front was joined to the vase back by hand, and telltale traces of fingerprints have been preserved.

The entire vessel is set upon a round base with concave sides, which is covered with a white slip that recalls white ground. In the statuette part, the figures' flesh is covered with the same white. An upper tier of the base at the front is edged with wavy scallops and painted dark blue, evoking the sea from which Aphrodite was born. The little open chest is white with black painted details and a pink interior. The inner part of both Erotes' wings and the edge of the flying Eros's cloak are powder blue. Dark red, now overpainted with violet, was employed on the mantles of both Erotes, the ground behind the thymiaterion, and the border of Aphrodite's garment. Originally, many parts were gilded, not only the figures' hair and the decorative rosettes, but also areas that now display a yellow undercoat, such as the thymiaterion and the long wing feathers of the flying Eros. Extensive gilding would surely have enhanced the bright, contrasting color scheme of this statuette-lekythos and also its prestige value. Reserved red-figure ornament extending beneath the handle on the back—a florid configuration of palmettes over an egg pattern with dots—reveals the orange clay of this Attic lekythos. The vessel's mouth, tall neck, and most of its ribbed handle are covered with traditional black gloss.

REFERENCES: Furtwängler 1885, II, 805–806, no. 2905; Pernice 1903, 22, pl. 30; Séchan 1912, 123, no. 8; Lippold 1938, 342–44, 347–48, fig. 5 (P. Knoblauch), 355; Kleiner 1942, 172; Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1959, 29; Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, 19–20, no. 46, pls. 9, 30, *FV* 46; Rohde [1970], 23, 44–45, fig. 25; Borbein 1995, 442, 462, fig. 4.

Attributed by Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, 30–31, no. 79, pl. 9, *FV* 79, to the same Athenian workshop as the Aphrodite-on-shell lekythos in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 00.629. For construction, color, and gilding, cf. Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 1131, Leda-and-the-Swan lekythos, Paris 2003, 136–37, no. 83 (V. Jeammet) and 310. On fourth-century Athenian plastic vases, see recently Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, 384–85, no. 444 (O. Zachariadou); Jeammet 2003, 126–27; see also Reeder [Williams] 1978.

I would like to thank Ursula Kästner at the Antikensammlung in Berlin for providing details about the construction and condition of this vase as well as a study photograph of the reverse.



The Sotades Tomb



The Sotades Tomb

Dyfri Williams

The British Museum, London

AN IMPORTANT FACET OF THE STUDY of Greek pottery is the investigation of context. Context includes the environment in which the potter and painter were working, the mechanics of the onward sale of the piece, its ultimate place of deposition in antiquity, and its modern collection setting. Pottery may be found in controlled excavations or in unrecorded or uncontrolled circumstances. This essay examines what can be discovered about some of the contexts of a group of spectacular vases that are included in this exhibition.

The so-called Sotades Tomb, the contents of which are reassembled here for the first time thanks to the generous cooperation of three museums (cat. nos. 90–99), was discovered in 1890 in Athens and immediately passed into the antiquities market.¹ The name for the tomb is simply a modern convenience, derived from the presence of some four vases signed by the potter Sotades. In 1892 the Belgian connoisseur Alphonse van Branteghem sold on nine of the pieces from the find. A manuscript copy of this sale, preserved in

the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, reveals that all of the nine pieces offered at the sale were found, not only at the same time, but also in one and the same tomb, while the introduction to the published catalogue by Wilhelm Fröhner notes that they had been found “dans une des rues d’Athènes.”²

Six of the pieces from the Sotades Tomb were purchased at the van Branteghem sale by the British Museum (three cups [cat. nos. 90, 93–94]—two signed by the potter Sotades and one too fragmen-



Figure 1. Detail of map of Athens showing the location of tombs found at Odos Stadiou and Odos Kolokotronis (circle). From Judeich 1931, plan I.

tary to be sure; two mastoi [cat. nos. 98–99]; and a phiale signed by Sotades as potter [cat. no. 97]). Two went to the *Musées Royaux* in Brussels (two cups [cat. nos. 94–95], one of them signed by the potter Hegesiboulos). The ninth piece (a phiale with a cicada in the center, signed by Sotades [cat. no. 96]) was bought by the great European dealer Count Michel Tyszkiewicz. He died in 1897, and by 1898 the young American collector E. P. Warren, who lived at Lewes House in East Sussex, had acquired the phiale: It did not appear in the Tyszkiewicz sale catalogue and so had presumably been sold to Ned Warren before the count's death. Warren sold it on immediately to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.

Ned Warren and his companion, John Marshall, were very careful to record whatever information they could glean on findspots, often commenting on its degree of reliability. It is for this reason that further detail can now be added to the context of the Sotades Tomb. The "Register" kept by Warren and Marshall, together with their Lewes House team, preserves the information that the tomb was uncovered "in building

Merlin's block in Stadion, opposite the King's stables," while the 1898 "Sending Lists"—documents that accompanied the objects sent to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston—add that this was on the corner of Odos Stadiou and Odos Kolokotronis, opposite where the Royal Stables used to be. This location can be pinpointed on contemporary maps of Athens (fig. 1), where other tombs are also marked just outside the walls of the city on the northeast side.³

The possibility that the Sotades Tomb actually contained more than the nine vases that passed through van Branteghem's collection is raised by a comment of Wilhelm Fröhner's in his sale catalogue of the Tyszkiewicz collection about a further cup of delicate make with wishbone handles, white-ground interior, and coral-red exterior (cat. no. 91): "Cette légèreté et cette ténuité de parois n'ont leur analogie que dans les vases de Sotades et d'Hégésiboulos décrits au catalogue de la collection van Branteghem (No. 159–167), et qui viennent de la même trouvaille, faite à Athènes en 1890."⁴ In this comment the presence and force of the word *et* seems to indicate that the

Tyszkiewicz cup was actually part of the same 1890 find. It is very likely that both Fröhner and Tyszkiewicz knew the full story of the discovery of the Sotades Tomb and that one of them—almost certainly Tyszkiewicz, for he sold the van Branteghem cicada phiale on to Warren—transmitted the information as to the precise findspot. Consequently, we can accept with some confidence that Tyszkiewicz's delicate cup was indeed part of the Sotades Tomb.

The shape of this cup (cat. no. 91), the tenth vase from the Sotades Tomb and now in Boston, is both extremely delicate and very unusual. The handles, the fillet between bowl and stem, and the black ring halfway down the stem all make one think of later metal cups, especially ones of bronze. We should be severely underestimating the originality of the potter, however, were we to imagine that he was simply copying contemporary metal vessels. The white-ground interior of the cup was given a modern picture, probably by one of the Athenian forgers noted by Tyszkiewicz in his own memoirs as being very good at producing designs on white-ground lekythoi and cups.⁵ This design, however, has now been partially removed, and there seems never to have been any ancient decoration. The production of such a cup with special slip but no figured decoration has a parallel on another Sotadean work, a stemless cup with a coral-red slip inside and outside bought in Athens in 1881 for the National Museum in Copenhagen.⁶ It was most probably the absence of a tondo design, and thus the chance to "improve" it, that ensured that the tenth cup was separated from the rest and led to it subsequently being sold directly to Tyszkiewicz.

This, then, was the so-called Sotades Tomb. It contained ten superb vases, all special in terms of the exceptional quality of their potting and the use of additional slips (all employ a white slip, all a coral-red slip or a matt version thereof).⁷ There were three stemmed cups of delicate make with merrythought handles, three stemless cups of delicate make also with merrythought handles, two horizontally fluted phialai, and two horizontally fluted mastoi—in other words, two trios and two pairs. This is perhaps the way to think of the groupings, not by scene and not even by pot-

ter or painter, for this is probably the way their purchaser saw them. That is not to say, however, that the potters Sotades and Hegesiboulos were not connected, for they surely were, nor does it mean that there are not internal iconographic connections between some of the pieces by the same painter that are important to recognize.

Indeed, both these matters require a little discussion. In an excellent article on three of the white-ground cups from the Sotades Tomb, Lucilla Burn pointed to the honeyed connections between two of them—the reanimation of Glaukos, who had drowned in honey (cat. no. 92), and Melissa the honey-nymph picking up apples with a companion (cat. no. 90—her companion has been identified by Erika Simon as [A]gro).⁸ Burn went on to posit the same connection with the third decorated cup (cat. no. 93) by interpreting the scene with a man, a snake, and a falling woman as Aristaios, the first beekeeper, with the dying Eurydike, bitten by the snake. The publication of this interpretation coincided with another by Erika Simon, who identified the man as Aisakos and the girl as Hesperie.⁹ Aisakos was a seer and a son of Priam, who fell in love with the nymph Hesperie, but she was bitten by a snake and died, leading him to throw himself into the sea, whereupon Tethys turned him into a seabird. Subsequent writers on Sotades' cups, namely Alan Griffiths and Anna Collinge, have tended to prefer to identify the hunter figure as either Orion or Kadmos.¹⁰

Close examination of the cup itself, however, reveals traces of two letters written with the expected dilute gloss above and to the right of the man's head, across a crack, which tend to support Burn's interpretation of the figure as Aristaios. The first letter would seem to be an alpha (not an omicron or a kappa); the trace of the second letter is indeterminate, but would not be incompatible with the angled bar of a rho (an iota would be unlikely). The fallen female figure may once have had her name inscribed above her, too, much as the name of Glaukos on the first cup (cat. no. 92) is placed above him. The signature of Sotades as potter could also have been present—it might have been at the top of the scene (an area now badly rubbed), as on the Glaukos cup (there the word

Sotades was surely accompanied by *epoiesen* or the like—again the surface is rubbed), or in the missing area below the groundline on which *Aristaios* stands, as on the apple-picking cup.

Despite the views of some eminent Vergilian scholars, Dr. Burn was surely right to follow Marcel Detienne in his belief that Vergil did not himself invent the *Aristaios* episode.¹¹ Indeed, a fine Hellenistic silver emblemata from the inside of a cup, said to be from Iran and now in the Staatliche Antikensammlungen in Munich (fig. 2), is most plausibly also to be interpreted as showing *Eurydike* in terrified flight from *Aristaios*, stepping back in horror at the snake beside the riverbank, perhaps already bitten on her exposed right leg (a matching silver emblemata may have had *Aristaios* on his own).¹² Furthermore, *Sotades*' interest in Africa and in Nilotic scenes, witnessed by his creation of the extraordinary "plastic" vases in the form both of a pygmy and a crane and of an African and a crocodile (cat. no. 86),¹³ may have led his most talented painter (unless potter and painter were one and the same) to set the scene of *Aristaios*'s fateful chasing of *Eurydike* in *Aristaios*'s native Libya. For he has given him the woven *paille*, or papyrus-leaf hat, of a North African "marsh dweller;" the goatskin cloak of a countryman; and the mustache and goatee beard of a non-Greek, while turning the snake into a giant African rock python. That it really is a tall rock from behind which the snake rears, not a cloud of steam or smoke, as is usually claimed, is made clear by the fact that the rock was created with raised white clay and painted with a streaky gray-black slip, just like the pebbly groundline below the scene.

The *Sotades* Painter, therefore, seems to have painted three (or more) cups, of different shapes, with linked honeyed themes (cat. nos. 90, 92–93), whether as a speculation or as a commission. One customer, however, not only purchased them, but added two more cups from the hand of a workshop companion, cups on which the scenes concentrated on young women and children. Now in Brussels, these two stemless cups with wishbone handles are linked also by their inverse decorative schemes. One cup (cat. no. 95) has within a white-ground zone a red-figure tondo, showing a mother



Figure 2. Hellenistic silver emblemata from the inside of a cup. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek SL 661 C.

talking to her child, who sits in a ceramic high chair, with a white zone around it; the other cup (cat. no. 94) has within a coral-red zone a white-ground tondo showing a girl playing with a spinning top. The exterior of the mother-and-child cup is black with a red ring (perhaps in more ordinary added red rather than coral red); the other is coral red with a black ring. The customer who purchased the whole group of vases placed them in the tomb of a deceased relative, most probably female, perhaps indeed his young wife who could have died in childbirth, if one may add together all the iconographic signals.

With these cups, however, were also purchased a pair of phialai (cat. nos. 96–97) and a pair of mastoi (cat. nos. 98–99). The horizontal fluting on the exteriors of these superb vases seems to have strong connections with Achaemenid metalware, as Margaret Miller has argued,¹⁴ although both shapes have a long history in Greece. One might imagine that the surface modulation was inspired by precious-metal examples that arrived in Greece as a result of the Persian War of 480 B.C., or after the subsequent engagements in the second quarter of the century. However, the precise treatment of the surface and, especially, the multicolored effect achieved by *Sotades*, using alternating bands of black, thin added red (or matt coral red), as well as a white slip inside, were the potter's own. Nevertheless, leaving aside the metallic form and the use of color, it is perhaps worth bearing in mind that the fluted mastoi probably would have had to



Figure 3. Old man and dog. Interior of a coral-red cup of type C, with signature of Hegesiboulos (I) as potter, and attributed to the Hegesiboulos Painter, ca. 500 B.C. Diam 18.4 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907, 07.286.47. Photograph © 2005 The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

be displayed in the potter's shop resting upside down on their rims. Could the purchaser, then, have thought they looked like beehives?¹⁵

We may now turn to the ancient workshop context of these extraordinary vases. It is important to note that the cup signed by the potter Hegesiboulos (cat. no. 94) is of exactly the same delicate make as those signed by Sotades. Indeed, the similarity is so close that Martin Robertson, when talking of the two pieces, admitted that, if we did not have their signatures, "we should certainly have assigned [both cups] . . . to one workshop, almost certainly to one potter."¹⁶ Following Adolf Furtwängler, Robertson also noted that an earlier bearer of the name Hegesiboulos was a potter and one who employed the coral-red technique, a connection that led Furtwängler to claim identity, and Robertson to argue more generally and plausibly for a family relationship.¹⁷ This earlier Hegesiboulos—Hegesiboulos I as we might call him—is known chiefly from a remarkable cup in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 3; Cohen, chap. 2, fig. 8) that has a coral-red zone around the tondo inside and coral red on the offset lip and below the scene on the exterior (as well as under the foot).¹⁸ We are now, however, beginning to learn more about this potter thanks to the appearance of two mugs that also bear the remains of his signature, both from Sicily. One has a white slip outside, the other, not only a white slip outside, but also most remarkably a coral-red slip inside.¹⁹ He was, therefore, clearly experimental in his use of slips, while also producing, not only cups and mugs, but perhaps also a small

stemless cup or cup-kotyle, if he was the potter of the Akropolis fragment attributed by Ernst Langlotz to the same painter as the New York cup.²⁰

The figured style of the Hegesiboulos

Painter has clear connections with late works of Euphronios as a painter and the Proto-Panaetian Group. The potting of the New York cup suggests that Hegesiboulos I learned his craft alongside Euphronios from the potter Kachrylion.²¹

It is interesting to note that there are a number of other examples of two potters being closely associated.²² Firstly, there is Mnesiades and Andokides on the Akropolis dedication and Kittos and Bakchios on an inscription from Ephesos that awards citizenship of the city to these two Athenian potters. In the case of the latter, they were clearly related; in the case of the former one may have been ceding control of the workshop to the other. Secondly, when we find signatures of two potters on the same vase, as with Glaukytes and Archikles, Anakles and Nikosthenes, and Pistoxenos and Syriskos, we may similarly be witnessing either commercial or familial succession. Where seemingly identical potterwork bears two different potters' signatures, as in the case of Hegesiboulos II and Sotades, one may perhaps assume that a similar process was under way. If Hegesiboulos I was potting shortly before 500 B.C. and Hegesiboulos II from around 460 B.C., it would be just possible for the second bearer of the name to have been the grandson of the first, following the normal name-giving pattern in Classical Athens. But the potter connections between Sotades and Hegesiboulos I are also clear and significant, so

that we should assume that Sotades was always a member of the workshop, not a new arrival. This, in turn, might well indicate that he, too, was part of one and the same potter family, perhaps the elder brother of Hegesiboulos II.

The remarkable workshop of Sotades and Hegesiboulos II was responsible also for a number of other delicate cups of extraordinary quality employing special slips. These all seem to have been found in tombs in Athens or in that city's ambit.²³ It would seem possible that their delicacy of potting and painting went hand in hand with the intention that they would serve as special offerings for the tomb, a practical factor that, as with the white-ground lekythos, meant they were rarely, if ever, exported far from Athens.

By contrast, the series of extraordinary plastic vases, or rhyta—part vessel, part human or animal form—that Sotades, and perhaps Hegesiboulos II, produced is represented best abroad.²⁴ Such vessels have been found in tombs (Campania [cat. no. 86], Etruria, and Apulia; Meroë in the Sudan [cat. no. 87]), in sanctuaries (Locri, Paphos), and in settlements (Gordion, Susa, Babylon, Memphis). The only examples found in Greece all come, not from tombs, but from sanctuaries (Brauron, Eleusis, Artemision on Thasos). This would seem to indicate that they, like the delicate special cups, were not only made as special pieces but were also carefully marketed, the special cups being for Athenian tombs, the special “plastic” vases for foreigners or for the gods.

Not perhaps as special as this series of “plastic” vases is that of animal-head rhyta, or drinking vessels, although the modeling of the animal parts can be extraordinarily powerful.²⁵ These are known from the workshop in the form of ram, donkey, boar (fig. 4), and hound heads. They seem mostly to have been exported to Italy (Campania, Apulia, and Etruria), but one is from Kerch on the northern coast of the Black Sea (ram) and another from Athens (ram and donkey conjoined). All were found in tombs.

Two more exceptional products of the workshop might also be mentioned. The first (fig. 5) is a rhyton in the form of a grotesque head wearing, it would seem, a Black male mask with a long, pointed nose, long mustache, and short pointed



Figure 4. Boar's-head rhyton, attributed to the Sotades Painter. London, The British Museum BM Cat Vases E 801.



Figure 5. Rhyton in the form of a grotesque head. From t. 18 C, Valle Pega. Ferrara, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Spina 20401. By permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali. Photograph: Laboratorio fotografico, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Ferrara.

beard. It was found in a tomb at Spina in northern Italy.²⁶ We do not know who this figure was supposed to be, but he has often been compared with a later Etruscan head vase representing the Etruscan death-demon, Charun. The second oddity is in the shape of a large astragalos, which was acquired on Aigina in 1828.²⁷ It is decorated by the Sotades Painter, who decorated most of the vases potted by Sotades, and it is most probably the potterwork of Sotades, even though the only other decorated example of the shape bears the signature of Syriskos as potter, but the construction of the two examples is very different.²⁸

The more run-of-the-mill red-figured products of the workshop include stemless cups, skyphoi, and a kantharos. The kantharos, however, is



Figure 6. Satyr and goat. Exterior of red-figured stemless cup, attributed to the Sotades Painter. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 2628. From Hoffmann 1997, fig. 55.

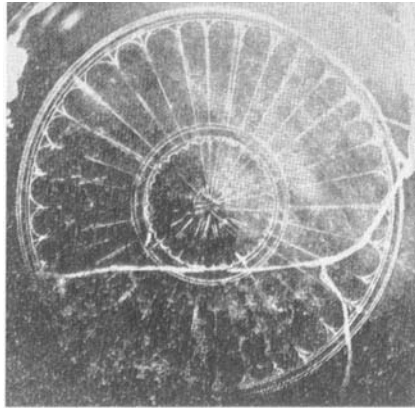


Figure 7. Incised underglaze design of the cup in fig. 6. From *JHS* 56 (1936) 207, fig. 4.

signed by Sotades as potter, and it has recently been noticed by Dr. Paloma Cabrera that one of the stemless cups carries the name of Sotades in tiny incised letters on the edge of the foot.²⁹ This piece is decorated inside with incised floral patterns under the black glaze, a technique that, together with stamping, seems to have begun shortly before the middle of the fifth century. It is possible that Sotades was the first to introduce such an idea to the decoration of Athenian fine wares, for a number of Sotadean stemless cups (figs. 6–7) with such decoration on the interior are among the earliest of the type.³⁰ Finally, as the younger partner, or even brother, Hegesiboulos II may well have been responsible for continuing, not only the series of stemless cups, but also, and more importantly, the series of Sotadean “plastic” vases and animal-head rhyta that extends down toward the end of the fifth century.

NOTES

- 1 On the Sotades Tomb, see Burn 1985, esp. 100–102 and n. 36 for the find context; and now, more fully, Williams 2004, 107–13; and Tsingarida 2003.

- 2 van Branteghem 1892, x. On van Branteghem, see Tsingarida 2002.
- 3 Judeich 1931, plan I, position H 3.
- 4 Fröhner 1892a, pl. 12.1 (drawing) and photograph on p. 29.
- 5 Tyszkiewicz 1898, 79.
- 6 Copenhagen inv. 1635: ARV² 771.bottom.2; BAPD Vase 209542; Williams 2004, 108–109, figs. 7.12–13.
- 7 The use of a matt, miltos-like slip, rather than the glossier coral-red slip, was first remarked upon by Beth Cohen during her research trips for the exhibition. Given Sotades’ interest in slips and coatings, whether of white, coral red, or thick added red (as on the interior of some “plastic” vases), it is quite possible that he experimented with varying amounts of black glaze or dilute glaze matter in combination with miltos to achieve different effects, both textural and coloristic.
- 8 Burn 1985; Simon 1985, 77.
- 9 See Simon 1985, 78.
- 10 Griffiths 1986; Collinge 1988. See also Hoffmann 1997, 113–39; and A. C. Smith 1999, 136. The earlier interpretation was that the scene showed the nurse Hypsipyle holding the baby Opheltes, with the figure of Archemoros totally missing, and the hunter perhaps Hippomedon. Shortly after the cup was acquired by the British Museum, the fragment with the falling woman was repositioned, for it was realized that the toe of a figure could be seen on the pebbly groundline—see Murray and Smith 1896, 28, pl. 18b.
- 11 Burn 1985, 99–100.
- 12 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen SL 661 C: Oliver 1977, no. 36; Williams 2004, 112, fig. 7.16.
- 13 For these groups, see most recently Williams 2004, 95–103.
- 14 M. C. Miller 1997, 135–52 (esp. 138–39), who perhaps minimizes the input of the potter.
- 15 On beehives, see Crane 1983.
- 16 Robertson 1992, 185–86.
- 17 Furtwängler, in FR II, 180, 184.
- 18 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.47: ARV² 175.bottom; Para 339; BAdd² 184; BAPD Vase 201603.
- 19 Palermo, Museo Archeologico 2139; Wehgartner 1983, 99–101 with pl. 33.1–2. London, private collection (I am very grateful to Dr. Robert Guy for giving me a report of this unpublished piece).
- 20 Athens, National Archeological Museum, Acropolis Collection 538: ARV² 175.bottom; BAPD Vase 201604.
- 21 For a slightly different view of the relationship between Hegesiboulos I and Euphronios, see Cohen, chap. 2.
- 22 On double signatures, etc., see Williams 1995, 139–60.
- 23 See Williams 2004, 106–107 and 108–109.
- 24 See most recently Hoffmann 1997, 154–59, 172–74; Williams 2004, 95–106.
- 25 See most recently Hoffmann 1997, 159–68.
- 26 Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina t. 18 C VP: ARV² 766.5; BAdd² 286; BAPD Vase 209483. See Hoffmann 1997, 103–106, for a full discussion.
- 27 London, British Museum GR 1860.12-1.2, BM Cat Vases E 804: ARV² 765.20; Para 415; BAdd² 286; BAPD Vase 209477. See Hoffmann 1997, 107–12, for a full discussion.
- 28 Rome, Villa Giulia 866: ARV² 264.67; Para 351; BAdd² 205; BAPD Vase 202749.
- 29 Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional 1999/99/85: BAPD Vase 21845; Warden 2004, 120–23, no. 26 (attributed to the Hippacontist Painter). I am very grateful to Dr. Paloma Cabrera for information on this piece and permission to mention her discovery of the name—she is to publish it fully.
- 30 See Ure 1936, 205–15, esp. 206 (many are in the manner of the Sotades Painter); one, her no. 4, is by the painter himself: Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 2628 (see figs. 6–7); ARV² 764.5; BAPD Vase 209462; Hoffmann 1997, 98–99, figs. 55–56.





90.1

90 WHITE-GROUND AND CORAL-RED CUP WITH WISHBONE HANDLES

Signature of Sotades as potter, attributed
to the Sotades Painter, ca. 460 B.C.

H 7.5 cm; Diam (bowl) 14 cm; W with
handles 23 cm

London, The British Museum

GR 1892.7-18.1, *BM Cat Vases D 6*

From Athens; purchased 1892; formerly
Alphonse van Branteghem collection

I, white ground, *young woman ([A]gro) picking
apples from a tree, and (fragmentary) crouching
female figure (Melissa): honey nymphs and/or the
Hesperides(?)*

Exterior, coral red

CONDITION: Restored from fragments; large areas of
bowl missing and filled in with plaster; about one-
fifth of foot missing and restored in plaster; much
yellow discoloration on white ground; original color
or gilding on clay relief fruit missing; much coral-
red gloss has flaked from bowl's exterior and foot's
underside.

THE DISTINCTIVE SHAPE of this small, shallow
cup, with its elongated wishbone handles (which
the British call "merrythought") and compara-
tively short, fine stem that curves into a thin,
spreading disklike foot, is far wider than it is tall.
Both elegant and impossibly delicate, this design's
derivation from metalware is clear. The entire
exterior of the bowl was originally enhanced by
a shimmering coat of lustrous deep-reddish coral
red that was applied on the wheel and even cov-
ered the area between the handle-roots as well
as the stem and the foot's central, slightly raised
upper degree. The outer circle of the foot plate is
covered with well-preserved black gloss, as are
the handles' exteriors, but more coral-red gloss
once covered the edge of the foot plate as well
as the foot's underside, save for a circle of black
gloss on the resting surface. This cup's refined
coral-red exterior embraces an exceptionally pre-
cious, though now fragmentary, vase-painting on
its white-ground interior, which also displays the
potter's signature, [ΣΟΤ]ΑΔΕΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ, written
in two lines with careful tiny letters in the zone
below the picture. The bowl's interior is encircled
by narrow black and coral-red stripes at the rim.



The Sotades Painter's extraordinary miniature vase-painting, circumscribed by a circle of orange dilute gloss within the white-ground bowl, is rendered entirely with different intensities of dilute, from burnt sienna to orange and a shining golden yellow. Here two young women were shown gathering and picking apples in an airy landscape. Beyond depictions on cups from this very tomb (cf. cat. nos. 92–93), a composition that so harmoniously integrates small human figures in scale with a natural setting is exceedingly rare in our experience of homocentric Classical Greek art. The apple gatherer, who knelt or crouched at the lower left, is now almost entirely missing, save for the name—Melissa—written above her. An apple tree with a sinuous trunk and tender branches grows tall at the very center of the composition. Much of the graceful apple picker at the right has been preserved, and her name was also inscribed, probably [A]gro. This fair maiden stands on tiptoe on the curved perimeter of the tondo; pulling her skirt aside daintily with her left hand, she stretches her right arm up toward the highest apple on the tree, which is well beyond her reach. The two preserved apples have been added in relief with white clay; no pigment remains on their surface, but they might originally have been either red or gilded. The lithe female figure herself wears a fine transparent peplos sketched with delicate lines of golden dilute. Her golden dilute sphendone sags downward at the back under the weight of her brown hair as she turns her head upward in her impossible quest.

These female figures in a paradise garden have often been called Hesperides, but no snake guarding the tree has been preserved on the extant fragments, and thus this tree may not be the one that bears the golden apples of immortality. The name Melissa means honeybee in ancient Greek, and Lucilla Burn has argued appropriately that the females depicted here must instead be rural honey nymphs, and that this cup, thereby, would share an esoteric iconography of honeyed themes with other vases from the Sotades Tomb (cf. cat. nos. 92–93, and Williams, chap. 8).

REFERENCES: ARV² 763.1, 772a, 1669; *Para* 415; *BAdd*² 286; *BAPD* Vase 209458; Fröhner [1892b], no. 164, pl. 39; *van Branteghem* 1892, 68, no. 165; Hartwig 1893, 501, no. 23; A. B. Cook 1895, 16; Murray and Smith 1896, 27, pl. 17; C. H. Smith 1896, 391–92, no. D 6; Pottier 1903, 53–54, no. 12; Perrot [and Chipiez] 1914, 726–28, 729, fig. 399; Herford 1919, 94, pl. 8d; Hoppin 1919, II, 430, no. 3; Pfuhl 1923, II, 546, III, 200, fig. 527; Pfuhl 1926, 63, 77, pl. 59, fig. 82; Philippart 1927–1928, 109, fig. 1, 118–20, 119, fig. 5; Sanborn 1930, 83–84n.5, no. 5; Richter and Milne 1935, 25, fig. 165; Scheurleer 1936, 100, pl. 32, fig. 89; Philippart 1936, 85, no. 63; Brommer 1942, 112; Neutsch 1953–1954, 73, pl. 21.1; Levi and Stenico 1956, 129, 130, fig. 116; Robertson 1959, 131 fig., 133; Bernhard 1966, 72, 128, fig. 268; *EAA* VII (1966) s.v. Sotades, *Pittore di*, 417–18, fig. 515 (E. Paribeni); Buschor 1969, 200, 201, figs. 211–12, 203; Charbonneaux, Martin, and Villard 1972, 259, fig. 294, 260, 392; Robertson 1975, 264–65, pl. 90b; Mertens 1977, 172, no. 34, 175, pl. 30.2; Wehgartner 1983, 68, no. 70, 95, pl. 32.1; Burn 1985, 94–95, 101, 102, 104, pls. 23.2, 27.3–4; Simon 1985, 77; Griffiths 1986, 59, 60, pl. 1b; Osborne 1988, 9, 12–13, fig. 6; Boardman 1989, 40, fig. 102; Hoffmann 1989a, inside front cover, fig. 1; Robertson 1992, 188, fig. 198; Hoffmann 1997, 127–33, 128, fig. 71, 129, fig. 72, 133, fig. 73, 151, A1; Shefton 1999, 479, figs. 7a–b; Clark, Elston, and Hart 2002, 62, fig. 56, 63; Rühfel 2003, 100–102, 101, fig. 61; Tsingarida 2003, 68, 69, fig. 4; Williams 2004, 110.

WHITE-GROUND AND CORAL-RED CUP WITH WISHBONE HANDLES

Attributed to the Workshop of Sotades and
Hegesiboulos II, ca. 460 B.C.

H 6.1 cm; Diam (bowl) 14.5 cm

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 13.4503,

Gift of Edward Perry Warren

From Athens; acquired 1913; formerly

Count Michel Tyszkiewicz collection

I, white ground. [Fake nineteenth-century
decoration, now partially removed: *Akamas, Ino,*
Helle, Phrixos, and Nephele, and potter-signature,
...ΘΕΥΣΕΓΓΟΙΕΞΕΝ]

Exterior, coral red

CONDITION: Assembled from fragments with losses
in bowl, including about one-fifth of the rim's cir-
cumference; one handle restored from fragments
with missing parts in plaster; button on well-
preserved handle broken off and reattached; losses
in white-ground surface; spotted gray and black
incrustations on white ground; much flaking of
coral-red gloss on exterior of bowl, stem, and foot;
much of stem with foot broken off and reattached;
chip missing from stem.

DESCRIBED IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
as having the thickness of a sheet of paper, this
delicate cup was simply coated with colored
glosses and slip in Classical antiquity rather than
embellished with figural decoration. Its bowl's
interior was entirely covered with a white ground
that must originally have been chalky white like
the interiors of Sotades' phialai and mastoi (cat.
nos. 96–99) or the zone of the stemless cup Brus-
sels A 890 (cat. no. 95). The Boston cup shares
the decorative vocabulary and formal association
with metalwork characteristic of vessels found in
the Sotades Tomb, but its own shape and articu-
lation are distinct. The exterior is covered with
a deep-reddish coral-red gloss recalling London
D 6 (cat. no. 90). On the Boston cup, however,
the patches between the handle-roots have been
reserved rather than covered with red gloss. Its
well-preserved handle is more stirrup-shaped
than the usual attenuated, V-shaped wishbone.
As is typical of cups from the Sotades Tomb, its
handles are black on the outside and terminate
in button finials decorated with radiating black
lines (cf. cat. nos. 92, 94). A narrow band of black
gloss encircles the exterior of the lip and contin-
ues over the rim. Unlike the continuous profile
of London D 6, this cup has a black fillet at the





juncture of the coral-red bowl and stem, and this articulation is reinforced by a circle of black gloss on the bowl's bottom. Another line of black gloss marks the mid-point of the stem itself. The Boston cup's foot also differs from the wafer-thin coral-red-and-black foot of London D 6. Here the foot's upper surface is entirely coral red. The foot plate has a vertical edge covered with black gloss that extends onto the underside. The foot's nearly flat underside is covered with coral red save for a black line bordering the resting surface. Fragile in its fabric and surface finishes, the Boston cup, like others from the Sotades Tomb, could never have been used in life.

Inscribed figural decoration depicting the story of Nephele painted in raised brown lines on top of this cup's white-ground interior was revealed in the 1890s to have been a contemporary fake. Although the Boston cup received relatively little attention during the twentieth century, its

delicate fabric, small size, fine shape with wish-bone handles, and distinctive combination of white ground and coral-red gloss have long been regarded as features that associate it with cups from the Sotades Tomb. In this volume, Dyfri Williams reconstructs the Boston cup's history and presents documentation for its having been a tenth vase found in this ancient Athenian tomb.

REFERENCES: ARV² 771.bottom.1; *BAPD* Vase 209541; Fröhner 1892a, 29, pl. 12; Robert 1894, 421n.1; Furtwängler 1899, 33–36, 34, fig. 24; Robert 1919, 333–37, 334, fig. 257; Pfuhl 1923, II, 548; Philippart 1936, 86, no. 67, pl. 33c; Paul 1962, 179–82, fig. 66; Mertens 1977, 172, no. 40, 176 (described incorrectly as stemless), 192n.27; Ramage 1983, 454, no. 39; Wehgartner 1983, 63, no. 50, 96; Burn 1985, 102n. 40; Andrén 1986, 94–95; Tsingarida 2003, 67–68, 70, fig. 6, 73n.2; Williams 2004, 107–109, 108, fig. 7.11.

See cat. no. 96 for scientific data provided by the Departments of Objects Conservation and Scientific Research at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, that distinguish the coral-red gloss employed on this cup from a quite different red employed on that museum's phiale (cat. no. 96).

WHITE-GROUND CUP WITH WISHBONE HANDLES

Fragmentary inscription of the name
Sotades; attributed to the Sotades Painter,
ca. 460 B.C.

H 7.5 cm; Diam (bowl) 13 cm

London, The British Museum

GR 1892.7-18.2, *BM Cat Vases D 5*

From Athens; purchased 1892; formerly
Alphonse van Branteghem collection

I, white ground, *Polyeidos and Glaukos in the tomb*

CONDITION: Reassembled from fragments; handles
broken and restored; missing parts filled in with
plaster, esp. several fragments from rim and upper
part of Polyeidos's body; white ground cracked and
pitted with yellow discolorations and a scattered
black deposit on surface.

THIS DELICATE CUP IS FASHIONED in a characteristic metallic Sotadean shape with a thin disk-shaped foot, a shallow bowl, and wishbone handles with button finials. It is covered with black gloss articulated with reserve on the exterior; an unusual white-ground painting fills the entire interior of the bowl, bounded only by reserved and black stripes inside the rim. The names *Polyeidos* and *Glaukos* inscribed on the engobe near the painted figures identify the story. Told in part by Apollodoros (*Bibliothèque* 3.23) and the subject of lost plays by Aischylos, Sophokles, and Euripides, this is its only preserved representation in ancient art. After Glaukos, one of the children of King Minos of Crete, disappeared, the seer Polyeidos found the boy's drowned body in a vat of honey. Minos sepulchred the seer along with his dead son, stipulating that Polyeidos would be released from the tomb only when Glaukos was returned alive. This vase-painting reflects the signal phase of the narrative: Polyeidos kills a snake inside the tomb to prevent it from harming



the boy's body and then observes the dead snake's mate revive it with a leaf, which the seer himself employs to restore Glaukos to life.

Here the mound of the tumulus is shown in cross-section, with its vast arc seemingly replacing the gloss circle that normally defines the tondo of a Classical white-ground cup. This arc is shaded with lines of golden dilute gloss that illusionistically suggest the tomb's spatial embrace within the curved bowl. The arc is surmounted by a tripod drawn with a browner shade of dilute, beneath which appears the now-fragmentary name Sotades, perhaps part of a potter-signature. Inside the tomb, Polyeidōs kneels and the dead Glaukos crouches on a pebbled earthen floor, consisting of tiny raised dots of white clay randomly colored gray and brownish black. (Cecil H. Smith [1896] described the pebbles as black, brown, and pink.) The small figure of Glaukos is shrouded in a grayish brown garment with darker brown fold lines and white edges; only the front of his head and his feet are exposed. His tousled brown locks contrast with the youthful seer's orange hair. Polyeidōs's pale brown garment with brown and orange folds has slipped down around his buttocks and legs, revealing his naked torso and genitals, as he takes aim at a snake with the slender shaft of a stick or spear. Two snakes, whose bodies have been described with golden dilute and painterly black dots, are shown at the lower edge of the bowl. The snake on the right is crumpled in death, and its mate slithers over to help.

In this breathtaking miniature vase-painting, a brush the size of a hair's breadth must have been used for writing, drawing, coloring, and shading. The golden shades of dilute gloss and added browns are all colors normally applied before firing and are hence extraordinarily well preserved. At the same time, with its towering spatial setting that envelops small, complexly posed figures on pebbled earth, this unique image has often been

hailed as a reflection of the lost Early Classical monumental painting of the renowned Polygnotos of Thasos.

Since the nineteenth century, this white-ground cup has generally been held to depict simultaneously two different narrative moments: Polyeidōs about to kill the first snake while the second snake arrives to revive its already dead companion. Alternatively, a single unified moment might be shown, namely, Polyeidōs, pausing while aiming at the second snake, after having killed the first, as he comes to realize the value of the live serpent's mission. In either event, here the key to a miraculous resurrection is discovered in the liminal realm of the tomb immediately after a death associated with honey. This cup's distinctive theme as well as its delicate potting and painting associate it with others from the Sotades Tomb (cf. cat. nos. 90, 93).

REFERENCES: ARV² 763.2, 772β; BAdd² 286; BAPD Vase 209459; Fröhner [1892b], no. 166, pl. 41; van Branteghem 1892, 69–70, no. 166; Hartwig 1893, 501, no. 24; Murray and Smith 1896, 26, pl. 16; C. H. Smith 1896, 391, no. D 5; Walters 1905, 445, pl. 40.2; Perrot [and Chipiez] 1914, 723–24, 725, fig. 396; Hoppin 1919, II, 429, no. 2; Ducati 1922, 370, fig. 269, 372–73; Pfuhl 1923, II, 547–48, III, 199, fig. 526; Pfuhl 1926, 63, 65–66, fig. 84; Philippart 1927–1928, 124–28, no. 38, 125, fig. 6; Swindler 1929, 168, fig. 288; Sanborn 1930, 83–84n.5, no. 4; Beazley 1935, 483; Philippart 1936, 85, no. 65; Rumpf 1953, 96, 100, pl. 29.3; Robertson 1959, 130, 133–34; EAA III (1960) s.v. Glaukos.5^o, 953, fig. 1192 (A. Comotti); EAA VII (1966) s.v. Sotades, Pittore di, 417 (E. Paribeni); Webster 1967, 142; Mertens 1974, 104, 105, fig. 26; Robertson 1975, 265–66, pl. 90a; Mertens 1977, 172, no. 35, 175–76; Robertson 1981b, 76, fig. 114, 77; Wehgartner 1983, 68, no. 69, 95; Burn 1985, 93–94, 101–104, pls. 23.1, 24.2, 27.1–2; Simon 1985, 77–78; Griffiths 1986, 58–60, pl. 1a; LIMC IV (1988) s.v. Glaukos II 274, no. 1, pl. 160 (O. Palagia); Osborne 1988, 9–13, fig. 5; Hoffmann 1989a, figs. 6–7; Corsano 1992, 113–14n.5, fig. 4; Robertson 1992, 187, fig. 197, 188; Gantz 1993, I, 270–71; Sparkes 1996, 159, 160, fig. v.16; Hoffmann 1997, 120–26, 122, fig. 66, 123, fig. 67, 124, figs. 68–69, 151, A3; Stansbury-O'Donnell 1999, 84, 85, fig. 36, 86; Tsingarida 2003, 68, 70, 71, fig. 7, 73; Williams 2004, 107, 110, 112.

For an evocative description of the lost monumental painting of Polygnotos, see Robertson 1975, 242–52, 265–70. Burn 1985, 101, describes a use of coral red on this cup, but there does not appear to be any.



93 WHITE-GROUND STEMLESS CUP

Attributed to Sotades as potter and to the Sotades Painter, ca. 460 B.C.
H 2.5 cm; restored Diam (bowl) 14 cm
London, The British Museum
GR 1892.7-18.3, *BM Cat Vases D 7*
From Athens; purchased 1892; formerly Alphonse van Branteghem collection

I, white ground, *the death of Eurydike*(?)

CONDITION: Fragmentary; bowl and handles restored in plaster; yellow discolorations on white ground; added color flaked on clay-relief elements; white-ground surface pitted; loss of dilute drawing lines, esp. on body of male figure.

THE FRAGMENTARY MINIATURE composition, once set within a gloss circle about 11 cm in diameter inside the white-ground bowl of this stemless cup, is masterfully drawn and shaded with different intensities of shiny dilute gloss in tonalities of

yellow, orange, and tan or pale brown as well as matt beige, brown, and gray colors. Here a male figure of short stature, who is not readily identifiable, is about to throw a stone at the gigantic snake looming at the right; the upper coil of its body overlaps the perimeter of the picture field. The man wears a tall soft cap with an irregular hatched texture and a goat-skin cloak, which is tied around his neck and thrown over his left shoulder and arm. This cloak is sensitively drawn with an orange-dilute outline and shaded with fine lines of golden dilute applied by the Sotades Painter's characteristic hair's-breadth brush. The man's attire, along with the rustic club in the crook of his left arm, suggests that he is a farmer, a herdsman, or a hunter. His club is distinctively rendered in low clay relief covered with matt tan and grayish brown colors. In the vocabulary of Athenian art, this man's scraggly chin beard and mustache, his mouth open in surprise, and his thick knitted brow mark him as a social Other, most probably a foreigner. Although poised to flee, he turns to hurl a beige-colored stone at the threatening reptile.

The serpent, looming from the reeds and rocks of a watery natural setting, is itself an extraordinary creation. The large thick scales on its belly, which are outlined in dilute, but otherwise left in the white color of the engobe, have been differentiated from the smaller, thinner scales on the snake's top and sides, which are described by aligned ovals of brownish-orange dilute over a yellow wash. This fearsome creature coils convincingly, rearing upward from behind an irregular three-dimensional mass, modeled in high white-clay relief and then painted over with matt beige and gray pigment. This mass has generally been described as smoke breathed by the snake, but in this volume, Dyfri Williams suggests it is a rock.

Little remains of a second important human figure at the left side of the composition: a woman who has fallen down below the relief groundline on which the man at the center is standing. Only her crumpled legs, draped in a transparent skirt with fine dilute folds, have been preserved. Her physical location and pose suggest that she is either already dead or dying.

As in the case of the British Museum's two white-ground stemmed cups with wishbone handles from the Sotades Tomb (cat. nos. 90, 92), identification of this stemless cup's unique white-ground vase-painting would originally have depended upon name tags inscribed by the Sotades Painter. Some twenty years ago, Lucilla Burn proposed that the image depicts Orpheus's beloved young wife Eurydike, mortally bitten by the snake while fleeing from the pursuit of Aristaios, a son of Apollo who was born in Libya and became a farmer and a hunter as well as the first beekeeper. Burn's interpretation is here given support by Dyfri Williams, who has found traces of letters that might spell the beginning of the name *Aristaios*.

If this white-ground picture explores the liminal realm between life and death through a story associated with honey, it lends support to Lucilla Burn's theory of a thematic association among

several white-ground cups (cf. cat. nos. 90, 92) from the Sotades Tomb. Another important issue is whether these cups' atmospheric compositions with small human figures integrated within spatial settings are indeed our best reflections of the lost Early Classical mural-paintings by Polygnotos of Thasos or whether their depictions of the female, child, foreigner, and reptile reflect instead the unconventional vision of a miniaturist.

The underside of this stemless is articulated with a broad stripe of black around the bowl, black on the sides of the foot ring, and a fine black circle at the center bottom. The remains of a pale orange-red color on the bowl's exterior surface, previously described as coral-red, does not resemble the brilliant deep hue of intentional red gloss employed in Sotades' workshop (cf. cat. no. 90) and warrants further investigation.

REFERENCES: ARV² 763.3; BAdd² 286; BAPD Vase 209460; Fröhner [1892b], no. 165, pl. 40; van Branteghem 1892, 68–69, no. 165; Hartwig 1893, 501, no. 25; Murray and Smith 1896, 28, pl. 18b; C. H. Smith 1896, 392, no. D 7; Pottier 1903, 54, no. 13; Perrot [and Chipiez] 1914, 725–27, fig. 397; Hoppin 1919, II, 434, no. 8; Buschor 1919–1921, 21–22; Pfuhl 1923, II, 546–48, III, 200, fig. 528; Pfuhl 1926, 65, pl. 59, fig. 83; Philippart 1927–1928, 120–24; Philippart 1936, 85, no. 64; Rumpf 1953, 96, 100, pl. 29.6; Levi and Stenico 1956, 129, 131, fig. 117; Robertson 1959, 129 fig., 133; Robertson 1975, 264–65, pl. 90c; Mertens 1977, 172, no. 36, 175–76; Robertson 1981b, 74–75, 76, fig. 113; Wehgartner 1983, 68–69, no. 71, 95; Burn 1985, 93, 95–105, 96, fig. 1, pls. 24.1, 3–4, 27.5–6; Simon 1985, 77, 78, pl. 73; Griffiths 1986; Collinge 1988, 9–19, pl. 3.1–5; Osborne 1988, 9–13, fig. 8; Boardman 1989, 40, fig. 103; Hoffmann 1989a, front and back covers, inside back cover, fig. 3; Schefold and Jung 1989, 75–76, fig. 57; LIMC v (1990) s.v. Hesperie 406, no. 1, pl. 291 (E. Simon); Robertson 1991a, 10–11, fig. 3; Robertson 1992, 186–87, fig. 196; Geroulanos and Bridler 1994, 58, fig. 72; Lubsen-Admiraal and Hoffmann 1995, 88, fig. 5, 89; Hoffmann 1997, 119, 134, fig. 74, 135, fig. 75, 136, fig. 76, 137, fig. 77, 138–40; Tsingarida 2003, 69–72, fig. 8; Pache 2004, 115–17, 116, fig. 19, 202nn. 43, 48; Williams 2004, 107, 110, fig. 7.14, 111, fig. 7.15, 112, 117n.70.

On rustic hats worn by social Others in Athenian art, see Pipili 2000. See Williams (chap. 8) for the alternate suggested interpretations of this white-ground vase-painting, including Aisakos and Hesperie (Simon 1985); the hunter Orion (Griffiths 1986); Kadmos, founder of Thebes, and the dragon (Collinge 1988); and Fröhner's (1892) inveterate deciphering of the scene as the death of Opheltos or Archemoros, an incident at Nemea in the legend of the Seven against Thebes, where the king's baby was lethally bitten by a snake while left unattended by his nursemaid.



94
**WHITE-GROUND AND
 CORAL-RED STEMLESS CUP WITH
 WISHBONE HANDLES**

Signature of Hegesiboulos as potter,
 attributed to the workshop of Sotades and
 Hegesiboulos II, ca. 460 B.C.
 H 4.2 cm; Diam (bowl) 14 cm; restored
 W with handles 21.5 cm
 Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire
 A 891
 From Athens; purchased 1892; formerly
 Alphonse van Branteghem collection

I, white ground, *woman spinning a top*; zone,
 coral red
 Exterior, coral red

CONDITION: Assembled from twenty-seven frag-
 ments; parts of rim, handles, and foot ring restored
 in nineteenth century; most of coral red on exterior
 lost; inside, scratches on lower left of zone; some
 coral red has flaked; white ground pocked at lower
 left of tondo; coral-red surfaces cleaned in 2004.

ALTHOUGH BEARING THE SIGNATURE of the
 potter Hegesiboulos on its tondo, this small stem-
 less cup with delicate wishbone-shaped handles,
 clearly inspired by metalwork, is closely compa-
 rable to the vessels from this Athenian tomb with
 the signature of the potter Sotades. Hegesiboulos's
 stemless cup was surely produced right alongside
 the Sotadean vases in a single workshop, which,
 as Dyfri Williams suggests (chap. 8), probably was
 a family enterprise.

Sparing touches of black gloss beautifully
 articulate this coral-red and white-ground stem-
 less cup. The bowl's exterior was once entirely

covered with a brilliant, deep coral red save for a black foot ring on the underside. The black gloss here is so shiny and well preserved that the foot clearly never served as a resting surface employed in daily life. The exteriors of the elongated wish-bone handles are likewise black, and their characteristic conical buttons are decorated with black lines radiating from a central dot. On the interior, the matt white tondo is set off from the lustrous coral-red zone by a narrow black border. A wider stripe of black, running around the inner edge of the cup's lip, effectively contains the brilliant deep orange-red zone itself.

The potter's signature ΕΓΕΣΙΒΟΛΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ boldly arcs around the white-ground tondo leading the viewer's gaze down to the large top a female figure is spinning with a whip. Rather than landing on the straight groundline beneath the figure's feet, the top balances precariously on the tondo's curved perimeter. The inscription and vase-painting are both rendered with a combination of relief lines and dilute gloss and appear to have been executed by the same hand. Interestingly, two letters of Hegesiboulos's name—the first sigma and the iota—have been rubbed off and corrected. Copious, now-shiny sketch lines for the simple, outline white-ground painting are visible, and these reveal slight changes in the final image, such as a lower position for the woman's *sakkos* and a different direction for folds in the chiton's sleeve. There is even a sketch for the whipping top, which has been portrayed with characteristic grooves around its body.

Spinning tops was a game enjoyed by women as well as children in ancient Greece. The young woman or teenage girl shown on Hegesiboulos's cup is tightly wrapped in her himation with one hand and arm left free to deploy the whip. Intensely involved in the sport, she bends over the top in an angular pose. Recalling the nostalgic view of activities from daily life presented on contemporary white-ground funerary lekythoi, this genre scene enhances a fragile white-ground-and-coral-red cup destined for an Athenian tomb.

REFERENCES: *ARV*² 771.middle.2; *BAdd*² 287; *BAPD* Vase 209537; *CVA* Brussels 1 [Belgium 1] III J b, pl. 1.2a–b; Fröhner [1892b], no. 167, pl. 42; *van Branteghem* 1892, 70–71, no. 167; *FR* II, 180–81, fig. 61 (K. Reichhold); Hartwig 1893, 501, no. 22; Pottier 1903, 54, no. 14; Perrot [and Chipiez] 1914, 726, 728, fig. 398; Hoppin 1919, II, 9, no. 1; Pfuhl 1923, II, 545, 548, III, fig. 525; Buschor 1925, 192–93, fig. 140; Pfuhl 1926, 63, fig. 81; Philippart 1927–1928, 100, 108, 109n.1, 110–16, 129, pl. 2; Rumpf 1928, 9, fig. 119; London 1929, 193, fig. 219 center; Picard 1930, 108, pl. 60.1; Klein 1932, 17, pl. 18a; Verhoogen 1956, 36, fig. 29, 37; Beck 1975, 48, no. 287, pl. 56, fig. 287; Mertens 1977, 172, fig. 38, 175–76, pl. 30.3; R. Schmidt 1977, 41, no. 72, 144, no. 72; Deubner 1982, 165, fig. 4, 166; Wehgartner 1983, 66, no. 31, 95–97, pl. 31; Burn 1985, 100–101, pls. 25.2, 27.8; Keuls 1985, 104, 105, fig. 88; Griffiths 1986, 58; Bioul 1989, 10–11, no. 2; Boardman 1989, 40, fig. 108; Bioul 1990, 5, 8, fig. 27; Robertson 1992, 185; Fittà 1997, 77, 143; Jurriaans-Helle 2001, 39, fig. 77; Rouillard and Verbanck-Piérard 2003, 330, no. A.1.2.3.b.2 (A. Tsingarida); Tsingarida 2003, 70, 73, fig. 9, 332–33; Cavalier 2004, 5; S. G. Miller 2004a, 169, 170, fig. 252; Williams 2004, 107, 113.

I would like to thank Isabella Rosati, a restorer and ceramics expert at the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels, for examining this cup with me and removing alcohol residue from a 1983 cleaning from its coral-red surfaces. For tops as toys for women, see, recently, Neils and Oakley 2003, 270.



95
RED-FIGURE AND
WHITE-GROUND STEMLESS CUP
WITH WISHBONE HANDLES

Attributed to the workshop of Sotades and Hegesiboulos II, ca. 460 B.C.
 H 4.4 cm; Diam (bowl) 12.6 cm; Diam (tondo) 4.4 cm
 Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire
 A 890
 From Athens; purchased 1892; formerly
 Alphonse van Branteghem collection

I, red-figure, *mother seated on diphros and baby in high chair or potty*; zone: white ground

CONDITION: Assembled from fourteen fragments with nineteenth-century restorations, including a large section of bowl above tondo and end of one handle with button; cracks through profile, body, and right arm of seated woman on tondo.

THE TINY TONDO OF THIS DELICATE stemless cup, which offers a rare glimpse into the women's quarters of an Athenian home, has charmed modern viewers since its discovery. Here a young mother sits on a *diphros* with her right arm extended toward a naked, chubby baby, who reaches out to her with both arms as he squirms

in a high chair or potty. The palpable distance between mother and child in this timeless image seems fitting for a work found in a tomb that may well have belonged to a young woman who died shortly after marriage, perhaps in childbirth.

This famous tondo has often been reproduced silhouetted and blown up far beyond its true size or else in a line drawing of its figural composition. On the cup itself, the bowl's bright white zone directly surrounds the red-figure medallion, without ornament or even a black line.

This stark juxtaposition distances the viewer from the miniature genre vignette, which is the only red-figure decoration on a vase from the Sotades Tomb.

A black stripe runs around the interior of the stemless cup's lip, and the exterior is likewise black, save for reserved patches between the handle-roots. On the underside, a circle of red, often described as coral red yet more closely resembling miltos, surrounds the foot ring, and, within the ring, the bottom of the bowl was once entirely covered with this pale red and then decorated with black circles. The cup's wishbone handles have black exteriors, but there appears to have been red on their buttons. Decoration with white, black, and red characterizes most vases from this tomb. In its delicate metallic form with shallow bowl and thin wishbone handles, the mother-and-child stemless cup is comparable in both shape and size to the stemless depicting a young woman spinning a top potted by Hegesiboulos (cat. no. 94), who might well have made both of these precious cups enhanced with female genre imagery.

REFERENCES: ARV² 771.middle.1; BAdd² 287; BAPD Vase 209536; CVA Brussels I [Belgium I] III J b, pl. 1a–b; Fröhner [1892b], no. 163, pl. 38; van Branteghem 1892, 67, no. 163; Hoorn 1909, 5, fig. 1, 30, fig. 9, 36; Hoppin 1919, II, 424, no. 7; Philippart 1927–1928, esp. 99–100, 109n.1, 128–32, pl. 3; A. Klein 1932, cover, frontispiece, A, 4; Philippart 1936, 83, no. 59, pl. 33a; Paoli 1953, 64–65, pls. 27.top, 29; Zinserling 1973, 32, 80; Mertens 1977, 172, no. 37, 176; Rühfel 1984a, 33–36, 34, fig. 18; Burn 1985, 101, pl. 27.1–2; Keuls 1985, 110, 111, fig. 95; Griffiths 1986, 58; Bioul 1989, 8–9, no. 1; Bonfante 1989, 94, pl. 47; Bioul 1990, 5, fig. 26; Robertson 1992, 185; CAH plates to vols. v and vi (1994), 131, fig. 133b; EAA Suppl. II.1 (1994) s.v. Attici, vasi, 553, fig. 615 (P. E. Arias); Sparkes 1996, 76, 77, fig. III: 9; Jurriaans-Helle 2001, 3, fig. 5; Lewis 2002, 7, 8, fig. 0.3; Brulé 2003, 158 fig.; Neils and Oakley 2003, 240–41, no. 42; Rouillard and Verbanck-Piérard 2003, 330, no. A.I.2.3.b.1 (A. Tsingarida); Tsingarida 2003, 67–68, 69, fig. 5, 333.

Marie Svoboda kindly provided a description of this cup and its condition.

HORIZONTALLY FLUTED PHIALE WITH CICADA ON OMPHALOS

Signature of Sotades as potter, ca. 460 B.C.
H 4.7 cm; Diam 16.5 cm
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 98.886,
Henry Lillie Pierce Fund
From Athens; purchased 1898; formerly
Alphonse van Branteghem collection

CONDITION: Assembled from several fragments;
part of lip restored; black gloss on lip chipped and
abraded; most of incised signature on outside of lip
missing; exterior surface chipped along one major
join; flaking of white and red on exterior; yellow
incrustation on white flutes; white incrustation on
red flutes and reserved moldings; scratches in black
gloss on underside of omphalos; brown depos-
its, yellow discolorations, and crackling of white
ground on bowl's interior.

A CLAY CICADA PERCHES on the black ompha-
los at the center of the chalky white-ground
interior of this exquisite white, black, and red
horizontally fluted phiale. The naturalistic insect
distinguishes this libation dish from the other

three similarly fluted vessels of the Sotades Tomb
(cat. nos. 97–99). During production in the pot-
tery workshop, the phiale's basic lipped bowl
would first have been formed on the wheel. When
it had dried to a leather-hard state, the vessel
would have been turned, that is, placed on the
wheel upside down, in order for the potter to hol-
low out its omphalos as well as to tool its slightly
concave horizontal flutés and the reserved narrow
double-curved moldings between them. Slips for
the phiale's black and white colors would then
have been brushed onto the flutes as the vessel,
once again, turned on the wheel before firing. A
fine, shiny Attic black gloss has been employed
here on the phiale's lip, its omphalos, and every
third flute, and a typical matt and chalky white
ground covers the bowl's interior, save for the lip
and omphalos, and also appears on every third
external flute.

The red employed on this vessel's flutes and
on the other horizontally fluted vases from the
Sotades Tomb (cat. nos. 97–99) is quite distinc-
tive. The common assumption that this slightly
orange red is lustrous coral-red gloss is mistaken.
Solely on the basis of visual observation, the red
is clearly matt rather than lustrous. Moreover, at



96.1

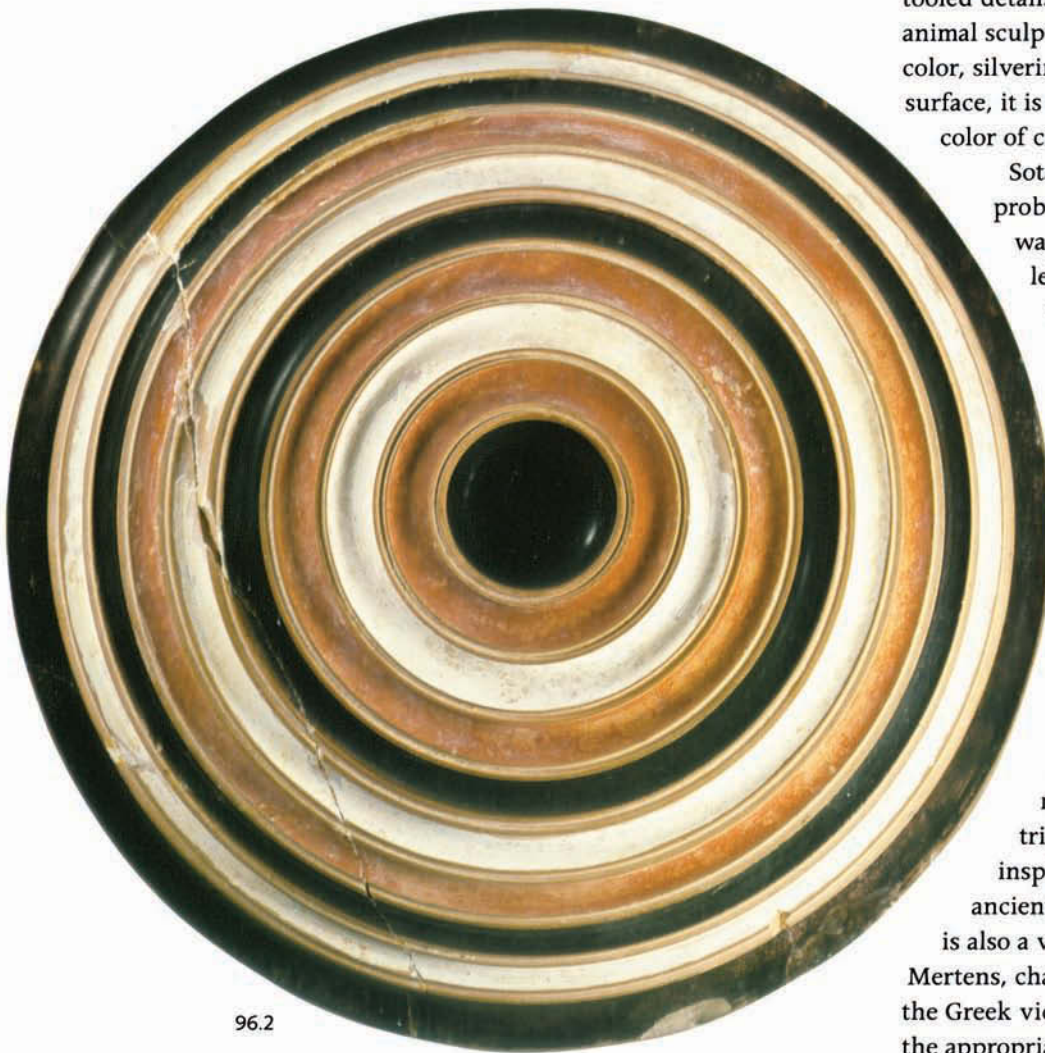
my request, Pamela Hatchfield, Head of Objects Conservation at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, has examined by stereomicroscope the Boston phiale's red and the coral-red exterior of Boston's cup with wishbone handles from the Sotades Tomb (cat. no. 91). Based on her examination, she, too, has suggested that these two reds are different substances, with the Boston cup's coral red alone exhibiting a glassy-looking surface. Furthermore, Richard Newman, Head of Scientific Research, performed analysis by Fourier transform infrared spectroscopy (FTIR) and microprobe analysis, that is, energy dispersive spectrometry (EDS) analysis, in the scanning electron microscope (SEM); Michael Derrick, Research Scientist, likewise performed analysis by FTIR. Their analyses indicate,

as the SEM photographs published here show (figs. 96.3–4), that the red of the phiale is so crumbly and particulate that it was not possible to do a cross-section, which means that it has clearly not been fired. The coral red of the cup, in contrast, is cohesive and melted looking, which means that it has been slightly sintered during firing. Thus, it is possible to conclude definitively that, rather than being coral-red gloss, the Boston phiale's matt red resembles the reds employed to decorate plastic vases from Sotades' Workshop after they were fired (cf. cat. nos. 86–87; True, chap. 7, fig. 4).

The Boston phiale's cicada would have been fashioned separately from the libation bowl and secured upon the omphalos with clay slip. While it has been described as mold-made, the creature's entire surface is sensitively worked with hand-tooled details. This insect is a fine example of animal sculpture. Although no trace of added color, silvering, or gilding survives on the cicada's surface, it is unlikely to have simply been left the color of clay in the vessel's original design.

Sotades' now-fragmentary signature, probably *Sotades epoie* (cf. cat. no. 97), was incised on the exterior of the phiale's black concave lip. He may have written it himself as a finishing touch on a vase that could have been produced without the intervention of a vase-painter. An incised signature is typically employed on black architectonic elements of statuette vases by this potter-coroplast (cf. cat. no. 87).

In the ancient world phialai were commonly made of metal, and it has long been suggested that the horizontally fluted form of the Sotadean variety must be an imitation of an Ancient Near Eastern metalware prototype. The phiale's tricolor scheme may likewise have been inspired by the variegated coloration of ancient metalware, though colored banding is also a venerable Attic pottery tradition (cf. Mertens, chap. 6, fig. 2). In Classical Athens after the Greek victory in the Persian Wars, however, the appropriation of eastern luxury items was a



96.2

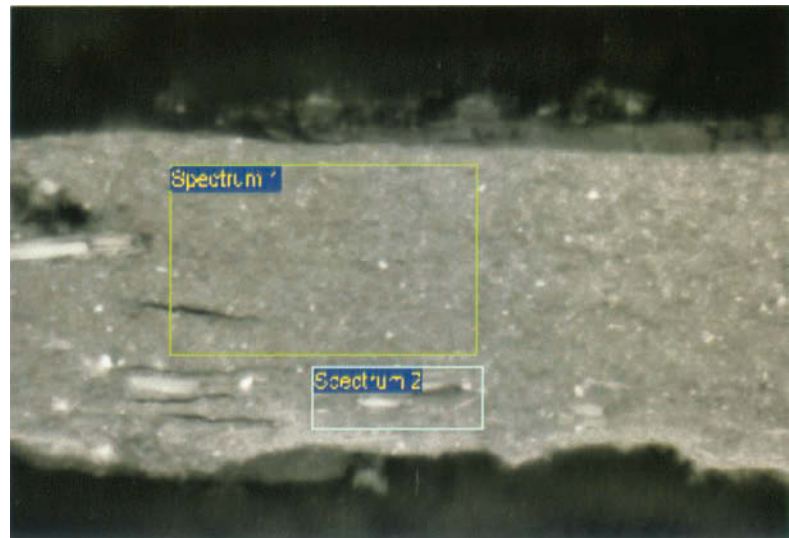
popular fashion, and even the trompe-l'oeil cicada on the omphalos may itself have been derived from a Persian model. At the same time, the cicada may have had potent local Athenian associations. Ancient sources (e.g., Thucydides 1.6.3) mention that older Athenian men wore golden cicadas as hair ornaments. Furthermore, during its life cycle, the cicada exists underground in a larval state, before surfacing as a winged insect. This rebirth may have been linked both with the legend of Athenian autochthony and with the hope for an afterlife appropriate in the iconography of tomb goods.

REFERENCES: ARV² 772.δ, 1669; BAdd² 287; BAPD Vase 209544; Fröhner [1892b], no. 159, pl. 35; van Branteghem 1892, 66, no. 159; *Annual Report, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 23 (1898) 74, no. 53; Walters 1905, i, p. 445, pl. 40; Perrot [and Chipiez] 1914, 722, 723, fig. 395; Beazley 1918, 129; Hoppin 1919, ii, 427, 428, no. 1; Swindler 1929, 182; Richter 1930, 41, 86, pl. 64, fig. 225; Sanborn 1930, 83–84n.5, no. 7; Richter and Milne 1935, 30, fig. 181; Luschey 1939, 148, n.x.1, 153–54; Lippold 1952, 92–93; Levi and Stenico 1956, 13, 16, fig. 17; Zervoudaki 1968, 73n.276; Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 272; Cohen 1970–1971, 12n.56, pl. 6, fig. 11; Shefton 1971, 109, 111; Lullies 1974, 326 with n.21; Mertens 1977, 145, no. 1, 146; Cardon 1978–1979, 133n.12, 134n.19, 134–35n.21; Wehgartner 1983, 224n.5; Davidson and Oliver 1984, 13, under no. 14 (with incorrect accession no.); Burn 1985, 101, 105, pl. 26.1; D. M. Lewis 1985, 76; Davies and Kathirithamby 1986, 31, 114, fig. 26; Griffiths 1986, 58; Pfrommer 1987, 44n.254; CVA Berlin, *Antikensammlung I* [DDR 3], 80, under no. 5; Hoffmann 1988a; Boardman 1989, 40, fig. 100; Immerwahr 1990, 104; Cohen 1991, 81–82, 83, fig. 59, 94n.178; Robertson 1992, 185; Hübner 1993, 328; Vickers and Gill 1994, 167, δ; Hoffmann 1997, 113–18, 114, fig. 65, 169–70, no. U1; M. C. Miller 1997, 138n.17, 138; Shefton 1999, 472–73n.35; Tsingarida 2003, 67, fig. 2, 68, 70, 73; Williams 2004, 107, 109, 112.

See below for comparison of the Boston phiale with Sotades' phiale in the British Museum (cat. no. 97). On horizontally fluted phialai (sometimes referred to as ribbed), see also Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 20, no. 2, 105–106, 272, esp. 520, 522, and 526.



96.3. Cat. no. 96: matt red pigment.



96.4. Cat. no. 91: coral red.



97 HORIZONTALLY FLUTED PHIALE MESOMPHALOS

Signature of Sotades as potter, ca. 460 B.C.
H 4.6 cm; Diam 16.8 cm
London, The British Museum
GR 1894.7-19.2, *BM Cat Vases D 8*
From Athens; purchased 1894; formerly
Alphonse van Branteghem collection

CONDITION: Assembled from fragments; chip missing from rim; black gloss chipped around rim and on top surface of omphalos; omphalos scratched on underside; white flaked esp. on bowl's interior; red flaked; chips in outer surface esp. along joins; taupe, yellow, and white incrustations on colored flutes; surface of reserved resting surface abraded.

SOTADES' POTTER-SIGNATURE, ΣΟΤΑΔΕΣ ΕΠΟΙΕ, incised in two lines on the exterior of this horizontally fluted phiale's concave black lip, has here been fully preserved. Save for the lack of a cicada on the omphalos within its white-ground bowl, London D 8 closely resembles the phiale Boston 98.886 (cat. no. 96), but it is not identical. The reserved molding around the omphalos on the bottom of London D 8 is broader and flat: It was designed to serve as a resting surface. This phiale has ten flutes rather than Boston 98.886's eight, and the profile of its narrow, reserved intermediate moldings differs, as does the disposition of colors

on its flutes. The Boston phiale's color pattern, beginning with the flute closest to the omphalos, is: red, white, red, black; white, red, black, and white. On the London phiale the bands of color are more precisely organized. The flute closest to the omphalos is white, and the rest of the color pattern reads: black, red, white; black, red, white; black, red, white. On both phialai a white band has been placed adjacent to the black lip. The subtle adjustments in London D 8's articulation appear to improve upon the design of Boston 98.886. Finally, both unusual phialai transcend mere imitation of foreign metalware in their distinctive ribbed schema by means of the cunning craftsmanship characteristic of Sotades' Classical workshop.

REFERENCES: *ARV*² 772.ε, 1669; *BAdd*² 287; *BAPD* Vase 209545; Fröhner [1892b], no. 160, pl. 36; *van Branteghem* 1892, 66–67, no. 160; C. H. Smith 1896, 392; Perrot [and Chipiez] 1914, 722; Hoppen 1919, II, 427, 431, no. 4; H. R. W. Smith 1929, 217; Sanborn 1930, 83n.5, no. 3; Luschey 1939, 148, no. x.2; Lane 1948, 53, pl. 88B, right; Lippold 1952, 92–93; Jacobsthal 1956, 45, fig. 203; Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 272; Cohen 1970–1971, 12n.56; Shefton 1971, 109; Mertens 1977, 145, no. 2, 146, pl. 22.1; Wehgartner 1983, 224n.5; Burn 1985, 100–101, pl. 26.4; Griffiths 1986, 58; Hoffmann 1988a, 745; Immerwahr 1990, 104; Cohen 1991, 81–82, 83, fig. 60; Robertson 1992, 185; Vickers and Gill 1994, 167, ε; Hoffmann 1997, 170, no. U2, figs. 102–104, right; M. C. Miller 1997, 138–39, pl. 37; Shefton 1999, 472–73n.35; Tsingarida 2002, 256, fig. 3; Tsingarida 2003, 67, fig. 1, 68; Williams 2004, 107, 109, 112.

For this phiale's construction, the nature of its matt red color, and the association of its shape with metalwork, see above under Boston 98.886 (cat. no. 96). On Sotades' incised or graffito signatures, see Immerwahr 1990, 104; and Cohen 1991, 80–84.

98 and 99
TWO HORIZONTALLY FLUTED
MASTOI

98

Attributed to Sotades as potter, ca. 460 B.C.
H 7.5 cm; Diam (at rim, as restored) 8.5 cm
London, The British Museum
GR 1894.7-19.4, *BM Cat Vases D 10*
From Athens; purchased 1894; formerly
Alphonse van Branteghem collection

CONDITION: Good; assembled from fragments, with small losses, esp. two rim fragments, restored in plaster and toned; yellow discolorations and taupe spots on white-ground interior; on exterior, chip on rim and chips along edges of joins; scattered yellow incrustation on flutes; black gloss on boss abraded.

99

Attributed to Sotades as potter, ca. 460 B.C.
H 8.3 cm; Diam (at rim, as restored) 8.3 cm
London, The British Museum
GR 1894.7-19.3, *BM Cat Vases D 9*
From Athens; purchased 1894; formerly
Alphonse van Branteghem collection

CONDITION: Fragmentary; two-thirds restored in nineteenth century; yellow discolorations on white ground of interior; chips missing from lip and edges of flutes; red flaked; gray deposits on white.

THE SHAPE OF THESE SMALL HANDLELESS cups is known as a mastos because it recalls the form of a human female's breast. In Attic pottery, mastoi, which were most popular in the late sixth century B.C., are normally smooth and fitted with two handles at the sides and a nipple at the bottom. The Sotadean revival of this shape in an inventive variation during the Classical period may have been inspired by prototypes in Persian metalware (cf. cat. nos. 96-97). The pair of mastoi from the Sotades Tomb are designed according to



99



98

the same principle as the two phialai (cat. nos. 96–97), with a glossy black rim inside and out, white ground on the interior, and concentric, horizontal flutes around the exterior that are painted red, white, and black. On the mastoi, the flutes' joined protruding edges are themselves reserved rather than having distinct curved moldings inserted between them as on the phialai.

Little or no distinction was drawn between the two mastoi in twentieth-century scholarship, and they are often not identified precisely in published illustrations. Yet D 10 is well preserved, while only a small portion of D 9 is ancient: In their current state, there are differences between the two. D 10 is smaller than the much restored D 9. D 10 is also extremely light. A spiral pattern from the potting is visible beneath the white ground on D 10's interior. While both mastoi have twenty horizontal flutes around a small central boss, D 10 has an original flat broader molding between the rim and the adjacent flute. On both mastoi the band of color adjacent to the black rim is red, yet, beginning at the bottom, the disposition of color on the flutes of the two mastoi differs. The black boss on D 9 is surrounded by a white flute, but on D 10 this flute is black like the boss itself. While some differences may result from the illusionistic restoration of D 9, the two mastoi, like the phialai (cat. nos. 96–97), were probably not identical replicas originally.

The slightly orange red employed on the flutes of the mastoi has been said to be coral-red gloss; however, as in the case of Sotades' Boston phiale (cat. no. 96), this red appears to be a matt color applied after firing rather than a lustrous gloss. In 1896 Cecil H. Smith suggested that Sotades' signature might have appeared on the missing portion of each mastos's black rim. Incised inscriptions, like those on the phialai (cat. nos. 96–97), would have enhanced their horizontally fluted form's association with metalwork as well as served as the special trademark of their maker.

REFERENCES for D 10: *ARV*² 773.top.2; *BAPD* Vase 209550; Fröhner [1892b], no. 162; *van Branteghem* 1892, 67, no. 162; C. H. Smith 1896, 393; Perrot [and Chipiez] 1914, 722; Hoppin 1919, II, 427, 434, no. 10; A. B. Cook 1925, II.1, 346; C. H. Smith 1929, 217; Swindler 1929, 182; Lippold 1952, 92–93; Cohen 1970–1971, 12n.56; Mertens 1977, 145, no. 4, 146; Kanowski 1984, 105; Burn 1985, 100–101, pl. 26.2; Robertson 1992, 185; Hoffmann 1997, 170, v 2, fig. 104, left; M. C. Miller 1997, 138; Tsingarida 2003, 67, 68, fig. 3 (imprecisely identified as D 9 or D 10); Williams 2004, 107, 109, 112.

REFERENCES for D 9: *ARV*² 773.top.1; *BAPD* Vase 209549; Fröhner [1892b], no. 161, pl. 37; *van Branteghem* 1892, 67, no. 161; C. H. Smith 1896, 392; Perrot [and Chipiez] 1914, 722; Hoppin 1919, II, 427, 434, no. 9; A. B. Cook 1925, II.1, 345; C. H. Smith 1929, 217, fig. 1; Swindler 1929, 182; Lane 1948, 53, pl. 88B, left; Lippold 1952, 92–93; Jacobsthal 1956, 45, fig. 202; Cohen 1970–1971, 12n.56; Mertens 1977, 145, no. 3, 146; Kanowski 1984, 105; Burn 1985, 100–101, pl. 26.3; Griffiths 1986, 58; Robertson 1992, 185; Hoffmann 1997, 170, v 1, fig. 104, center; M. C. Miller 1997, 138; Tsingarida 2003, 67; Williams 2004, 107, 109, 112, fig. 7.17.

A separate list of references has been provided for each mastos in order to help distinguish between the two. For a possible association between these mastoi and the honeyed iconography of cups from the Sotades Tomb, see Williams, chap. 8.



Kerch-style Vases



Kerch-style Vases: The Finale

Kenneth Lapatin

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu

ATHENS REGAINED HER STATUS as an independent—even imperial—power in the fourth century B.C., despite having lost the Peloponnesian War in the late fifth century.

During the ascendancy of the Second Athenian Confederacy in the second and third quarters of the fourth century, Athenian ceramicists continued to export their products throughout the Mediterranean and to the shores of the Black Sea. In previously strong markets of Sicily, Southern Italy, and Etruria, however, they now faced increasing competition from rival local producers

(including Athenians who immigrated to those regions and established workshops). Many of the finest Athenian vases of the period, therefore, come, not from the cemeteries of Italy, but rather from those settlements in the Crimea, which had long provided Athens with an important source of grain and other raw materials.

The so-called Kerch vases take their name from the modern city on the peninsula extending east from the Crimea in present-day Ukraine. There, the rich tombs surrounding the ancient Greek

city of Pantikapaion, the richest city of the region, have yielded a profusion of Athenian ceramics. The capital of the Bosporan kingdom, Pantikapaion was situated on the northern coast of the Black Sea, on the western side of the Cimmerian Bosphorus (the modern Kerch Strait), at the entrance to the Sea of Azov. According to a tradition preserved by Stephanos of Byzantium (sixth century A.D.), one of the sons of King Aeëtes of Kolchis, the father of Medea, founded the city after receiving the district from the Scythian king Agaetes.

Strabo (7.4 [309–10]) and Pliny (*Natural History* 4.12.87), however, report that Pantikapaion was a Milesian colony. It was apparently founded around 600 B.C. on the site of an earlier settlement, Panti Kapa. In the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. it was the capital of the Spartocid dynasty, which maintained particularly close ties with Athens. Satyros (ruled 407–393 B.C.) is mentioned by Isokrates, Lysias, and Demosthenes. The Athenians voted to honor his son Leukon (ruled 393–353 B.C.) with three statues, and he and his three sons—Spartikos II (ruled 353–349), Parisades (or Pairisades; ruled 349–311), and Apollonios—were granted Athenian citizenship. The Athenians also awarded the sons gold crowns worth a thousand drachmas at each Greater Panathenaia.

Pantikapaion grew rich exporting grain, fish, wine, and other commodities from the hinterland. The city minted silver coins in the sixth century B.C. and gold ones in the fourth: these feature a satyr head on the obverse and a griffin on the reverse. Throughout its history, the city fostered a unique amalgam of Greek and local cultures, and the aristocratic tombs of the region have yielded, not only imported clay vases, but also gold vessels and jewelry in both Greek and local styles, ivories, engraved gemstones, and glass. Though not intrinsically valuable, except to the degree they were gilded, Kerch-style vases nonetheless seem to have functioned as status symbols. They were ostentatious imports and frequently bore images of particular significance to their buyers.¹

Kerch-style vases were produced in Athens and Attika, and perhaps Chalkidike. They have been found not only on the shores of the Black Sea but also on the Greek mainland and islands, in Asia Minor, Italy, the Levant, Egypt and North Africa, Southern France, and the Iberian Peninsula.² Although ill-defined as a class, they can be dated to the second and third quarters of the fourth century B.C. on the basis of style, and more precisely by inscribed black-figured Panathenaic prize amphorae attributed to many of the same painters.³ The favored shapes of Kerch-style vases are kraters (bell and calyx), hydriai, pelikai, lekanides, and lebetes gamikoi, which all offered painters large pictorial fields. These shapes became more elongated over the course of the fourth cen-

tury. The same artists also decorated smaller vessels (such as cups, pyxides, oinochoai, and squat lekythoi).

Kerch-style vases represent “the last stage in the development of Attic Red-figure vase-painting.”⁴ The elongated, mannered shapes of these vases, the languorous, often sensual grace of the figures depicted on them, and the greater success in pictorially representing the third dimension, all find parallels in other media, such as marble relief sculpture and engraved Etruscan mirrors. The dynamic, sinuous, and twisting poses of some figures in particular seem to be inspired by contemporary statues attributed to Praxiteles, Skopas, and Lysippos. Such developments also appear in terracotta figurines. The images on Kerch-style vases seem also to reflect some of the advances of lost fourth-century wall-painting known from ancient literary sources. According to Martin Robertson, “The pictures on the best Kerch vases have a true nobility, but with it a certain vapidness, which one may perhaps attribute to the translation of a contemporary vision into an outmoded style.”⁵

Compositionally, scenes are often crowded, even restless, with a central figure or group, which, along with subsidiary figures, may “float” in space, creating multi-level pictures. Unlike Polygnotan compositions of the fifth century,⁶ however, only those figures in the lower register regularly stand or sit on groundlines. These sometimes include such natural elements as rocks, vegetation, or water. The figures themselves are not only depicted in strict profile but, as time progresses, frequently turn, twist, or bend and thus are presented from multiple points of view, including *profile perdu*. This, as well as placement of drapery between limbs and behind or around the body, often adds depth to compositions, creating a convincing illusion of three-dimensionality, which is sometimes furthered by the application of polychromy. Poses of individual figures are, on the best vases, still closely linked to the curvature of the vase, enhancing both shape and decoration.

The drawing of Kerch-style vases, in general, departs from the delicate, meticulous, closely packed lines of the “Rich Style” of Attic vase-painting of the late fifth century. Figures tend to

be composed of lines that are shorter, sketchier, looser, or hooked, but they nonetheless often have a greater three-dimensional, or sculptural, quality than their predecessors. Polychromy as well as gilding over relief decoration frequently enhance compositions. Added white, not usually applied to red-figured vases before the late fifth century B.C., is common. It is used for details as well as female flesh but is not employed uniformly. Rather, artists use added color, often over details painted in black gloss, for emphasis and balance within compositions. Dilute gloss added to white often creates yellow. Matt pinks, reds, and even blues and greens—colors earlier applied to white-ground lekythoi—are also used to enliven compositions and to emphasize figures in groups through contrast. Subsidiary figures are often depicted only in red-figure, though details can be highlighted by added white, or even gilding. Additionally, washes in dilute gloss are employed, as in red-figure, and sometimes these even suggest shadows, but there is no evidence of highlights—both innovations attributed to contemporary wall- and panel-painters.

While many of the finest Kerch-style vases are profusely polychromed, such attention is rarely lavished on more than one side of a vase. These vessels, recovered mostly—but not exclusively—from tombs, usually have a readily discernable front and back side. (The fine lebes in the Hermitage, cat. no. 103, is a notable exception.) Reverses are generally cursory, showing stock three-figure compositions or cloaked youths, with minimal added white, polychromy, or other elaboration. Subsidiary patterned ornament continues the Late Classical repertoire: egg-and-dart, meanders with checkerboard squares or crosses, tongues, waves, and, on the most elaborate vases, lotus-and-palmette, wreaths, and running spirals.

As in the preceding “Rich Style,” favored themes are the world of women and their lovers (mythological as well as mortal) and especially wedding scenes attended by Erotes; Dionysian and Eleusinian motifs (Demeter and Dionysos being especially popular in the grain- and grape-growing regions of the north); and oriental themes consisting of Amazons, griffins, and Arimaspeans. Herakles, too, remains popular, but presenting a

coherent narrative is less important to painters than mythological content. Symposium and erotic scenes appear less frequently than in earlier periods. Iconography retains thematic links to function and (predominantly foreign) clientele, hence the popularity of Eleusinian and oriental motifs, although local Athenian festivals and rituals seem also to provide inspiration.

Numerous painters of Kerch-style vases were identified by Karl Schefold and Sir John Beazley. These scholars were not always in agreement, and others have refined their attributions. There is little profit in reviewing these controversies here, especially as most Kerch-style vases are of only middling quality.⁷ Rather, what follows will concentrate on some of the outstanding artisans represented in this exhibition.

The Pourtalès Painter

Named after the former owner of a fine bell-krater from Sant’Agata de’ Goti in Campania, now in London (fig. 1),⁸ the Pourtalès Painter is one of the earliest painters of Kerch-style vases. Inscribed Panathenaic prize amphorae attributed to him were produced in the archonship of Charakleides (363/362 B.C.), placing the painter’s activity in the second quarter of the fourth century B.C.⁹ His name vase, dated approximately 370–360 B.C., depicts the initiation of heroes into the Eleusinian mysteries. Demeter and Kore occupy the center of the scene, the latter seated before her mother, who stands holding a burning torch. Both have added-white flesh, and fine dilute yellow is used for details of their faces, jewelry, sandals, and Demeter’s chiton. Her matronly figure and rippling, revelatory drapery recall statuary of the late fifth and early fourth centuries B.C.¹⁰ Opposite Persephone, Triptolemos sits in his winged chariot, which is drawn by white snakes with yellow details. Two torch-bearing attendants in Thracian garb, apparently Eumolpos and Keryx, the mythical ancestors of the two Eleusinian priesthoods, lead initiates from the sides: the two Dioskouroi holding sacred myrtle wands (*bakchoi*) that are rendered in added white with yellow detail. From the viewers’ left, beyond Persephone, Herakles approaches with his club, lowered, and a raised

bakchos. The figures all wear white wreaths and stand or sit on various registers, overlapping one another as if receding in space, thus creating an elaborate multi-level scene. Indeed, at the top of the vase, as if behind a hill represented by a white groundline, four white columns with yellow flutes support the architrave of a sacred building, presumably the Telesterion, while to the viewer's left two more columns fill empty spaces, again behind white groundlines.¹¹ The reverse of this vase features Dionysos and his thiasos, a beardless man holding a cornucopia (perhaps Hades), the Return of Hephaistos, and Eros playing with a goose. Again the figures are collocated on multiple registers, and added-white and -yellow details enliven the composition.

Here, and in other works, including the obverse of the elegant, if enigmatic, bell-krater in Berlin in this exhibition (cat. no. 102), the Pourtalès Painter seems to revel in painting overlapping figures in expressive, three-quarter poses. Those that are clothed often wear mobile drapery with bunched folds that model the body underneath (as on Demeter's chiton and Persephone's peplos on the London vase). The painter's faces, however, are less daring: they are always shown in profile. Though liberal with added white and yellow—and innovative in the painterly application of both over added red to render the scales of the fish on the Berlin krater (cat. fig. 102.2)—he does not employ the additional colors of later Kerch-style painters. He does, however, add architectural elements, such as the abbreviated temple on his name vase, elsewhere in his oeuvre, and he seems to have been particularly fond of Herakles.¹²

The Marsyas Painter

Perhaps the finest painter of Kerch-style vases was the Marsyas Painter. He too painted the loves of gods and mortals, and, like the Pourtalès Painter, he decorated Panathenaic prize amphorae. These were produced during the archonships of Polyzeos (367/366 B.C.), Kallimides (360/359 B.C.), and Theiophrastós (340/339 B.C., cat. no. 39).¹³ Schefold named the painter after a pelike, now in St. Petersburg, that was recovered from a rich warrior's burial at Kerch. The tomb also included



gilded armor, a sword decorated with Scythian animal motifs, and a splendid gold wreath, all placed in a rich wooden sarcophagus decorated with gilded griffins attacking deer. As Friederike Fless has noted, pelikai are not commonly deposited as grave goods or cinerary urns at Athens or Olynthos, but they appear frequently in the graves of Bosporan elites as symbols of special prestige. Their role as signifiers of status is further indicated by the fact that they were copied by locally produced *Aquarellpeliken*.¹⁴

The artist's name vase depicts Apollo playing the *kithara* before the doomed satyr Marsyas (fig. 2); women at their toilette decorate the reverse.¹⁵ On both sides the figures, in a variety of complex poses, occupy multiple levels. Added white, extruded clay, and gilding enliven the compositions. Apollo, crowned by a Nike with gilded extruded-clay wings, stands holding a white *kithara* in the pose of the *kitharoidos* type sometimes attributed to Skopas; Marsyas, his gilded aulos at his side, sits cross-legged on a rock, elbow on thigh, chin resting in palm. Opposite, his beloved pupil Olympos, wearing a gilded cap, reclines with his right arm thrown over his head rather like a more alert Barberini Faun or a reclining version of the Apollo Lykeios statue

Figure 1. The Eleusinian mysteries. Bell-krater, attributed to the Pourtalès Painter (name vase), 370–360 B.C. London, The British Museum GR 1865.0103.14, *BM Cat Vases* F 68.



Figure 2. Apollo *kitharoidos* playing before the satyr Marsyas. Pelike, attributed to the Marsyas Painter (name vase), ca. 370–335 B.C. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum St 1795, Kek. 8. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum.

type.¹⁶ Two females—one wearing a gilded crown, jewelry, and holding a scepter while the other, with added-white flesh, bears two torches—appear to be Demeter and Kore, but scholars have often identified them as another mother-daughter pair, Leto and Artemis, Apollo’s mother and sister. Despite the variety of poses on this vase—especially that of Marsyas, which is complex and distinctive—and the additions of white and gold, Beazley considered the painting “feeble.” Still, he accepted Schefold’s attribution of it to the same hand that created “most of the masterpieces of Attic fourth-century vase-painting.”¹⁷

The most famous of the painter’s works is a pelike from a woman’s tomb at Kamiros on Rhodes, now in London (fig. 3).¹⁸ Here a tranquil scene of women bathing, similar to that on the reverse of the name vase, has been interrupted, and while that vessel seems to depict mortals, here we are in the mythological realm. The crouching central figure, again painted white, is the sea nymph Thetis, daughter of Nereus and the mother of Achilles. Zeus desired her, but when Themis revealed that Thetis would bear a son greater than his father, Zeus gave her to the hero Peleus, who, wearing a petasos and chlamys, here

intrudes on the bathing Nereids and grabs hold of Thetis’s arms. An undulating groundline and a small dolphin to the viewer’s right indicate that this episode takes place on the shore, while to the left, behind Thetis, a sharp-toothed *ketos* (sea monster) entwines Peleus’s leg and bites him just above the knee.

In earlier Greek art Thetis, who like many marine deities had the ability to change shapes, was depicted with panthers, lions, snakes, and fire as indications of her transformations while wrestling with Peleus. Here, her protean nature is more subtly depicted through the monster, and her pose, more complex than the crouching bather on the reverse of the painter’s name vase, is similar to the “crouching Aphrodite” statue type (fig. 4).¹⁹ Her twisting figure achieves the illusion of three-dimensionality as interior anatomical details of her voluptuous figure are rendered in yellow: her left thigh, distanced from the viewer, is raised above the right one, her left arm is foreshortened, her left breast is depicted in profile while the right one is frontal, and her face, turning back toward Peleus, is in three-quarter view. A winged Eros, likewise painted white, hovers above Peleus, crowning him, while behind him, to the viewer’s left, two female figures look on calmly. These have been plausibly identified as Aphrodite and another goddess, perhaps Peitho. Opposite, Thetis’s three companions, presumably her sisters, react to the violent attack. The woman closest to Thetis, whose topknot resembles that of the Apollo Belvedere,²⁰ turns sharply, looking back, the folds of her peplos all aflutter. To the far right a naked woman crouches on a small rock, raising her garment in front of her, while in the upper right corner of the scene appears the painter’s tour de force: a woman running away, twisting spirally, her drapery echoing her movement. She is shown with legs in profile, buttocks in three-quarter view, shoulders straight, and face in *profile perdu*.

Despite the powerful three-dimensionality of these figures, the picture, as Buschor notes, “is still in harmony with the flowing line of the shape” of the vessel.²¹ Besides the virtuoso drawing of complex poses, the painter has applied additional colors beyond the traditional white. Eros’s wings, rendered in low relief, were origi-

Figure 3. Peleus and Thetis. Detail of pelike, attributed to the Marsyas Painter, ca. 370–335 B.C. London, The British Museum GR1862.0530.1, *BM Cat Vases* E 424.



nally painted blue, though now only traces remain, while green was applied to the drapery falling over Thetis's knees and to the rock behind her. Gold, too, was applied to the vase: to Peleus's hat, Thetis's hair band, and Eros's wings. The reverse side, in contrast, is less inspired, with a much simpler composition of Dionysos seated between a satyr and maenad.

The Marsyas Painter's splendid *lebes gamikos* from Kerch, now in St. Petersburg (15592, cat. no. 103), in contrast, is painted with equal care on all sides. The *lebes gamikos* is a special vessel used for marriage rituals—it is thought to have held the water for the ritual bathing of the bride or food for the married couple—and the decoration of this one is wholly suited to its function: it depicts the *epaulia*—the morning after the wedding when the bride was presented with gifts. No males are present, except for numerous Erotes, all depicted in added white. The focal point of one side is the bride herself. She presides on a high-backed throne, rendered in white, apparently to represent ivory. It has elegantly turned legs and extremely fine patterned decoration in relief on the edge of the seat and on the cross-bar at the back, all of which reflect the most sumptuous furniture of the age. Such pieces survive only in fragments, if at all, but they are reflected on numerous vases and in other media, such as the stone funerary couch in the Bella tumulus and the marble throne in the tomb of Eurydike at Vergina, on the grave stele of Demetria and Pamphile in the Kerameikos, and on the painted ceiling of a tomb at Kazanluk in Bulgaria (fig. 5), all dating to the fourth century B.C.²² Traces of added white also survive on numerous other furnishings on the Marsyas Painter's *lebes*, where the exposed upper torso of the half-draped bride is likewise rendered in added white, as are the Erotes that surround her. Additional women, carrying diverse gifts, are shown in a variety of poses.²³ Particularly striking is a frontal figure, swathed entirely by drapery—only her eyes peek out.

The Marsyas Painter, as we have seen, paints stately, sculptural figures in a wide variety of complex poses. His faces as well as bodies are presented in profile, three-quarter, or frontal view. Drapery can be quite elaborate and expressive,



Figure 4. Crouching Aphrodite. Roman copy after third-century-B.C. (?) original. Marble, H 1.15 m. Malibu, JPGM 55.AA.10.



Figure 5. Enthroned bride and groom on the painted ceiling of a Thracian tomb at Kazanluk, Bulgaria. Fourth century B.C. From Zhivkova, 1973, pl. 20.



Figure 6. So-called Maussollos from Halikarnassos. London, The British Museum 1000.

with curved and hooked lines used to convey crinkled subsidiary folds. Bernard Ashmole compared drapery of figures on the St. Petersburg lebes (cat. no. 103) to those of the Demeter of Knidos and so-called Maussollos from Halikarnassos (fig. 6).²⁴ The painter also frequently adds color and gold for variety and compositional emphasis. Reevaluation of his oeuvre by Panos Valavanis, based in part on careful analysis of Panathenaic prize amphorae, suggests that he is the same as the Eleusinian Painter. Beazley considered the Eleusinian Painter “connected with the Marsyas Painter,” but wrote that “his work is laboured and weak—all the difference.”²⁵ But Valavanis maintains that the master’s career lasted more than thirty years, from ca. 367/366 to 335 B.C., and this explains the changes in his style.²⁶

Painter of the Wedding Procession

The original added colors are extremely well preserved on the principal side of an extraordinary

pelike now in Malibu (cat. no. 104), once attributed to the Marsyas Painter but now accepted as the work of the Painter of the Wedding Procession. Like the painters discussed above, he too painted and exported to Kerch elaborate lebetes gamikoi, and he also decorated Panathenaic prize amphorae.²⁷ One of the latter can be dated to 360/359 B.C., for it is inscribed as being made in the archonship of Kallimedes. No inscriptions, however, are needed to identify the figures on the Malibu pelike. In the center, seated on a rock and holding a massive shepherd’s staff, is the Trojan prince Paris. He wears a Phrygian cap, a tunic with long sleeves, leggings, and a cloak. Raised decoration throughout his brightly colored garments was originally gilded. To his proper right stands Hera, painted white, holding her scepter in her right hand and raising her mantle with her left. Beyond her, without added color, stands Hermes. Opposite them stands Athena, identified by an olive branch, a white shield with a Macedonian star, and a Corinthian helmet with a blue and red crest. She wears a green peplos. Aphrodite, in red-figure, is fully draped (not unlike the figure on the Marsyas Painter’s lebes) and is identified by the small white Eros at her feet. The reverse side, drawn more cursorily, but still with added white, depicts an Amazonomachy.²⁸

This vase presents two themes popular on Kerch-style vases: love scenes (the Judgment of Paris) and oriental themes (the Amazonomachy). If we were inclined to look for deeper meaning, we might postulate some more complex message about the proper roles of behavior for women—or ways to obtain brides—but given the prevalence of such scenes on Kerch-style vases, this seems far-fetched, for both themes were popular motifs in the fourth century.²⁹ Rather, it is tempting to see the Judgment of Paris as a punning reference to the Parisades who ruled Pantikapaion for most of the second half of the fourth century, although the scene appears in earlier works imported to the region, such as the exquisite fragmentary incised ivory plaques from Kul Oba, arguably the finest graphic work to survive from antiquity (fig. 7).³⁰ Although more accomplished than the vases we have been examining, the ivories are likely Athenian imports and share many traits of

style and technique: the combination of profile, three-quarter, and frontal viewpoints of elegantly twisted figures; elaborate—and transparent—drapery with exuberant S- and omega-folds; and the application of polychromy (now largely lost).

One of the latest datable Kerch vases, a hydria recovered from Alexandria, founded by Alexander in 331 B.C., likewise depicts the Judgment of Paris (fig. 8).³¹ Its shape is considerably more elongated than late fifth-century-B.C. examples, such as the hydriai decorated by the Meidias Painter, whose bodies are plumper, necks shorter, and lips smaller.³² Beazley did not attribute the vase, now in Munich, but Robertson associated it with the Marsyas and Eleusinian Painters. Schefold, in contrast, thought it to be a product of the workshop of the Painter of the Wedding Procession, and more recently Valavanis has attributed it to that painter himself, noting especially the stylistic and technical similarities in the rendering of Paris, of Hera's face, and of Athena's shield to their counterparts on the Malibu pelike.³³ Heavily polychromed and with extruded clay for the addition of gilding, including a laurel wreath on the neck, the Munich hydria also includes two women, one fully muffled female, and a small Pan in addition to the usual protagonists. One woman crowns Aphrodite, and Pan sets the scene on the slopes of Mount Ida, while the muffled woman, who attends Hera, seems to be a stock Kerch-style figure. For Boardman, this elaborate hydria "seems to represent the exhaustion of a style and technique which, but a few years before, had seen some revival of pride in draughtsmanship and restraint in decoration."³⁴ But whether we today consider this vessel, or any of the Kerch-style vases, pleasing, or dismiss them as gaudy objects produced for ostentatious foreigners, is a matter of personal taste and is hardly relevant to the aesthetics of the ancient peoples who produced and bought them, or the roles they played in antiquity. As we have seen, the painters of these vases not only mastered the depiction of complex figures moving convincingly in three-dimensional space, and added profuse polychromy to the more austere traditions of red-figure, but they also seem to have specialized in themes that appealed particularly to their clients.³⁵



Figure 7. Ivory plaque from Kul Oba. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum KO-116. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum.



Figure 8. The Judgment of Paris. Detail of front panel of red-figured hydria from Alexandria. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2439.

The conquests of Alexander brought new wealth to the Greek world. As a consequence repoussé metal vessels and molded terracotta imitations became more fashionable than painted vases, however ornate. The Painter of the Wedding Procession, however, adapted to circumstances and produced fine relief ware as well as polychromatic red-figured vases and black-figured Panathenaic prize amphorae. His hydria depicting the struggle between Athena and Poseidon for patronage of Athens (cat. no. 105), like the earlier squat lekythos of Xenophantos (cat. no. 37) depicting Persian nobles hunting, was deposited in a tomb in Kerch, and it combines a number of elements we have seen on earlier Kerch-style vases: a complex composition, dynamic poses, and

rich polychromy and gilding. Xenophantos's vase was certainly made for foreign clients, but it is hard to guess just what those who acquired this particularly Athenian motif, modeled on the west pediment of the Parthenon, made of it. And while it is, in a sense, a culmination, it also effectively signals the end of fine Attic painted pottery.

NOTES

- 1 The term *Kerch vases* was coined by Furtwängler 1883–1887, pls. 66, 68. Schefold 1930 and 1934 remain essential. See also Bohác 1958; Boardman 1989, 190–94, figs. 372–428; Valavanis 1991; Robertson 1992, 280–91; and the essays in Sabattini 2000. I have been unable to consult D. Braunová, *Antické vázy z Kerče* (1981); A. Lebel, “The Marsyas Painter and Some of His Contemporaries,” D.Phil. diss., Oxford, 1989; or I. I. Vdovichenko, “New Vases of Kerch Style from the Museum's Collection in Crimea” (in Russian), *Rossijskaja Archeologija* 3 (2001), 67–76. Most material from early excavations in the Crimea is now in the Hermitage. For an overview, see, e.g., Barkova and Kalasnik 1997, esp. 138–54; and Suslov 1994, 292–331. More recent finds are housed in the Kerch Museum. For the history of Greek settlement in the area and relations with Athens, see, e.g., Minns 1913; Bouzek 1989, 1990, 1994; Tsetskhladze 1994; and Fless 2002. See Lawton 1995, 98–99, no. 35, pl. 18, for the oversized inscription recording the Athenian decree of 347/346 B.C. honoring the Bosporan kings (*Inscriptiones Graecae* II² 212 = Athens, NM 1471). For coins from Pantikapaion, see, e.g., Franke and Hirmer 1964, pls. 142 and xv.
- 2 Schefold 1934, 154–56; Beazley 1939; Olmos 1984; Bouzek 1994; Drogou 1999; Sabattini 2000; Fless 2002.
- 3 Valavanis 1991; see also Robertson 1992, 281–91; idem 2000; Boardman 1989, 190; Richter/Hall, 214; Schefold 1934, 62–71. See also note 26 below.
- 4 Arias/Hirmer/Shefton, 382.
- 5 Robertson 1975, 436.
- 6 Arias/Hirmer/Shefton, 354–57; Robertson 1975, 242–70; idem 1992, 180–85, 210–16; Boardman 1989, 11–15.
- 7 Schefold 1930; idem 1934; *ARV*². See also Boardman 1989, 190–216, figs. 372–428; Valavanis 1991; Robertson 1992, 280–91.
- 8 British Museum GR 1865.0103.14, *BM Cat Vases* F 68; *ARV*² 1446.1, 1693; *Para* 492; *BAdd*² 378; *BAPD* Vase 218148.
- 9 Valavanis 1991, esp. 262–68.
- 10 Cf., e.g., Athens, Agora S 1882; Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3716; JPM 88.AA.76.
- 11 As Erika Simon (1997, 102) has noted, Xenophon (*Hellenika* 6.3.6) reports that Kallias mentioned the initiation of Herakles and the Dioskouroi by Triptolemos on his peace mission to Sparta in 371 B.C. Rainer Vollkommer (1988, 42), meanwhile, has identified six other fourth-century representations of the scene, all of them Attic, one from Kerch, and observes that gold plaques representing Herakles, Demeter, and Persephone were placed in Scythian tombs; see, e.g., Barkova and Kalasnik 1997, 196–97, nos. 93–95.
- 12 Munich, Antikensammlungen 2398: *ARV*² 1446.3; *Para* 492; *BAPD* Vase 218150. See also Hemelrijk 1991, esp. 79, 81.
- 13 Brussels A 1703: Valavanis 1991, pls. 76, 77; from Eretria: *ibid.*, nos. K2, K4, K5, pls. 22–23, 26–29; and JPM

- 79.AE.147: Valavanis 1991, pls. 85–87.
- 14 Fless 2002, 84–95, pls. 58–65.
- 15 St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum St 1795, Kek. 8: *ARV*² 1475.3, 1704; *BAdd*² 381; *BAPD* Vase 230421.
- 16 Apollo Kitharoidos: Vatican, Museo Pio Clementino, Sala delle Muse no. 516; cf. a Greek votive relief of ca. 380 B.C., Sparta Museum 468: Boardman 1995, fig. 140. Barbarini Faun: Munich, Glyptothek 218; Stewart 1990, 676; R. R. R. Smith 1991, fig. 168. Apollo Lykeios: Boardman 1995, fig. 65; cf. the utilization of this type on the grave stele of Charitimos of Rhodes: R. R. R. Smith 1991, fig. 219. The gesture is also employed by Paris on a fragmentary ivory plaque from Kul Oba, see note 30 below and fig. 7 here.
- 17 *ARV*² 1474–75.
- 18 British Museum GR 1862.0530.1, *BM Cat Vases* E 424: *ARV*² 1475.4, 1695; *BAdd*² 381; *BAPD* Vase 230422.
- 19 For the Crouching Aphrodite commonly, but wrongly, attributed to the sculptor Doidalsas based on a garbled passage in Pliny's *Natural History*, see, e.g., Stewart 1990, 214, pls. 719–20; R. R. R. Smith 1991, 80–81, fig. 102; Lullies 1954. For close parallels on gems and rings, see Boardman 1970, pls. 638, 725.
- 20 Vatican 1015: Stewart 1990, pl. 573; Boardman 1995, fig. 64.
- 21 Quoted in Arias/Hirmer/Shefton, 384.
- 22 Ginouvès 1994, 150, 154–61, figs. 131, 135–37; Richter 1966, esp. 19–23, fig. 73; Stewart 1990, pl. 584; Zhivkova 1975, esp. pl. 20. For turned ivory legs from ancient Nysa, see Curtis 1996, 235, pls. 79c–d, 80a.
- 23 Such variations on a single theme recall the mid-fourth-century-B.C. “Mourning Women” sarcophagus from the royal necropolis at Sidon, now in Istanbul. Istanbul 368: Stewart 1990, pl. 539; Boardman 1995, fig. 227. See also previous note for other kinds of ancient furniture.
- 24 Ashmole 1977, 14–15, 16–17.
- 25 *ARV*² 1476.
- 26 Valavanis 1991, 268–86, esp. 282–86; see also Robertson 2000, who believes that the fact that the Marsyas Painter's “two panathenaics from Eretria with the name of Kallimedes (archon in 360/359 B.C.) show that the [Kerch] style had reached a mature phase ten years earlier than we had supposed . . . and there is therefore no longer any reason to imagine it continued far into the second half of the [fourth] century.”
- 27 Name vase: St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum KAB 81A: *BAPD* Vase 46587; Valavanis 1991, pl. 146. Panathenaics and other vases: Valavanis 1991, esp. 292–312.
- 28 See Schefold 1985, 121, fig. 2.
- 29 Schefold 1934, 153; cf. the following note.
- 30 Hermitage K-O 116: Minns 1913, 204A–B, figs. 100–101; Boardman et al. 1967, fig. 176; Piotrovsky, Suslov, and Piotrovsky 1994, 235, fig. 310.
- 31 Munich, Antikensammlungen 2439: *BAPD* Vase 171; Simon/Hirmer, pl. 240; Boardman 1989, 194, fig. 428; Robertson 1992, fig. 290.
- 32 E.g., London, British Museum GR 1772.3–20.30, *BM Cat Vases* E 224; *ARV*² 1312.5, 1690; *BAdd*² 361; *BAPD* Vase 220497; Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 81947: *ARV*² 1312.2; *BAdd*² 361; *BAPD* Vase 220494.
- 33 Schefold 1934, 134; Robertson 1992, 287; Valavanis 1991, 300.
- 34 Boardman 1989, 194.
- 35 See Schefold 1934, 146–51; Fless 2002.

100

RED-FIGURED SQUAT LEKYTHOS

Unattributed, ca. 400–375 B.C.

H 14.2 cm

Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen
zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz

V.I. 3406

From Greece; acquired from Triantaphyllos
1898

Centauromachy

CONDITION: Assembled from fragments with missing areas restored in plaster, esp. parts of woman and Lapith at left, and most of Lapith at right; handle missing; loss of added colors: blue on wings of Eros and Lapith's sword, white on animal-skin cloak of centaur, color (pale blue and/or white?) on reserved parts of woman's drapery; losses of gilding on hydria, jewelry, and perhaps other added-clay elements, such as wreaths and fillets.

THIS SMALL ROUNDED OIL VESSEL with a tall neck and a broad flaring mouth exemplifies the transition to early Kerch style. Its centralized red-figure vase-painting recasts in a romantic fourth-century vein the classic story of the battle of the Lapith Greeks and the centaurs, which began at the wedding feast of Peirithoös, when drunken centaurs tried to rape the bride and other wedding guests. The focal point of this squat lekythos's composition is a seemingly traditional rape group of a centaur and a woman. At the left, a Lapith rushes to the rescue, wielding improvised weapons—a rock and, probably, a lampstand (bottom missing)—while a distressed female figure throws up her arm in shock and fear. Here, however, the offending centaur is youthful and handsome rather than bearded and snub-nosed (cf. cat. nos. 1, 4, 6). He and the beautiful young Greek woman



100.1



100.2

in his arms have matching classical profiles, and they gaze adoringly into each other's eyes. The young god of love, Eros, flies off to the right, looking back at the couple. The toppled hydria below him is a typical element of fights at the feast, and, at the right, a Lapith attempts to stab a struggling centaur in a brutal fight group (fig. 100.2).

Growing out of the elaborate Meidian aesthetic (cf. cat. no. 35) of the late fifth century, this lekythos's red-figure is technically florid in a manner designed to appeal to fourth-century taste. Much use is made of added clay for elements that were originally colored, such as Eros's blue wings, or gilded, such as the hydria and probably the hearts of the ornamental palmettes. A quite remarkable feature is the three-dimensional modeling of the heroine's breasts in added clay. This small detail presages the fourth-century Athenian pottery fashion of rendering a vase's central figures in clay relief (cf. cat. no. 105). As is characteristic of later red-figure, here much use is made of added white, not only for the central female herself, but also for the horse part of the handsome centaur and for the body of the flying Eros. In Kerch-style fashion, the dress *covering* the buxom female is entirely transparent, revealing her white flesh as if she were nude; however, the swirling skirt around her legs and her trailing mantle, which are reserved against the black ground, were originally enhanced with a different added color. Interestingly, this little vase already displays the proclivity of Kerch-style vase-painters for focusing their principal effort toward the center of the composition: Here are grouped the major white, colored, gilded, and relief elements, while the edges of the scene, which recede in technical emphasis, exhibit more traditional reserved red-figure forms.

REFERENCES: Ducati 1906a; Hahland 1931, 5, 48–49; Neugebauer 1932, 133, inv. 3406; Schefold 1934, 140, under no. 2.

Preserved fifth-century monuments that depict the Centauro-machy at the wedding feast include south metopes of the Parthenon: Boardman 1985a, figs. 91.1–11, and the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia: Boardman 1985a, figs. 19, 21.2–8, esp. 21.4. There was also a famous now-lost Early Classical wall-painting in the Theseion in Athens (Pausanias 1.17.1).

RED-FIGURED HYDRIA

Attributed to the Herakles Painter,
ca. 370 B.C.

H 30.8 cm

Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire
R 286

From Capua; gift 1874; formerly Musée de
Ravestein; collection of Prince Napoleon

Anodos of a goddess (Aphrodite or Persephone)

CONDITION: Excellent; intact; some chips,
scratches and abrasion of black gloss; surface
cracked around base of rear handle; traces of
grayish-white incrustation on upper front of vase
body; white on female head pitted; surface chip
missing from her sphendone.

THE GIGANTIC HEAD OF A GODDESS rises from the earth at the center front of this magnificent Kerch-style hydria. Her startling epiphany is accompanied by a graceful pair of flying Erotes and flanked by two balding satyrs. These satyrs have been using axes to pound the earth in an anticipatory ritual; now, drawing back in wonder, they seem to step out of the vase-painting as their feet overlap the egg pattern of the lower ornamental border. In Classical imagery, *anodoi* (risings) of several female characters, including Aphrodite, Persephone, and Pandora, are represented. The goddess depicted on this hydria has generally been called Aphrodite because of the Erotes hovering nearby (cf. cat. no. 89). Among the scholars who prefer to see her as Persephone, Karl Schefold (1981) has argued that such satyrs normally belong to the iconography of the return of Demeter's daughter from the Underworld.

This hydria's male figures and its stately ornament, including the palmettes at the side and back

handles, are rendered with standard red-figure reserve against the glossy black ground. In contrast, the monumental head of the goddess, which is about 8.5 cm high, is painted white. Inner details are delineated directly upon this bright chalky white in golden-brown dilute gloss. Thus the features of the goddess's face, including her straight Classical nose, are drawn in three-quarter view by means of simple dilute outlines. Dots of dilute describe the delicate diamond pattern of the white sphendone that envelops her hair. The corkscrew curls that fall beside her cheeks are drawn in dilute gloss on the white, while the mass of curly locks at the back of her head is painted with rapid strokes of black gloss on reserved areas.

This hydria's astonishing use of white grows out of the later fifth-century red-figure fashion for distinguishing female flesh that enjoyed continued popularity in the fourth (cf. cat. nos. 34, 100, 103). Its special technical focus on the center front and relegation of traditional red-figure to the periphery is typical of the Kerch style. Schefold attributed this pot to his Herakles Painter, a relatively early and careful Kerch-style master, whose name vase—a pelike in Berlin—depicts the Greek hero.

REFERENCES: ARV² 1472.4; BAdd² 381; BAPD Vase 230395; CVA Brussels 2 [Belgium 2] 2, pl. 2.4a–c; Fröhner 1867, no. 4, 24–35, pl. 6; Fröhner 1868, 64–65, no. 94; Meester de Ravestein 1871, 152–54, no. 194; Fröhner 1873, 68–69, 72, 74, pl. 21; Fröhner 1884, 214–15; Robert 1886, 198, no. B, 199–200, pl. 5b (cited as in Paris); Robert 1914, 21–22 (cited as in Paris); Ducati 1916, 310; J. E. Harrison 1922, 639, fig. 173; Guarducci 1930, col. 11, no. 4, cols. 12, 35; Schefold 1934, pl. 18, no. 146, 83, 86, no. 17, 138, 158, pl. 1.1; Nilsson 1935, 134, no. 11; Metzger 1951, 76, no. 18, 77, pl. 4.2; Buschor 1969, 254–55, fig. 260; Bérard 1974, 67, 70, 171, pl. 7, fig. 25; Schefold 1981, 72, fig. 88; LIMC II (1984) s.v. Aphrodite, 114, no. 1166, pl. 116. Aphrodite 1163 (A. Delivorias); Boardman 1989, 191, fig. 377.

For the Herakles Painter's name vase, Berlin, Antikensammlung F 2626, see ARV² 1472.1; BAdd² 381; BAPD Vase 230392.



BELL-KRATER

Attributed to the Pourtalès Painter,
ca. 370 B.C.

H (restored) 35.3 cm; Diam 35.1 cm

Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen
zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz 31094

Purchased 1928; formerly Giovanni

Carafa collection, Naples; Champenowne
collection, London; known since 1737 when
in the possession of Matteo Egizio, Naples

*A, Herakles carrying a bearded man with a
cornucopia*

B, three draped youths

CONDITION: Good. Reassembled from fragments; paired drill holes, now filled, from an early modern restoration; original foot and lower stem lost; re-restored at the Getty Museum in 2005; breaks inpainted; head and shoulders of satyr on side A severely abraded; modern overpainting there removed by Getty conservators in 2005, revealing traces of beard, depicted in early engravings, but obscured in published photographs; surface flakes lost from satyr's chest and abdomen and from left knee and ankle of the woman opposite; added white of her bracelets lost, leaving ghosts; added white and added red crackled; parallel streaks of red misfiring around the lower body due to thinly applied black gloss.

HERAKLES, BEARDLESS and with his trademark lion skin tied around his waist, carries an old man across a body of water. The man's curly hair and beard are rendered in added white, with yellow highlights, as is the large cornucopia he carries. This technique is typical of Kerch-style vases. The man wears a himation around his waist, leaving his upper torso bare, and he rides the young hero as if playing the children's game *ephedrismos* (piggyback). Hermes leads them, carrying his *kerykeion* with white dots, in his right hand. He wears a white petasos, and his head, in profile view, is turned back toward the protagonists. His chlamys frames a muscular torso. On a calyx-krater now in Kyoto the Pourtalès Painter depicted Dionysos in the identical pose, which recalls figures on the Parthenon.

The three central figures are framed by a bearded twisting satyr wearing a spotted animal skin and a white wreath, and by a woman in a peplos (with white shoulder pins) seated on a rock behind a cursory V-shaped object, perhaps representing a cave. She, too, is wreathed, wears white earrings and bracelets, and holds a staff. Her torso is depicted in three-quarter view, facing left, but she turns back toward the center, her face in profile.

Both Hermes and the satyr have their feet planted on the ground, but Herakles' legs are cut off at the ankles, as if his feet are submerged in water, which is depicted by waves and by five fish scattered across the bottom of the scene. These are rendered in a distinctive technique: Originally drawn in black gloss outline over the clay ground, they were covered with a thick, solid (now crackled) layer of added red resembling that used a century and a half earlier on a bilingual eye-cup attributed to Oltos (cat. no. 4). Surface details were then painted in added white and a shiny vitreous dilute yellow (fig. 102.2). This technique is anomalous, but it is similar to that employed for the cornucopia carried by the old man (although the red layer of the cornucopia is considerably thinner) and to depictions of metallic, or golden, surfaces on other vases, and thus appropriate for the shiny scales of fish.

Although the scene depicted here has iconographic parallels, it is not recorded in any surviving literary source and thus remains the subject of scholarly debate. In 1737 Gori saw Herakles transporting the spirit of a hero across the ocean to Elysium. Passeri (1770) thought the vase represented the apotheosis of Bacchus, while Christie (1806 and 1825) recognized Aeneas carrying Anchises. Welcker (1851), followed by many scholars, argued that Herakles carries Plouton (Hades) out of the Underworld. Others have mistakenly confused Plouton with Ploutos (Wealth) due to the cornucopia. Van Straten (1974) suggested that the old man is Palaimon, a sea god who came to the aid of and was patron of the Isthmian games. He was born Melikertes, the son of Ino, but when his mother was driven mad and leapt into the sea with him in her arms, both were



transformed by Poseidon. Often depicted as a boy, he also has a chthonic aspect and appears in Attic art as a bearded man with a cornucopia. On other fourth-century Attic kraters and cups he appears with Herakles and satyrs and, occasionally, with Athena. These scenes may refer to the introduction of his cult to Attika. If the maiden on the left is not Ino, she may be a maenad who, with the satyr, alludes to the Dionysian function of the vessel.

An elongated red-figure laurel wreath encircles the vessel beneath the lip, and a meander interrupted by checkerboard squares runs continuously below both figural scenes and the stacked palmettes beneath the handles. Dotted tongues mark the handle-roots. A new foot and taller stem, added to the krater by Getty conservators in 2005 on the model of a better-preserved krater by the same painter in the British Museum (F 68, see Lapatin, chap. 9, fig. 1), give the vessel a more elegant and refined profile.

KENNETH LAPATIN



102.2

REFERENCES: *ARV*² 1446.2, 1693; *BAPD* Vase 218149; Gori 1737, xxxvii, 298, pl. 159; Passeri 1770, 7–8, pl. 104; Daniele 1778, 8, pl. 35; Christie 1806, 83, pl. 15; Christie 1825, 94–95, pl. 15; F. G. Welcker 1851, 303–309, pl. 19.1; Preller 1855, 24, 27, pl. II.2; Furtwängler 1886–1890, 2186–87; Reinach 1922, 340; Sotheby, Wilkinson, & Hodge, sale, London, 27–28 April 1922, 17, lot 150; Neugebauer 1932, 131, pl. 69; Brommer 1937, 45, no. 64; van Hoorn 1942, 8, fig. 17; Metzger 1944–1945, 320, fig. 9; Metzger 1951, 196, pl. 27.1; Schauenburg 1953, 44, no. 11, 50, 55; Brommer 1959, 73, no. 88; Brommer 1973, 191, B10; van Straten 1974, 170–72, fig. 24; Brommer 1984, 104; *LIMC* iv (1988) 179–80, no. 3496, s.v. Herakles (J. Boardman), and 380, no. 71, s.v. Hades (R. Lindner et al.); Vollkommer 1988, 43–45, no. 289; Boardman 1989, 190–91 and fig. 373; Hemelrijk 1991, 86, fig. 6; Valavanis 1991, 263, pl. 96a, b; *LIMC* vi (1992) 442, no. 52, s.v. Melikertes (E. Vikela and R. Vollkommer); Bemmman 1994, 309, no. A16, fig. 11; *LIMC* vii (1994) 419, s.v. Ploutos (K. Clinton); Paul-Zinserling 1994, 24–25, pl. 1.3; Vikela 1994, 119–20; *LIMC* viii (1997) 1111, no. 12, s.v. Silenoi (E. Simon).

For *ephedrismos*, see Neils and Oakley 2003, 275–76. The krater in Kyoto is *BAPD* Vase 7228. For Hermes' pose, see Parthenon south metope 27, north metope 28, north frieze 65; Boardman 1985a, figs. 91.6, 87.28, 96.11. For parallels to the technique employed on the fish, see Wehgartner 2002, esp. 91. For the standard depiction of three stock figures of draped youths on the reverse, see, e.g., Hemelrijk 1991, 86, fig. 6. Dr. Angelika Schöne-Denkinger kindly supplied references for this vase from her forthcoming CVA.



RED-FIGURED LEBES GAMIKOS

Attributed to the Marsyas Painter,

ca. 360 B.C.

H 45.8 cm

St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum

P 1906.175

From Kerch 1906; acquired 1910

Women bringing gifts to a new bride (epaulia)

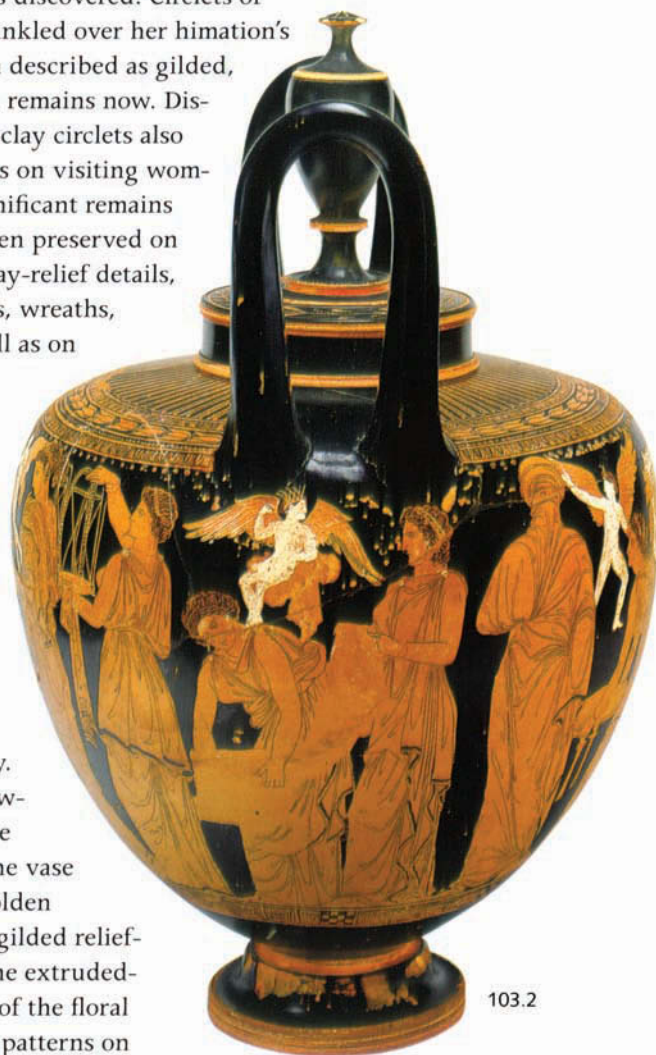
CONDITION: Assembled from fragments with minor losses, e.g., on shoulder of side B; abraded cracks along joins run through most figures; surface pitted; erosion on lower body and foot; much gilding flaked from extruded clay details; colors painted on top of reserved forms lost, including on bride's garment, gift to left of bride, and box and roll beneath A/B handle; losses in white color on flesh of Erotes and bride and on her throne, a chest, and other gifts; anatomical features painted on top of white flesh lost; clay chipped on lid and knob.

THIS EXQUISITE STANDLESS lebes gamikos—a lidded vase probably used for nuptial bathwater or food—is lavishly decorated all the way around. It may well be the finest preserved Athenian wedding vase. Attributed to the last great Attic vase-painter, known as the Marsyas Painter after the satyr Marsyas shown in his hubristic musical contest with the god Apollo on a pelike in St. Petersburg (Lapatin, chap. 9, fig. 2), this Kerch-style lebes elevates the post-nuptial ritual of the *epaulia* from daily life to a divine realm. On the morning after an Athenian wedding, women bearing impressive gifts would visit the bride in her new home. Here this festive domestic occasion will be enlivened with a recitation by the young woman holding a scroll, who stands under the B root of the A/B handle (fig. 103.2), and perhaps with a dance by the adjacent woman completely wrapped in her mantle. A flock of svelte Erotes—emphasized by white flesh and the once entirely gilded extruded-clay feathers of their graceful wings—have crashed the party. The bride, who is also distinguished by white flesh, is flanked by two of these Erotes: One crowns her while the other peers over her chair's back. Enthroned at

the center front of the vase, she recalls contemporary images of Aphrodite (cf. cat. no. 89). A tiny Eros held in the crook of her arm, who reaches out with chubby hands like a human baby, alludes to the bride's essential social role of childbearing.

Visualized almost exclusively with fugitive special techniques, the bride's form is now a mere ghost. Her painted facial features have vanished, and, although she is frequently described as bare breasted, a fine garment may have been indicated with lines of dilute or even added in color upon her upper body. The color painted over the now-reserved himation that envelops the bride and veils her wreathed head has disappeared entirely; traces of green were said to be on this garment when the vase was discovered. Circlets of extruded clay sprinkled over her himation's surface were often described as gilded, though no gilding remains now. Distinctive extruded-clay circlets also describe dress pins on visiting women's garments; significant remains of gilding have been preserved on these and other clay-relief details, such as headbands, wreaths, and jewelry as well as on the Erotes' wings.

The once entirely gilded offering basket (*kau-non*) held by the woman at the right is an extraordinary specimen of spatially illusionistic, assured drawing with extruded clay. Originally, the viewer's eye would have been led around the vase by its glittering golden details. This once-gilded relief-work extends to the extruded-clay dots and ribs of the floral ornament and egg patterns on the vessel's shoulder as well as the olive-branch around the lid's edge and



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a rosette or starburst atop its finial. This plastic finial, shaped like an amphora without handles, emphasizes the pot's central axis over the verticals of the tall black looped handles at the sides of the body.

The bride's resplendent attire must have outshone even the elaborately patterned garment of the gift-bearing woman to the immediate left. Yet the dress of the female visitors is described by superb calligraphy that expresses both the fall of cloth draped and wrapped around the body and the sculptural depth of its folds. Line drawing on top of reserve suggests three-dimensionality in the spaces beneath the vessel's handles. Under the B/A handle, the frontal face of a girl is drawn upon the large draped object she carries on her shoulder (fig. 103.3). This sort of drawing also characterizes the black-figured lebes gamikos carried by the woman before her. Under the opposite handle, a woman, with her face drawn in three-quarter view, bends over to set down a speaking platform for the scroll reader. The Marsyas Painter is particularly fond of depicting the female body in a three-quarter view from the back, and even the little girl presenting a lekanis to the bride is shown from this angle. Such complex spatiality pushes the fundamental bond between red-figure vase-painting and a vase's surface to its limit.

REFERENCES: *ARV*² 1475.1; *Para* 495; *BAdd*² 381; *BAPD* Vase 230419; Pharmakowsky 1907, 131–38, figs. 3–7; Luk'janov and Grinevich 1915, 37, no. 1, pls. 1–4; Schefold 1930, 8, 15, 16–18, 22, pls. 19–20; Schefold 1934, 30–32, no. 286, pls. 33–34; Rumpf 1953, 134–36, pl. 43.2; Kraiker 1958, 163, pl. 59; Arias/Hirmer/Shefton, pls. 225–28; Boardman et al. 1967, 455, pl. 268; Schneider-Herrmann 1969, 138, fig. 5, 140; Zinserling 1973, 50; Gorbunova and Saverkina 1975, no. 66; Simon/Hirmer, 21, 159–60, pls. 236–39; Ashmole 1977, 15, 17, pl. 6.1–3; Bažant 1981, pl. II.4; Schefold 1981, 201, fig. 275, 202, 203; Rühfel 1984b, 110–11, fig. 62; Reinsberg 1989, 67, figs. 22a–d; Valavanis 1991, 269, no. 1, 272, 278–79, pls. 102–105, 119g; Robertson 1992, 282–83; Boardman 1993, 145, fig. 140; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 40, 123–26, figs. 124–27; Zürich 1993, 168, no. 82, 169; Sgourou 1994, 176–77, 180–82, 298–99, no. R86, pl. 50; Suslov 1994, 304, no. 288, 305, left; Lissarrague 1996, 426, 431, fig. 127; Tiverios 1996, 200, fig. 183, 334–35; Barkova and Kalasnik 1997, 138–40, no. 50 (J. Kalasnik); Boardman 2001, 100, fig. 135, 102; Piotrovsky 2000, fig. on 170.

See Lapatin, chap. 9, and cat. no. 39 for dating the Marsyas Painter's red-figure work on the basis of black-figured Panathenaic amphorae by his hand and for Valavanis's (1991) proposed joining of the Marsyas and Eleusinian Painters.

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RED-FIGURED PELIKE

Attributed to the Painter of the Wedding Procession, ca. 360 B.C.

H 48.3 cm

Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AE.10

European art market; purchased 1983

A, *Judgment of Paris*

B, *Amazonomachy*

CONDITION: Excellent; body intact; neck and mouth assembled from fragments; black gloss flaked on A/B handle, on vase body and foot below the handle, and at left of scene on side B; much of gilding on extruded-clay elements missing; some flaking of added colors, especially on Hera's garment and on side B; white incrustation on bodies of Hera and Paris.

INSPIRED BY CONTEMPORARY free painting and sculpture, the Painter of the Wedding Procession flaunts his bravura mastery of several techniques in the monumental composition of statuesque, carefully posed figures on the obverse of this large storage jar, which depicts a suspenseful moment of the myth that led to the Trojan War. Here the Trojan prince Paris, while serving as a shepherd on Mt. Ida, judges the beauty of Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite, the three Olympian goddesses led to him by Hermes, who now looks on at the far left. Suggesting the remote, rural location, Paris wears oriental dress and is seated on a rock beside a spindly olive tree. He has not yet announced his decision in favor of Aphrodite and her promise of the beautiful Helen for a bride. Thus all eyes are upon Paris as his own gaze turns toward the far right where the goddess of love waits, entirely wrapped in her himation like a mantle-dancer at a wedding celebration (cf. cat. nos. 88, 103).

This impressive vase-painting enriches our knowledge of flamboyant Kerch style. Set against a traditional black ground, all of the central forms in the composition have been visualized through special techniques more than through red-figure reserve. Thus, for the youthful Paris, red-figure has been limited to his face and hands, while



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his Phrygian cap and rustic club as well as the olive tree, which were originally gilded, all have been delineated with lines and dots of extruded clay. This concentration of gilded clay relief continues on his tunic's borders and his belt. Paris's exotic attire is also brilliantly colored with

nonceramic pigments: Egyptian blue for the tunic, cinnabar red on the sleeves and trousers, and a mixture of red and white for the pink drapery falling across his lap. Moreover, the cloth of his garments is studded with raised clay dots that must once have glittered with gold.

This vase-painting required careful advance planning, for its mixed media necessitated dividing the execution into pre- and post-firing stages. While extruded clay and traditional black gloss with reserve were applied before firing, bright colors and gilding had to be applied afterward. In addition, the flesh of Hera and Athena and of the little Eros, who reaches for his mother, is painted with a white, similar to a white ground, which scientific testing has shown was fired onto the vessel, along with the linear black facial features of these figures. Hera's jewelry, dress pins, foliate crown, and scepter are all gilded relief; her dress was painted with a thick white pigment after fir-

ing. Athena's peplos, which has extruded-clay dots over its surface, is painted green with a malachite pigment. Extruded clay topped by gilding defines her jewelry and crested Corinthian helmet, her scaly aegis, and her spear. Athena's shield has a once-gilded Macedonian star device (cf. cat. no. 105) and an outer border with extruded clay dots. The deities in traditional red-figure at the sides of the composition are embellished with details in gilded raised clay: Hermes' *kerykeion* and hair fillet, and Aphrodite's wreath and earrings.

As is characteristic for Kerch-style pelikai, the painter of this vase has showered his attention on the obverse rather than the reverse, which here contains a pedestrian three-figure Amazonomachy with a bit of added white and gilded extruded clay. Yet the overall disposition of decoration beautifully enhances the vase's shape. Figures fan out over the broad, low-slung body unconfined by panels, and those at the sides illusionistically overlap the large palmette configurations in the spaces beneath the handles. Egg-and-dart patterns run all the way around the vase in borders both below the figures and on the pelike's overhanging lip, which is broader than its compound foot. On side A central ribs of once-gilded extruded clay enhance the eggs on the lip, and the upper picture border contains a running spiral highlighted with once-gilded extruded-clay dots. The fact that the upper border on A has not been aligned precisely with the stylized myrtle-wreath upper border on B is a sign that Attic red-figure vase-painting has now nearly run its course.

REFERENCES: *BAPD* Vase 13371; "Acquisitions/1983," *Getty-MusJ* 12 (1984) 241–42, no. 52; Schefold 1985; *JPGM Handbook* 1986, 51; Noble 1988, jacket, pl. 8, 141; Schefold and Jung 1989, 110, fig. 89; *JPGM Handbook* 1991, 50; Valavanis 1991, 292–95, 352, ill., pls. 140–41; Vallera-Rickerson and Korma 1992, 86, fig. 14; *LIMC* VII (1994) s.v. Paridis Iudicium, 181, 52a, pl. 118 (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); Sparkes 1996, 26, fig. 1.19; *JPGM Handbook* 1997, 52; *JPGM Antiquities Masterpieces*, 56; *JPGM Handbook* 2001, 14, 52–53; Clark, Elston, and Hart 2002, 95, fig. 91, 102, fig. 96; *JPGM Antiquities Handbook* 2002, 83; Scott and Taniguchi 2002; Spivey and Squire 2004, 108–109, fig. 182, 113.

For dating the Painter of the Wedding Procession's oeuvre on the basis of his black-figured Panathenaic amphorae, see Lapatin, chap. 9. See Maish, Svoboda, and Lansing-Maish, *Technical Studies*, about preserved evidence of a binder on this vase. For the Amazonomachy on side B, see Schefold 1985, 121, fig. 2.

RED-FIGURED RELIEF HYDRIA

Attributed to the Painter of the Wedding Procession, ca. 360–350 B.C.

H 51 cm

St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum
P 1872.130

From Kerch 1872; acquired 1872

Contest between Athena and Poseidon for the land of Attika

CONDITION: Ancient repair on lower back of body; missing back of left handle restored; fragments re-attached on edge of foot; black gloss on neck chipped; some relief decoration missing, including part of Dionysos's *thyrsos*, Athena's head, her right foot, part of her drapery, upper part of olive tree's trunk, part of snake, Poseidon's lower right arm save for the hand, his feet except for a right toe; parts of Athena's drapery and Poseidon's lower left arm re-attached; chip in surface of temple; most of gilding on relief elements lost; much loss of painted colors.

EVER SINCE THE 1872 DISCOVERY of this imposing Kerch-style hydria, its relief depiction of Athena and Poseidon vying for Attika has been recognized as a reflection of the lost central sculptures from the Parthenon's west pediment of the 430s B.C. Details of this monumental prototype from the Classical Athenian Akropolis were altered in the pot's compressed narrative composition, which includes the gifts created by the opposing deities: Athena's olive tree, here guarded by a snake, and Poseidon's salt-water spring with leaping dolphins. At the center, a partially draped Nike flies down to celebrate Athena's victory. On this tall-necked hydria—a principal fourth-century vase shape—an Athenian legend was transported far to the north, where the vessel was ultimately employed as an ash urn in a male burial at ancient Pantikapaion.

Beyond inspiration from Classical sculpture, the decline of red-figure itself prompted this remarkable clay pot's opulent combination of relief, colorful painting, and gilding. Attributed to the same master as the splendid Getty pelike (cat. no. 104), the Hermitage hydria goes even fur-

ther than the pelike in seeking naturalistic three-dimensional effects that recall fourth-century monumental painting as well as sculpture. Here the dynamic clay-relief bodies of the opposing deities, ca. 3 mm deep, were modeled freehand, while their heads were made in molds. Poseidon's preserved bearded head is ca. 1.2 cm deep. These figures' flesh and other relief details, such as Athena's shield with its Macedonian-star device, the snakes on her diagonal aegis, and the large snake on the tree, were painted mustard yellow over a white base coat. Athena's dress was green and pink with a mustard-yellow lower border. Poseidon's cloak is pink inside and white outside. Traces of gilding remain on extruded-clay details, including Nike's outspread wings, the olive tree, Athena's spear, Poseidon's trident, and the laurel wreath on the neck of the vase.

As is typical of Kerch style, the sides of the scene are technically less elaborate than the center. At the left, painted in red-figure, are Dionysos—a major deity in Athenian cult, who here supports Athena—and a half-nude female figure reclining above the pot's side handle, who has been variously identified (e.g., Aglauros, daughter of Kekrops; or the personification of Attika). Interestingly, Dionysos's *thyrsos*, which overlaps Athena in the central area, has a head modeled fully in relief. The black-spotted white panther accompanying the god was painted over a silhouette reserved in the black ground. Gilding extended to the edges of the composition for extruded clay-relief details such as the woman's jewelry, the god's ivy wreath, and the shaft of his *thyrsos*. Gold leaf also embellished raised clay dots in the palmette configuration on the vase's back, in the meander border below the figural decoration, and on projecting clay ribs of the egg-and-dart pattern around the vessel's mouth.

On the right side, Poseidon's rearing horse is painted white and has a once-gilded relief bit and breast band (fig. 105.2). Behind the horse, a painted woman with white flesh, who may be Amphitrite or Hera, raises her pink veil in a bridal gesture; she wears a diadem and jewelry rendered in once-gilded clay relief. A red-figure bearded male—perhaps the first Athenian king, Kekrops, or the king of the gods, Zeus—holding a





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once-gilded extruded-clay scepter and seated on a white rock of the Akropolis at the lower right, looks back toward the contest. Finally, from above the right handle, a hilltop temple overlooks the scene. It was painted in white over a reserved silhouette and is detailed with five extruded-clay columns and four akroteria. Given the timelessness characteristic of Classical art, this little temple may evoke the Parthenon.

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Glossary

A/B handle	handle that faces the viewer when the front (side A) of a vase is on the left and the back (side B) is on the right	chiton	a long linen dress, belted at the waist and often buttoned at the shoulders and arms to form sleeves, worn primarily, but not exclusively, by women	free painting	wall- or panel-painting: painting not confined to a vase
agora	gathering place; a marketplace and center of political life in an ancient Greek city	chlamys	short cloak fastened at the shoulder	Gigantomachy	battle of the gods and the giants
aegis	magical, protective capelike garment of goatskin fringed with snakes worn by Athena	Class	vases of the same shape, remarkably similar in potting but not necessarily decorated by a single vase-painter	Gorgon	one of three monstrous sisters with snakes for hair whose gaze turned men to stone
akropolis	literally, high city; term designating high place in a Greek city; in Athens, location of major sanctuary of Athena	coroplast	artisan who specializes in modeling clay and mold-made sculptural forms	greave	piece of armor for the lower leg
akroterion/a	ornament or sculpture placed on the apex and corners of a gabled building's roof	cul	separate curved bottom section of the body of a vase such as a calyx-krater or kantharos	Group	vases remarkably similar in style of decoration but not necessarily by a single vase-painter
Amazon	member of a mythical eastern race of female warriors	Dionysos	Greek god of wine	<i>halteres</i>	small jumping weights used by athletes
Amphitrite	wife of Poseidon, a Greek sea goddess	<i>diphros</i>	camp stool	Hephaistos	Greek god of fire, lame son of Zeus and Hera, who served as the smith of the gods
amphora	two-handled storage jar	Doric	Greek architectural order with columns that have plain cushion-like (echinus) capitals and fluted shafts with no bases, and with a frieze of alternating grooved and plain blocks (triglyphs and metopes)	Hera	wife of Zeus, queen of the Greek gods, goddess of women and marriage
anthemion	flat, decorative pattern of palmettes and lotuses			Herakles	important Greek hero; son of Zeus and the Theban princess Alkmene, known for his strength, who was awarded immortality after completing his labors
Aphrodite	Greek goddess of love and fertility			Hermes	Greek messenger god who protected travelers and led the souls of the deceased to the Underworld
apotropaic	intended to ward off evil	engobe	clay slip applied to the surface of a vase	hetaira/ai	literally, female companion: a female prostitute
Apollo	youthful Greek god of music and poetry, associated with harmonious order, oracular sanctuaries at Delphi and on Delos, and the laurel tree	Eos	Greek goddess who personifies dawn	himation	a rectangular cloth mantle wrapped around the body and draped over the left shoulder worn by both men and women
Athena	virgin Greek goddess of warfare, wisdom, and artisanal crafts; patron deity of Athens	<i>epaulia</i>	celebration on the day after a wedding during which a bride receives gifts in her new home	hydria	vase with three handles, one at each side and one at the back, designed as a water jar and sometimes employed in burials
aulos	Greek woodwind musical instrument: the double pipes	Eros	son of Aphrodite, winged Greek god of love, who is normally shown as a youth or a boy in Archaic and Classical Greek art	incised	lines engraved into a vase's surface; a standard feature of black-figure technique
B/A handle	handle that faces the viewer when the back (side B) of a vase is on the left and the front (side A) is on the right	Erotes	winged Greek gods of love; multiplications of Eros, sometimes specifically named as his companions Himeros (Desire) and Pothos (Longing)	janiform	with a face looking in an opposite direction on each side
barbiton	stringed instrument, a form of lyre with long arms, that originated in East Greece	exergue	space between the ground-line and the lower perimeter of a tondo composition		
centaur	mythical creature, part horse and part man				

<i>kale</i>	female form of <i>kalos</i> , which often refers to hetairai in vase inscriptions	Muse	one of the sister goddesses, led by Apollo, who controlled the arts and sciences and were sources of inspiration; thought to be daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne (Memory)	satyr	mythical male follower of Dionysos; part man and part horse; also called a silene (silenos)
<i>kalos</i>	beautiful; often inscribed on vases in a homoerotic context to praise a particular youth or boy			side A/side B	like obverse and reverse, terms that refer to the front and back sides of a vase
<i>kantharos/oi</i>	two-handled wine cup, often employed by Dionysos and Herakles in Greek art	nebris	fawn skin, often worn as a garment by figures associated with nature	silenos	satyr of advanced age, often called Papposilenos; an alternate name for satyr
<i>keras/ai</i>	an animal's horn employed as a drinking cup or as a trumpet	Nike	winged Greek goddess who personifies victory; associated with Athena	sphendone	woman's headband that tapers toward the ends and is tied at the back of the head
<i>kerykeion</i>	herald's staff topped by intertwined snakes; carried by the Greek messenger deities Hermes and Iris	obverse oinochoe/ai panel	front (side A) of a vase wine pitcher rectangular space demarcated as a field for vase-painting on a pot	<i>splanchnopt</i>	a male who offers a spit containing the viscera of a sacrificed animal in the fire on an altar
<i>kibisis</i>	pouch employed for carrying things by a traveler	Pegasos	winged horse born from the neck of the decapitated Gorgon Medusa	stacking circle	shadow on a vase's gloss-covered surface resulting from inadvertent protection during firing through contact with another vessel within which the vase was stacked in the kiln
<i>kithara</i>	elaborate Greek stringed instrument with a wooden soundbox, often played by Apollo	pelta/ae	crescent-shaped shield carried by a light-armed warrior, who is thereby known as a peltast	stoichedon	refers to an inscription in which the letters of words on different lines are arranged in a grid
<i>Knielauf</i>	"knee-run," a German term for the stylized, pinwheel-like running pose employed in Archaic Greek art	peplos/oi	sleeveless woolen garment worn by a woman formed by a rectangular cloth folded to the proper length, wrapped around the body, and pinned at the shoulders	strigil	curved metal scraping instrument used by athletes to remove oil infused with sweat and dirt from the body after exercise or competition
<i>komos/oi</i>	revel			symposium	drinking party for upper- and middle-class Greek males
<i>kore/ai</i>	maiden; a term now applied to an Archaic Greek draped statue of a young woman	Poseidon <i>prothesis</i>	Greek god of the sea laying out of the deceased on a <i>kline</i> (couch) in the home for ritual mourning	syrinx	rustic wind instrument composed of reeds graduated in length that are bound together
<i>krobylos</i>	ponytail-like hanging mass of hair at the back of the head that is normally drawn up under a band	petasos/oi	wide-brimmed traveler's hat often worn by Hermes	thiasos	entourage of Dionysos chiefly composed of satyrs and maenads
<i>krotala</i> (pl.)	castanets, often associated with the realm of Dionysos and played by maenads			<i>thyrsos</i>	staff topped with ivy or a pinecone; an attribute of Dionysos and his followers, especially maenads
<i>kylix/kylikes</i>	cup	quadriga	two-wheeled chariot drawn by four horses	tondo	central circular field on the interior of a cup or plate that is generally decorated
<i>lekanis</i>	shallow dish, usually with a lid, employed by women for toiletries and other items, associated with wedding ritual and commonly depicted on wedding vases	reserved	an area of a vase left in the color of clay, i.e., not covered with slip during decoration	tripod	three-legged stand, sometimes topped by a cauldron, often awarded as a prize in a contest; associated with Apollo's oracle at Delphi
<i>lekythos/oi</i>	slender, bottlelike vase for oil with a single handle attached to its long, narrow neck	retrograde	refers to an inscription written backwards with each letter reversed		three-pronged spear carried by Poseidon
<i>lyre</i>	Greek stringed instrument with a tortoise-shell soundbox	reverse root marks	back (side B) of a vase marks made by roots of plants on the surface of a buried object	Zeus	king of the Greek gods; a weather god associated with thunder and lightning
<i>maenad</i>	female follower of Dionysos; often referred to as a nymph in myth and associated with some aspect of nature	rotella/ae	rounded projections that flank the upper or lower ends of vases' handles		
<i>miltos</i>	red ocher applied to a vase during decoration before firing to enhance the color of the clay	<i>sakkos</i>	sacklike cloth covering for a woman's hair		
		saltire square	term derived from heraldry used to denote a square containing a diagonal cross employed in an ornamental pattern on vases		

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Athens, Agora Museum—cat. no. 10 [not in
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Athens, National Archaeological Museum—
cat. no. 40 [not in exhibition]
Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung
Ludwig—cat. nos. 3, 8, 25, 27, 43, 52
Berlin, Antikensammlung—cat. nos. 14, 19,
20, 42, 47, 63, 66, 68, 69, 80, 89, 100, 102
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts—cat. nos. 2, 31,
44, 49, 64, 75, 87, 91, 96
Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique—
cat. nos. 70, 83
Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire—
cat. nos. 94, 95, 101
Copenhagen, National Museum—cat. nos. 16,
41
Kansas City, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art—
cat. no. 33
Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum—
cat. nos. 22, 24, 26, 54
London, The British Museum—cat. nos. 5, 6,
32, 35, 38, 48, 50, 57, 60, 70, 76, 77, 90,
92, 93, 97, 98, 99
Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional—
cat. no. 1
Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum—cat. nos. 4,
9, 11, 12, 13, 21, 28, 29, 30, 34, 36, 39,
45, 46, 58, 81, 82, 104
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art—
cat. nos. 23, 55, 56, 61, 62, 65, 72, 73, 78
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum—cat. no. 74
Paris, Musée du Louvre—cat. nos. 15, 18, 51,
53, 79, 88
Paris, Musée du Petit Palais—cat. nos. 71, 86
St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum—
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Vatican City, Vatican Museums—cat. no. 67

CATALOGUE ENTRIES PERTINENT FOR MULTIPLE TECHNIQUES

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Chapter 2 *Coral-Red Gloss*, see also cat.
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Abbreviations for References

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>	BerlWPr	Berliner Winckelmanns-programm	MonPiot	<i>Monuments et mémoires. Fondation E. Piot</i>
ABV	J. D. Beazley. 1956. <i>Attic Black-figure Vase-Painters</i> . Oxford.	BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i> , University of London.	ÖJh	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>	BM Cat Vases	<i>Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum</i>	OPA	<i>Occasional Papers on Antiquities</i>
AM	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i>	BMFA	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts</i> , Boston	Para	J. D. Beazley. 1971. <i>Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-figure Vase-Painters and to Attic Red-figure Vase-Painters</i> . Oxford.
AM-BH	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung. Beiheft</i>	BMMA	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i> , New York	RA	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
AncW	<i>The Ancient World</i>	BSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>	REA	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
AnnArchStorAnt	<i>Annali del Seminario di studi del mondo classico: Sezione di archeologia e storia antica</i>	CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>	Richter/Hall	Gisela M. A. Richter and Lindsley F. Hall. 1936. <i>Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i> . New Haven.
AntK	<i>Antike Kunst</i>	CB I–III	L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley. 1931–1963. <i>Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston</i> . 3 vols. Boston.	RM	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung</i>
AntW	<i>Antike Welt</i>	ClAnt	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>	Simon/Hirmer	Erika Simon. 1976. <i>Die griechischen Vasen</i> . Photographs by Max Hirmer and Albert Hirmer. Munich.
ArchCl	<i>Archeologia classica</i>	CRAI	<i>Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres</i> [Paris]	Württemberg	<i>Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg</i>
ArchDelt	Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον	CRPétersb	<i>Compte-rendu de la Commission impériale archéologique</i> , St. Pétersbourg	ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
ArchEph	Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Ἐφημερίς				
ArchRW	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>				
Arias/Hirmer/Shefton	Paolo Enrico Arias. 1962. <i>A History of 1000 Years of Greek Vase Painting</i> . Trans and rev. Brian B. Shefton. Photographs by Max Hirmer. New York.	CVA	<i>Corpus vasorum antiquorum</i>		
ARV ¹	J. D. Beazley. 1942. <i>Attic Red-figure Vase-Painters</i> . Oxford.	EAA	<i>Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale</i> . 1958–1984. 7 vols. Rome.		
ARV ²	J. D. Beazley. 1963. <i>Attic Red-figure Vase-Painters</i> . 2nd edn. Oxford.	FR I, II, III	Adolf Furtwängler and Karl Reichhold. 1904–1932. <i>Griechische Vasenmalerei</i> . 3 vols. Munich.		
ASAtene	<i>Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente</i>	GettyMusJ	<i>The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal</i>		
AZ	<i>Archäologische Zeitung</i>	GVGetty	<i>Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum</i>		
BABesch	<i>Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de Antieke Beschaving</i>	HallWPr	Hallisches Winckelmanns-programm		
BAdd ²	Thomas H. Carpenter. 1989. <i>Beazley Addenda: Additional References to ABV, ARV² & Paralipomena</i> . Oxford.	JBerlMus	<i>Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen</i>		
BAPD	Beazley Archive Pottery Database: www.beazley.ox.ac.uk	JdI	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>		
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>	JEA	<i>The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>		
BdA	<i>Bollettino d'arte</i>	JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>		
BÉFAR	<i>Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome</i>	LIMC	<i>Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae</i> . 8 vols. 1981–1997. Zürich.		
		MM	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Madrider Abteilung</i>		
		MMA	<i>Metropolitan Museum of Art</i>		
		MMJ	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i>		

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Printed in Hong Kong
by South Seas International Press, Ltd.

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THIS BOOK and the exhibition it accompanies are the first to examine in detail the full range of decorative techniques on Athenian terracotta vases from the Archaic through the Late Classical period (approximately 550 to 340 B.C.). An introduction, a chapter on technical aspects of vase decoration, and nine essays accompany the 105 vase entries presented here. The techniques of these vases include coral red, added clay and gilding, plastic vases, white ground, and Six's technique.



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ISBN 978-0-89236-942-3



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Printed in Hong Kong